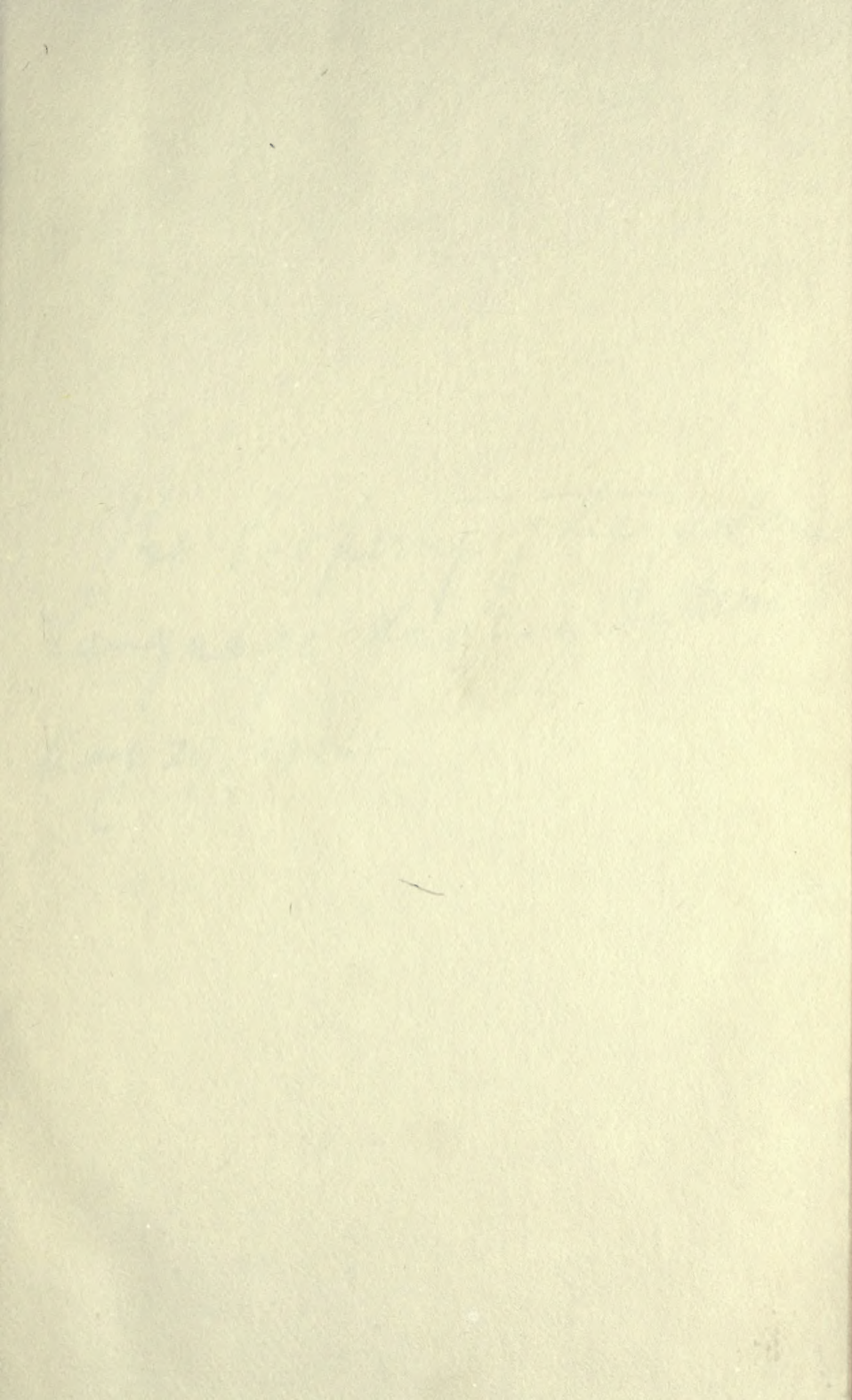




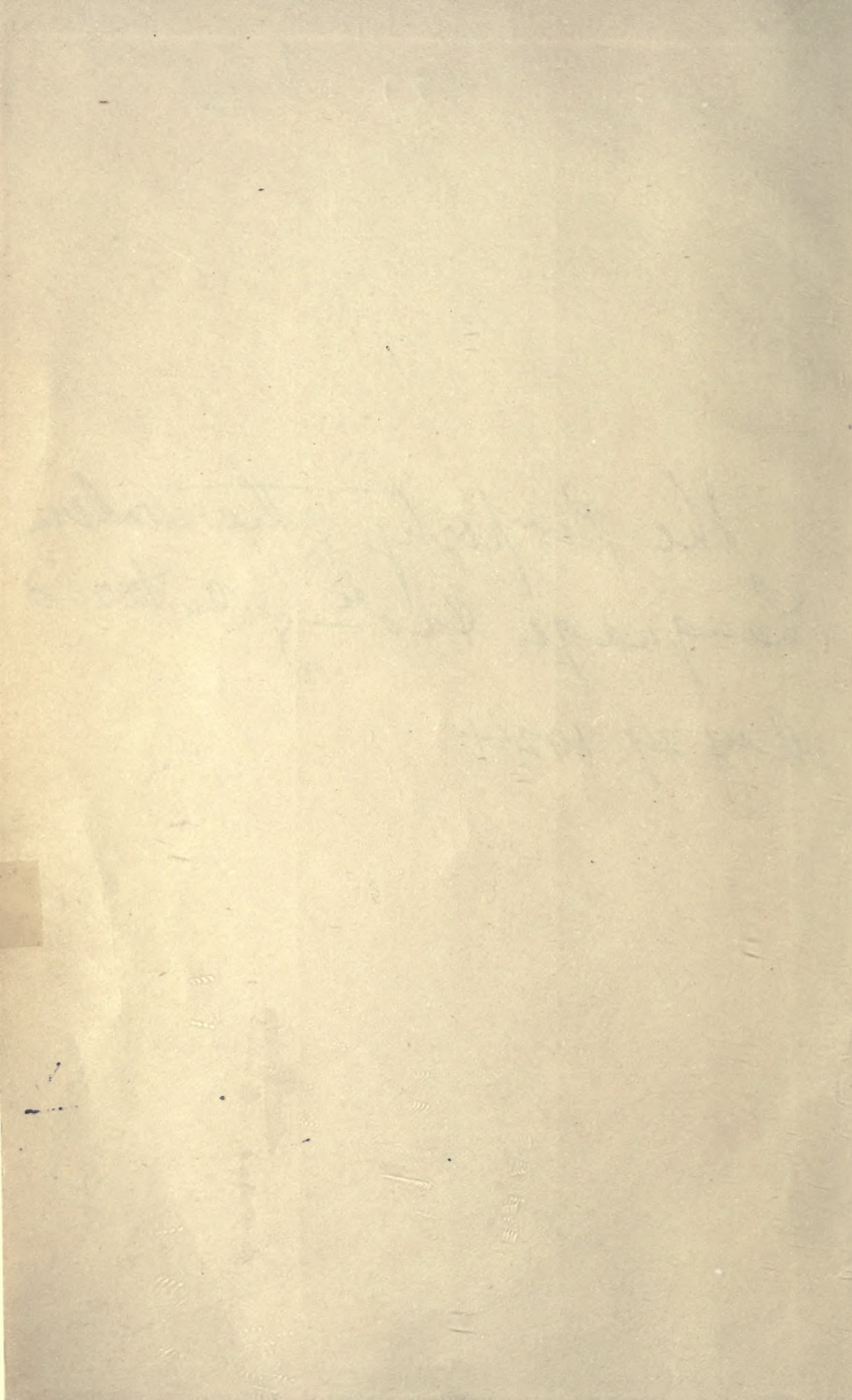
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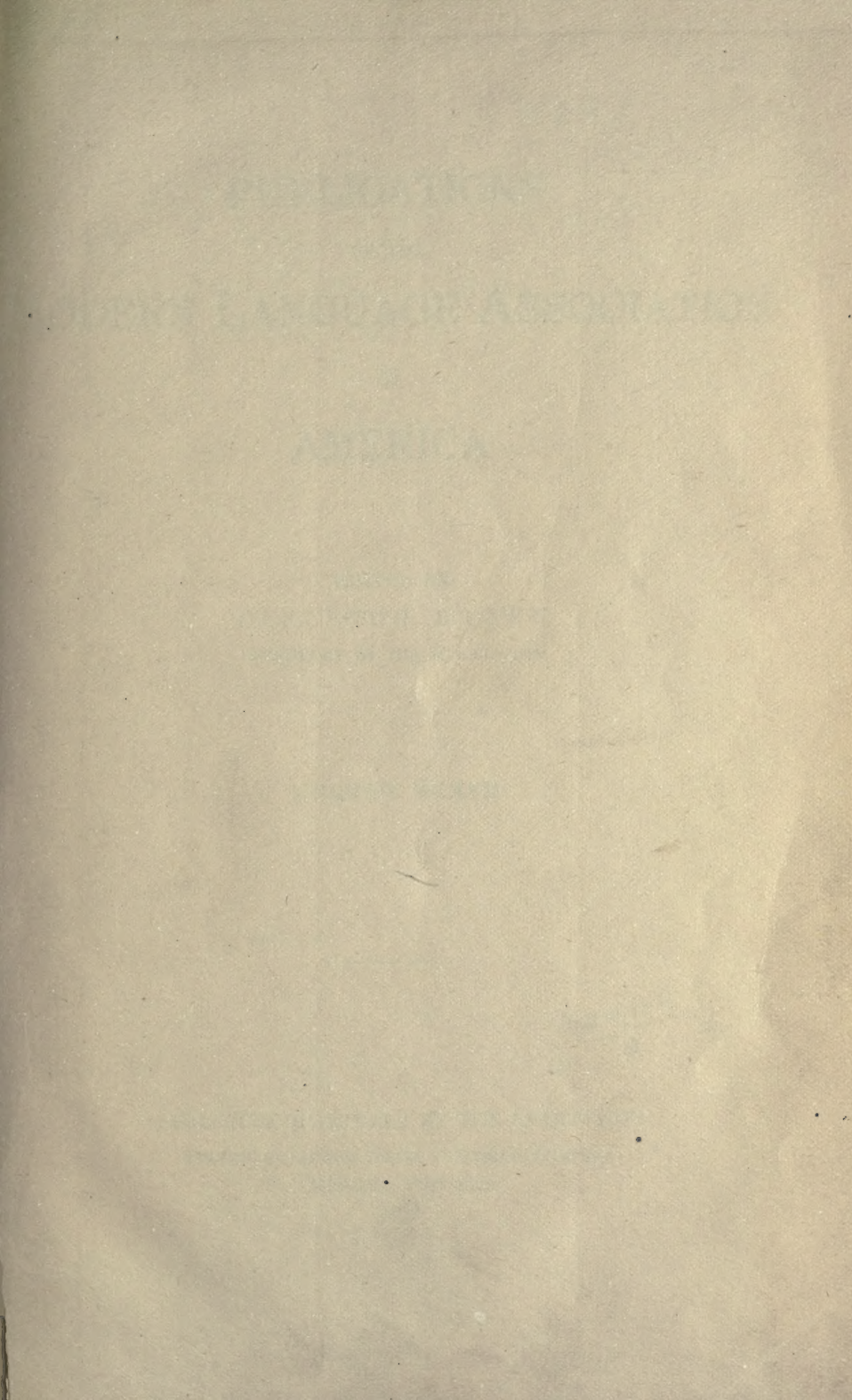


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PUBLICATIONS
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AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1921

A survey such as the present, which attempts to be a complete record of American scholarship during 1921 so far as the results have appeared in print, must inevitably fall short of its aim. Certain journals, foreign and American, though dated 1921 are either delayed in publication or reach America after an appreciable interval. Occasional publications issued in university bulletins or privately printed, in spite of every effort to run them down, have doubtless been missed. It is hoped that such omissions will be few. In every case an attempt will be made to correct any oversight in the bibliography for the following year.*

I. ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

In "Inflectional Contrasts in Germanic" (*JEGP*) E. Prokosch suggests a principle which is in a certain sense

* As in the corresponding surveys for previous years published in *The American Year Book* (suspended publication 1920) certain conventions and abbreviations have been adopted to economize space. Italics indicate book titles; quotation marks indicate articles. Periodicals are referred to by the following abbreviations: *PMLA*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America; *MP*, Modern Philology; *MLN*, Modern Language Notes; *MLR*, Modern Language Review; *JEGP*, Journal of English and Germanic Philology; *SP*, University of North Carolina Studies in Philology; *RR*, Romanic Review; *ESL*, Englische Studien; *Angl. Bei.*, Anglia Beiblatt. Titles appearing as theses or in the publications of universities are followed where possible by the name of the university.

correlative to analogy. W. F. Bryan in three articles interests himself in certain verbal endings. In "The Midland Present Plural Indicative Ending *-e(n)*" (*MP*) he urges the influence of preterite-present verbs; in "The West Saxon and Kentish First Person Singular Present Indicative Ending *-e*" (*SP*) he supports Dieter's suggestion that the influence of the 2nd and 3rd person is of considerable importance; and he seconds Wyld's belief that "The Verbal Ending *s* of the Third Person Singular" (*MLR*) owes its standardization largely to the analogy of *is*. Lexicographical notes in Old English are contributed by O. B. Schlutter (*Anglia* and *Neophilologus*) and Fr. Klaeber (*Angl. Bei.*). Miss B. C. Sly plausibly connects "The Bent Bow" (*MLN*) with OE. *bog*, *boh*, shoulder, upper arm. P.V.D. Shelly, *English and French in England, 1066-1100* (Pennsylvania) shows that as a result of immediate contact and intercourse between the two peoples—often close and cordial—the fusion of the two races began not in the reign of Henry I but in 1066, and that from the first Englishmen began to learn French, and Normans, English. J. R. Hulbert argues that there is no good evidence that "The 'West Midland' of the Romances" (*MP*) is West Midland. Samuel Moore, "Grammatical and Natural Gender in Middle English" (*PMLA*), traces the adoption of natural gender, once the preservation of grammatical gender was rendered impossible by the breaking down of inflectional endings, to the overwhelming use of the personal pronouns in Old English (and Germanic) in accordance with natural gender even when in direct contradiction of the grammatical gender of the antecedent. C. M. Lot-speich finds "The Cause of Long Vowel Changes in English" (*JEGP*) in a phonetic tendency in English to concentrate the accent on the first part of a vowel and the physiological consequences of that tendency. *The Modern English Verb-adverb Combination* (Stanford) is the title of an interesting study by A. G. Kennedy. Briefer notes are B. A. Wise, "The Disjunctive Possessive" (*MLN*), O. F. Emerson, "Beguiling Words" (*Dialect Notes*), J. H. Combs, "Early English Slang Survivals in the Mountains of Kentucky"

(*ibid.*) and R. P. McCutcheon, "A Note on *Cant*" (*MLN*). A few more popular titles may be mentioned such as Brander Matthews, *Essays on English* and *The Englishing of French Words*. The same author discourses on "The Permanent Utility of Dialect" (*Yale Rev.*) and G. M. Tucker discusses certain questions connected with *American English*. Finally the fullest support should be given the project for "A Bibliography of the English Language" announced by A. G. Kennedy in *MLN*.

America manifests but a limited interest in problems of versification. J. W. Rankin, "Rhythm and Rime before the Norman Conquest" (*PMLA*), argues for a rimed popular poetry, native and not dependent upon Latin hymns for its form. E. Sapir, "The Musical Foundations of Verse" (*JEGP*), returns to Lanier's conception, though he does not refer to Lanier and his results seem to be independently reached.

Old English literature has received some interesting contributions. S. I. Rypins, "A Contribution to the Study of the *Beowulf* Codex" (*PMLA*), disposes of Ten Brink's assumption of an original for *Beowulf* characterized by *io* spellings and demonstrates the accuracy of scribe A. O. F. Emerson ascribes "Grendel's Motive in Attacking Heorot" (*MLR*) to his being of devilish origin, and J. D. Bush in "A Note on [*Beowulf*] 1600-1605" (*MLN*) suggests a translation. Fr. Klaeber contributes five brief observations "Zu Byrhtnoð's Tod" (*ESt*) and discusses "The First Line of *Deor*" (*Angl. Bei.*). E. Burgert has published his dissertation on *The Dependence of Part I of Cynewulf's 'Christ' upon the Antiphonary* (Cath. Univ. of A.). A. D. McKillop, "Illustrative Notes on *Genesis B*" (*JEGP*) cites parallels to a few points in the poem and A. S. Cook corrects a misunderstanding of his position with regard to "The Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses" (*London Times Lit. Sup.*). Miss N. S. Aurner has published *Hengist: A Study in Early English Hero Legend* (Iowa) and C. N. Lienhauser a slighter treatment of "The Legend of the Phoenix" (*Cath. Educ. Rev.*).

In Middle English Miss Laura A. Hibbard, "*Athelston, A Westminster Legend*" (*PMLA*) shows that the romance is based upon the legend of Queen Emma and the Plowshares, probably through Richard of Cirencester. A. C. L. Brown continues his studies of "The Grail and the English *Sir Perceval*" (*MP*). G. Guillaume, "The Prologue of the *Lay le Freine* and *Sir Orfeo*" (*MLN*), decides that the prologue was written by the (English) author of the *Lay le Freine* and borrowed by the author of *Sir Orfeo*. H. G. Leach has published an extensive study of the relations between *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, devoting a large part of the book to romances and legendary themes which appear in Scandinavian versions. The author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* receives considerable attention. J. B. Fletcher in "The Allegory of the *Péarl*" (*JEGP*) cites many parallels from Albertus Magnus of qualities in the Pearl maid which are characteristic of the Virgin, argues that the *Péarl* may be at the same time an elegy and an allegory, and concludes that the poet has pictured his child in the image of the Virgin. O. F. Emerson, "Imperfect Lines in *Pearl* and the Rimed Parts of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*" (*MP*), suggests emendations of a score of lines metrically imperfect, by addition of unstressed *e* where such a syllable is justified historically, analogically, or inflectionally. The same author in "Two Notes on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*" (*MLN*) proposes textual interpretations, one of which is especially arresting, and in a long and careful review (*JEGP*) of Menner's edition of *Purity* embodies what amounts to an original contribution to the study of the poem. Archer Taylor, "Arthur and the Wild Hunt" (*RR*), supplements Bruce's article with additional notes on the myth. E. H. Tuttle makes some "Notes on the *Seven Sages*" (*MLR*) and J. Dunn devotes an elaborate study to "The Brendan Problem" (*Cath. Hist. Rev.*). In the lyric, C. R. Baskervill, "English Songs of the Night Visit" (*PMLA*), studies a type to which the *aube* belongs and traces it through English literature. Miss Charlotte D'Evelyn has edited with an introduction a

fourteenth century poem under the title *Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ* (Bryn Mawr diss., also being published by the *Early English Text Society*). Professor Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Verse* is so indispensable to students of medieval literature that it is worth while in the interest of perfection to record even slight additions to it. F. A. Patterson in the *JEGP* adds a few items. J. M. Steadman restates and augments the arguments for the winter of 1352-3 as "The Date of *Winnere and Wastoure*" (*MP*) and Miss Hope Emily Allen defends her theory of "The *Ancren Riwele* and Kilburn Priory" (*MLR*) against the attack of Father McNabb. E. C. Knowlton traces the occurrence of the allegorical figure "Nature in Middle English" (*JEGP*) from 1350 to about 1500, and W. E. Farnham, "John (Henry) Scogan" (*MLR*), argues for only one Scogan, living in Chaucer's time.

It is one of the pleasures of such a review as this to note each year the prominent position which Chaucer holds in the interest of American scholars. S. Moore, "New Life-Records of Chaucer—Addendum" (*MP*), now gives records from the Patent Rolls corresponding to the Chancery warrants which he formerly printed (*MP*, xvi), and J. R. Hulbert, "A Chaucer Item" (*MLN*), prints the entry in the Close Rolls in which reference is made to Henry Gisors as Chaucer's deputy in the office of controller of the customs. E. F. Amy has published his dissertation on *The Text of Chaucer's Legend of Good Women* (Princeton) and J. S. P. Tatlock, "The Source of the *Legend*, and Other Chauceriana" (*SP*), among other things points to the similarity between the prologue to the *L.G.W.* and lines 1683-1869 of the *Knight's Tale*. N. E. Griffin, "Chaucer's Portrait of Criseyde" (*JEGP*) explains the uncomplimentary characteristic of knit eyebrows as retained by Chaucer in the interest of historical accuracy and fidelity to what he considered an authoritative source. W. A. Reed prints a note "On Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* I, 228" (*JEGP*) and J.S.P. Tatlock sees "The Epilog of Chaucer's *Troilus*"

(*MP*) as a reflection of the age-long dispute concerning the right attitude of a Christian man toward pagan poetry. F. Tupper in a paper which he calls "Chaucer's Tale of Ireland" (*PMLA*) finds persons and circumstances that prompted the composition of *Anelida and Arcite* in the affairs of the Earl of Ormonde and Anne, his wife. "Chaucer's 'Elcanor' " (*MLN*), as Professor Tatlock suggests, may refer to an Elcanor which he finds in an Old French prose romance of the thirteenth century. P. F. Baum lists eight taverns which might be intended by "Chaucer's 'Faste by the Belle,' C. T., A. 719" (*MLN*) but cannot fix on any one as certainly Chaucer's. J. L. Hotson, "The Tale of *Melibeus* and John of Gaunt" (*SP*), considers the *Melibeus* a political pamphlet addressed to John of Gaunt to dissuade him from entering upon what seemed to his friends a rash war. Archer Taylor, "The Devil and the Advocate" (*PMLA*), collects over thirty versions of a story interesting to students of English because of its occurrence in Chaucer's *Friar's Tale*. S. H. Cox, "Chaucer's Cheerful Cynicism" (*MLN*), utters provocative heterodoxy, if not actual blasphemy; W. C. Curry submits "Two Notes on Chaucer" (*MLN*), one on the tempest at Hippolita's home-coming, the other on the cook's *mormal* as illustrated by quotations from medieval medical treatises; and A. R. Benham groups together "Three Chaucer Studies" (*So. Atl. Quarterly*): Chaucer and the Renaissance, Chaucer and Ovid, and Chaucer and Molière. E. P. Kuhl in "Chaucer and the 'Fowle Ok' " (*MLN*) quotes the *Rolls of Parliament* 'en le Counte de Kent a une lieu q est appelle le Foul Oke' showing that it was a place, not a tree; that it was in Kent, not Surrey, as Skeat thought; and concludes that there were three robberies, no two of which can now be thought identical. Finally mention may be made of a book of *Selections from Chaucer* edited by W. A. Neilson and H. R. Patch.

Miss Louise Pound's *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*, in which she attacks the prevailing theory of ballad origins, has not provoked as yet any extended reply. Miss L. C. Wimberly

investigates *Minstrelsy, Music, and the Dance in the English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Nebraska), and F. L. Joy discusses "Magic in the English and Scottish Ballads" (*So. Atl. Qu.*). Two Lydgate items by Miss E. P. Hammond are "The Texts of Lydgate's *Danse Macabre*" (*MLN*) and "The Lost Quires of a Shirley Codex" (*ibid.*). J. R. Hulbert in "An Hoccleve Item" (*ibid.*) notes that Hoccleve was granted in 1395 a corrody in the priory of Hayling by Richard II. Carleton Brown discusses a few special points of difference with Greg in "The Stonyhurst Pageants" (*MLR*).

Elizabethan scholarship is well represented. R. G. Whigam and O. F. Emerson, "Sonnet Structure in Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*" (*SP*), correct general misstatements and examine the various forms used. Miss Anne K. Tuell thinks that "The Original End of *Faerie Queene*, Book III" (*MLN*) was what caused Burleigh's brow to wrinkle, and in a "Note on Spenser's Clarion" (*ibid.*) she again identifies Clarion with Spenser's epic muse. F. M. Padelford, "The Virtue of Temperance in the *Faerie Queene*" (*SP*), supplements De Moss's paper by examining Spenser's dependence on Aristotle in the treatment of the virtue of Temperance. Miss L. Whitney contributes a somewhat inconclusive paper on "Spenser's Use of the Literature of Travel in the *Faerie Queene*" (*MP*), but points out more specifically than had previously been done some parallels between the voyage of Sir Guyon and the legend of St. Brandan.

In the drama we may mention first R. W. Bolwell's dissertation on *The Life and Works of John Heywood* (Columbia). Mrs. M. Le Boutillier, "Bale's *Kynge Johan* and *The Troublesome Raigne*" (*MLN*), shows that the latter is dependent in certain particulars on Bale's play. L. F. Mott, "Foreign Politics in an Old Play" (*MP*), believes that the *True Tragedy of Richard the Third* was the play performed at court Dec. 26, 1589. F. K. Brown has discovered and printed in a communication entitled "Marlowe and Kyd" (*London Times Lit. Sup.*) a letter almost certainly by Kyd establishing, if Kyd is to be trusted, Marlowe's hetero-

doxy. In matters relating to Shakespeare there is no outstanding publication of the year. J. Q. Adams suggests the possibility of "A Norman Origin for Shakespeare" (*Sewanee Rev.*) on the basis of a William Sakeespee found in the records (1195) living in Northern France under English rule and frequent occurrences of the name in England. Tucker Brooke in a suggestive article represents "Shakespeare Apart" (*Yale Rev.*), as not typical of his age and its interests, ignoring many of its principal preoccupations. J. R. Strong is the author of a voluminous *Note upon the "Dark Lady" Series of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, championing the Mary Fytton theory, and Basil Brown has published a volume on *Law Sports at Gray's Inn (1594)* bearing on Shakespeare. H. M. Jones writes on *The King in Hamlet* (Texas) and Preserved Smith notes that "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern" (*MLN*) are names actually found among students matriculated at Wittenberg in the sixteenth century. H. D. Gray in "Some Indications that *The Tempest* was Revised" (*SP*) argues for the view that Shakespeare wrote the *Tempest* in 1611 as a full length play and that he cut it down and adapted it for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth in 1613. H. J. Griston, *Introduction to the Merchant of Venice*, discusses the legal proceedings of which Shylock availed himself. J. Monaghan, "Falstaff and his Forebears" (*SP*), finds the origin of Falstaff not in Sir John Oldcastle of the *Famous Victories*, but in the clown, Derrick, especially as the part was interpreted on the stage by Tarleton. E. P. Kuhl has two notes, "Shakespeare's Purpose in Dropping Sly" (*MLN*) suggesting that he was dismissed for artistic reasons, and "I thou thee, thou traitor, in *Twelfth Night*" (*Weekly Rev.*). Other brief contributions are A. R. Benham, "A Note on the *Comedy of Errors*" (*MLN*) and its indebtedness to Plautus, J. D. Rea, "A Note on *Romeo and Juliet*, II.i.1-2" (*MP*), A. A. Raven, "A Note on *King Lear*" (*MLN*) explaining Lear's dying ecstasy as joy due to the belief that Cordelia was reviving, and S. T. Williams, "English Performances of *Timon of*

Athens" (*MLN*) listing revisions and revivals of the play. H. D. Gray interjects a note on "Shakespeare's Punctuation" (*London Times Lit. Sup.*) into a controversy between Mr. Bernard Shaw and certain English scholars. O. S. Coad calls attention to two curious coincidences between "Shakespeare and Aeschylus" (*JEGP*).

Of Shakespeare's contemporaries and successors in the drama Heywood's *The Captives, or, The Lost Recovered* has been edited by A. C. Judson (Yale) and Jonson's *Every Man in his Humor* by H. H. Carter (*ibid.*). W. P. Mustard in "Notes on Ben Jonson's *Catiline*" (*MLN*) cites Latin parallels, the most interesting of which are from Cicero. S. C. Chew, "Beaumont on Drunkenness" (*MLN*), cites a scene in *The Coxcomb* which parallels Cassio's intense shame, and finds Beaumont's attitude one of consistent hostility. A. H. Cruickshank crosses swords with W. J. Lawrence and H. D. Sykes over some matters pertaining to "Massinger and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*" (*London Times Lit. Sup.*), G. Bradford writes on "The Women of Middleton and Webster" (*Sewanee Rev.*), and C. N. Thurber edits Sir Robert Howard's comedy *The Committee* (Illinois). A Thaler, "Thomas Goff's *Praeludium*" (*MLN*), prints a long and interesting quotation from *The Careless Shepherdess* on the price of admission and other matters of theatrical practice. J. de Perott, "Welsh Bits in the Tudor and Stuart Drama" (*MLN*), T. S. Graves, "The Stage Sword and Dagger" (*So. Atl. Qu.*), and B. G. Brawley, *A Short History of the English Drama* may be listed. For the Commonwealth period T. S. Graves, "Notes on Puritanism and the Stage" (*SP*), collects additional references and shows that defenders of the stage during the years 1642-1660 were not wholly wanting; and H. E. Rollins' "A Contribution to the History of the English Commonwealth Drama" (*SP*) contains much new material, especially from the Thomason collection of news-books in the British Museum, shows that prohibitions did not prohibit even in the seventeenth century, and offers many new facts about actors, government raids, etc.

A. Thaler, "Was Richard Brome an Actor?" (*MLN*), and T. S. Graves, "Some Allusions to Richard Tarleton" (*MP*), belong here. L. D. Einstein's *Tudor Ideals* and A. D. McKillop's "Some Early Traces of Rabelais in English Literature" (*MLN*) bear in a more general way upon the Elizabethan Period.

In the seventeenth century Milton naturally bulks largest in American scholarship. J. H. Hanford's "The Chronology of Milton's Private Studies" (*PMLA*) is an attempt to arrange the entries in Milton's commonplace book in the chronological order of Milton's reading. The same author proposes in "The Arrangement and Dates of Milton's Sonnets" (*MP*) some modifications of Stevens' conclusions (Cf. *MP*, xvii), and in "Milton and the Art of War" (*SP*) shows that Milton's acquaintance with the art of war was a part of his renaissance idea of the education of a gentlemen. C. A. Moore defends Milton against the charge of inconsistency and justifies "The Conclusion of *Paradise Lost*" (*PMLA*). P. F. Baum's "*Samson Agonistes* Again" (*PMLA*) is a defense of *Samson Agonistes* in the light of Greek tragedy. P. F. Sherwin studies "Detached Similes in Milton's Epics" (*MLN*), E. C. Baldwin notes in places "The Authorized Version's Influence upon Milton's Diction" (*MLN*), J. H. Hanford defines the relation between "Milton and Ochino" (*MLN*), and J. A. Himes suggests "Further Interpretations of Milton" (*MLN*). The conclusion E. N. S. Thompson reaches in "Milton's Part in *Theatrum Poetarum*" (*MLN*) is that we are probably not justified in seeing Milton's hand or personal guidance in it. Miss Mabel D. Holmes in her dissertation *The Poet as Philosopher* (Pennsylvania) examines Sir John Davies, Alexander Pope, and Tennyson in their treatment of metaphysical themes and their relation to the thought of the time. F. A. Child has published his dissertation, *The Life and Uncollected Poems of Thomas Flatman* (Pennsylvania). A. H. Nethercot points out that Edward Phillips in 1675 appreciated "The Relation of Cowley's 'Pindarics' to Pindar's Odes" (*MP*) and in some

respects anticipated Congreve's essay. L. R. Merrill notes the source of "George Herbert's *Church Porch*" (*MLN*). H. E. Rollins in "Martin Parker: Additional Notes" (*MP*) supplements his article in *MP*, xvi. M. W. Croll's "'Attic Prose' in the Seventeenth Century" (*SP*) is an attempt to indicate the relation between ancient forms of style and those prevalent in the seventeenth century. J. B. Wharey notes that the indebtedness of "Bunyan's *Mr. Badman*" (*MNL*) to Arthur Dent's *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* is much greater than Bunyan's acknowledgement would suggest. E.N.S. Thompson treats the general subject of "Mysticism in Seventeenth-Century English Literature" (*SP*). O. F. Emerson discusses *John Dryden and a British Academy*, and H. Craig under the title "Dryden's *Lucian*" (*Classical Rev.*) records the other seventeenth century translations, and then devotes himself to Dryden's *Life* and the translators who did the Dryden *Lucian*.

In the eighteenth century J. W. Draper has published two papers: "Aristotelian 'Mimesis' in Eighteenth Century England" (*PMLA*), in which he traces the development of the idea of "imitation" as it was variously understood through the course of the century; and "The Theory of Translation in the Eighteenth Century" (*Neophilologus*), stressing the view that the eighteenth century believed in free translation for the enrichment of the vernacular. He has also published "Queen Anne's Act: A Note on English Copyright" (*MLN*). A. O. Lovejoy, "Pride in Eighteenth-Century Thought" (*MLN*), asserts that the eighteenth century objected not to pride in the individual but the race. Miss Margaret E. Cobb makes a few observations on "Pope's Lines on Atticus" (*MLN*), and R. D. Havens identifies "Aaron Hill's Poem on Blank Verse" (*MLN*) as a passage of burlesque character in *Cleon and Lycidas*. The title of F. B. Kaye's "The Writings of Bernard Mandeville: A Bibliographical Survey" (*JEGP*) is self-explanatory. W. S. Hendrix points out parallels between "Quevedo, Guevara, Lesage, and the *Tatler*" (*MP*), and J. M. Beatty, "Notes on the

Authorship of *The North Britain*" (MLN), offers additional evidence of the part played by Wilkes and Churchill in producing the paper. L. J. Davidson cites as "Forerunners of Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World*" (MLN) various works which appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century representing themselves as translations of letters written by foreigners in strange countries and which might have suggested the idea to Goldsmith; and R. S. Crane and H. J. Smith in "A French Influence on Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*" (MP) prove by the deadly evidence of parallel columns an extensive indebtedness to the *Lettres Chinoises* of the Marquis d'Argens amounting at times to the translation of whole essays. *Vanessa and her Correspondence with Jonathan Swift* is the title of an edition of the letters by A. M. Freeman. W. A. Eddy, "A Source for *Gulliver's Travels*" (MLN) shows that an edition of Lucian which Swift bought Stella in 1711 contained additions by Perrot D'Ablancourt in which the traveller visits a land of pigmies, describes a neighboring land of giants, and makes other visits to an island of magicians and an animal kingdom. J. J. Parry finds evidence of "Doctor Johnson's Interest in Welsh" (MLN), and C. W. Nichols shows that "The Date of *Tumble-Down Dick*" (MLN) is 1736. Miss C. F. McIntyre in answering the question "Were the 'Gothic Novels' Gothic?" (PMLA) attempts the difficult task of proving that they express the spirit of the renaissance rather than of the middle ages and that the source of their inspiration is Italy—the Italy of the Elizabethan drama. T. S. Graves offers "Some Facts about Anthony Aston" (JEGP). S. T. Williams' "The Early Sentimental Dramas of Richard Cumberland" (MLN) and W. T. Stanley's "The Dramas of Richard Cumberland (*ibid.*)" supplement each other. C. A. Jordan's "Davenport's *The City Nightcap* and Green's *Philomela*" (*ibid.*) attempts to determine the nature of the indebtedness that has long been recognized. H. Glicksman, "The Stage History of Colley Cibber's *The Careless Husband*" (PMLA), collects records of performances, and J. M. Beatty, "Garrick,

Coleman, and *The Clandestine Marriage*" (*MLN*) reviews the facts in the dispute over the Garrick-Coleman collaboration in this play.

In a volume called *A Magnificent Farce* A. Edward Newton includes an essay entitled "A Sane View of William Blake." *Wordsworth's French Daughter* by G. M. Harper, reconstructs the story of her birth and marriage from unpublished letters in the British Museum. J. E. Wells, "The Story of Wordsworth's *Cintra*" (*SP*) examines in great detail the circumstances of composition involved in Wordsworth's pamphlet on the Convention of Cithra and incidentally relieves DeQuincey of considerable misunderstanding which has arisen from an ungrateful attitude on Wordsworth's part. O. J. Campbell thinks "Wordsworth Bandies Jests with Matthew" (*MLN*). G. R. Elliott suggests that "The Real Tragedy of Keats" (*PMLA*) was psychological or spiritual—an unfilled yearning for the "peace of wisdom." Miss M. H. Shackford notes certain likenesses between "*The Eve of St. Agnes* and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*" (*PMLA*) which suggest that Keats developed suggestions from the earlier work; and S. C. Chew attempts a brief critical estimate in "Keats after a Hundred Years" (*New Republic*). A. H. Gilbert in "A Note on Shelley, Blake, and Milton" (*MLN*) traces a couple of details in Shelley to Milton and the *Iliad* rather than to Blake. W. E. Peck prints "A Note on Shelley and Peacock" (*MLN*) and a longer paper on "Shelley and the Abbé Barruel" (*PMLA*). N. I. White, "Shelley's Swell-foot the Tyrant in Relation to Contemporary Political Satires" (*PMLA*), shows that in treating the contemporary scandal of Queen Caroline, Shelley borrowed largely from his anonymous contemporaries both in manner and idea. The same author portrays "The Historical and Personal Background of Shelley's *Hellas*" (*So. Atl. Qu.*). *The Radicalism of Shelley and its Sources* is the title of a dissertation by D. J. McDonald (Cath. Univ. of Amer.; also published serially in *The Catholic Educ. Rev.*). S. T. Williams treats in two articles "The Story of Gebir" (*PMLA*) and "The Sources of Landor's *Gebir*"

(*MLN*). A. M. Bierstadt studies Campbell's poem "Gertrude of Wyoming" (*JEGP*) and the sources of its inspiration, and N. W. Hill offers "Childe Harold: A Proposed Emendation" (*London Times Lit. Sup.*). W. Graham writes on "The Politics of the Greater Romantic Poets" (*PMLA*).

M. Y. Hughes' "The Humanism of Francis Jeffrey" (*MLR*) attempts a more just appreciation of Jeffrey as a critic than is usually accorded him and J. Zeitlin tries to do similar justice to his contemporary, John Scott, "The Editor of the *London Magazine*" (*JEGP*). J. A. Falconer finds "The Sources of *A Tale of Two Cities*" (*MLN*) in hints of situation and character in Carlyle, Scott, and in Mercier's *Tableau de Paris*. F. W. Roe's *The Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin*, L. H. Chrisman's *John Ruskin, Preacher, and Other Essays*, and J. H. Whitehouse's collection entitled *Ruskin the Prophet, and Other Contemporary Studies* are timely volumes. S. Robertson, "Sir Thomas Browne and R. L. Stevenson" (*JEGP*), tries to show an indebtedness of Stevenson's early writings to Sir Thomas Browne's style. S. T. Williams discusses "Some Aspects of Matthew Arnold's Poetry" (*Sewanee Rev.*), and Miss H. C. White, "Matthew Arnold and Goethe" (*PMLA*) shows Arnold's great admiration for and indebtedness to Goethe. *Browningiana in Baylor University* by Miss A. E. Brooks is the title of a bibliography of an extensive collection of books and articles on Browning. J. F. A. Pyre devotes a monograph to *The Formation of Tennyson's Style* (Wisconsin). T. P. Cross speaks for "Alfred Tennyson as a Celticist" (*MP*) and W. H. Vann finds "A Prototype of Tennyson's Arthur" (*Sewanee Rev.*) in the life of Christ. O. Burdett's *The Idea of Coventry Patmore* is an enthusiastic interpretation of Patmore's poetry. Finally Rossetti finds a sympathetic student in A. E. Trombly, both in the monograph *Rossetti the Poet: An Appreciation* (Texas) and the series of "Rossetti Studies" in the *So. Atl. Quarterly*.

Of contemporary literature a few titles must suffice. H. W. Peck in "The Social Criticism of Literature" (*Sewanee*

Rev.) comments on the disappearance of the critical essay from popular periodicals, and W. L. Cross in an article which he calls "From Plutarch to Strachey" (*Yale Rev.*) passes in review various types of biography. W. L. Phelps' *Essays on Modern Dramatists*, B. H. Clark's *The British and American Drama of To-day*, and G. A. Wauchope's "Henry Arthur Jones and the New Social Drama" (*Sewanee Rev.*) may be grouped together. Miss M. King considers the "Temperamental Pessimism in Thomas Hardy" (*Pacific Rev.*) and J. W. Beach in "Bowdlerized Versions of Hardy" (*PMLA*) offers a very interesting discussion of the changes introduced through English reticence in some of Hardy's novels. J. B. Harrison's "Samuel Butler Revisited" (*Pacific Rev.*) and F. A. Waterhouse's "The Literary Fortunes of Kipling" (*Yale Rev.*) are critical and interpretative. In "The Fall of the Curtain" (*Yale Rev.*) C. B. Tinker contrasts the old fashioned ending with the new and quarrels with certain present day tendencies in fiction, especially the lack of faith in human nature and society. We may close this list with two useful handbooks: J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert's *Contemporary British Literature* and H. L. Wheeler's *Contemporary Novels and Novelists*.

It only remains to mention a few miscellaneous titles that do not belong to any particular period. A. Taylor, "In the Evening Praise the Day" (*MLN*), notes various occurrences of the idea. T. S. Graves, "The Echo-Device" (*MLN*) supplements E. Colby's *The Echo-Device in Literature*. R. Withington's "Post-Bellum Giants" (*SP*) is a by-product of his interest in pageantry. G. W. R. Havens has prepared a monograph on *The Abbé Prévost and English Literature*. C. E. Whitmore in "The Field of the Essay" (*PMLA*) attempts to define more carefully what is to be understood by the term. Finally, not the least interesting of the group are Miss Louise Mathewson's *Bergson's Theory of the Comic in the Light of English Comedy* (Nebraska) and Miss Rose F. Egan's *The Genesis of the Theory of Art for Art's Sake in Germany and in England* (Smith).

In so condensed a résumé little more than the briefest mention can be accorded to any title. Yet a glance at these pages, in which only the work of American scholars is recorded, will show convincingly that America has done her share of research and the publication of research, in English philology and literature during 1921.

ALBERT C. BAUGH

II. ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

During the year 1921 the work published in the Romance field by American scholars, and by those teaching in American universities has grown in quantity and quality. As in former years, perhaps the most important contributions have been made in Old French literature. T. A. Jenkins in an article entitled "Why did Ganelon hate Roland?" (*P. M. L. A.*, XXXVI, 134-141), shows that by adopting the natural reading "sorlist" for "forlist" in *Ch. de Roland*, 3758, a difficult passage can be interpreted, by attributing Ganelon's treason to both his greed for money, and his thirst for vengeance on his step-son, due to the latter's pride in his position and wealth. In writing on "The Dreams of Charlemagne" (*Ibid.*, 133-141), A. H. Krappé points out that this oft-occurring episode in the French epic, may not necessarily be of Germanic origin. Raymond Weeks completes his analysis with a full measure of quotations, of the *Siege de Barbastre* (*R. R.*, XI, 349-369; XII, 155-167). F. E. Guyer's study on "The Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes" (*R. R.*, XII, 97-134; 216-247), is at once a contribution to the sources and the chronology of the poet's works, on the basis of which he has been able to draw conclusions in regard to the authenticity of certain of them. The same writer under the title, "C'est nous qui sommes les anciens" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 257-264), has shown the results of an interesting pursuit of a lasting tradition of a philosophic conception framed in a phrase. F. A. G. Cowper adds much that is new to our knowledge in regard to the text and date of the poem

of Gautier d'Arras in his article on "The New Manuscript of Ille et Galeron" (*M.Ph.*, XVIII, 601-608). J. L. Lister has published as a doctorate dissertation the text of *Perlesvaus* Branch I from Hatton Ms. 82, giving the variants from the other manuscripts of the work. A most important contribution to fable literature has been made by K. McKenzie and W. A. Oldfather in their edition of the *Ysopet-Avionnet: The Latin and French Text* (*Univ. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, V, No. 4), of which the value is enhanced by the reproduction of the elaborate series of illustrations which precede in each case the text of the Latin fable. S. L. Galpin by his analysis of one of the many imitations of the *Roman de la Rose* in his article "Les Eschez amoureux: A Complete Synopsis with unpublished Extracts" (*R. R.*, XI, 283-307), supplements our information on this work. Grace Frank in her "Critical Notes on the 'Palatine Passion'" (*M.L.N.*, XXXVI, 193-204) makes a number of noteworthy suggestions on the text and related questions, of one of the most important documents in Old-French dramatic literature. T. F. Crane in a supplementary article on "The Mountain of Nida" (*R. R.*, XII, 79-83) calls attention to a Roumanian tale as the connecting link between the Oriental and Occidental versions of an episode in the Alexander legend. Archer Taylor has gathered together some notes on an interesting combination of legends in his article on "Arthur and the Wild Hunt" (*R. R.*, *Ib.*, 286-289). R. T. Hill completes his edition of "The Vie de Sainte Euphrosine" by a study of the language of the poem, which he dates as early as 1200 (*Ib.*, 44-9). J. C. Dawson in an article on "The Floral Games of Toulouse" (*Ib.*, 248-275) traces the history of the after-product of Old Provençal literature.

Writing on "Some early Traces of Rabelais in English Literature" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 469-474) A. D. McKillop collects a number of unnoted references to the great author, the earliest dating 1583, which show at least an acquaintance with his name and reputation as a humorist. In his article on "The Source of de Sallebray's 'Amante ennemie'"

(*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 92-95) G. L. van Roosbroeck points out that this play (1642) had its source in the romance of du Perrier, *La Hayne et l'Amour d'Arnoul et de Clairemond*, which was printed in 1600, and is the earliest example of *Cid* literature in France. The same writer has published pamphlets on *The Purpose of Corneille's Cid*, and on *The Genesis of Corneille's Mélite*. In a note on "Corneille's 'Illusion Comique,' Mahelot's 'Mémoire,' and Rampalle's 'Bélinde'" (*St. in Ph.*, XVIII, 10-14), H. C. Lancaster has correctly interpreted a passage, hitherto supposed to allude to a play of Corneille. This note is only a by-product of an important contribution to the history of the French stage in the seventeenth century, made by the same writer, in his *Mémoire de Mahelot, Laurent et d'autres décorateurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne et de la Comédie Française au dix-huitième siècle*. In his article "From Le Misanthrope to Le Malade Imaginaire" (*M. Ph.*, XIX, 17-32) C. D. Zdanowicz continues his studies on the subjective elements in Molière's plays, while R. V. Merrill, writing on "Molière's Exposition of a Courtly Character in *Don Juan*" (*Ib.*, 33-46), shows how the dramatist harmonised his characterisation of his infamous hero with the social and ethical standards of his own times. But, that Molière's attempt to write down to contemporary religious and popular conventions was not successful is shown in A. S. Schaffer's study on "Thomas Corneille's Re-working of Molière's *Don Juan*" (*Ib.*, 163-175).

G. Atkinson in an article on "A French Desert Island Novel of 1708" (*P.M.L.A.*, XXXVI, 509-528) points out that the *Voyage de François Leguat*, published in 1707, which has been accepted as an authentic narrative of travel is a romance. G. R. Havens has a well documented article on "The Theory of 'Natural Goodness' in Rousseau's 'Nouvelle Héloïse'" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 385-394), and E. A. Foster has published a monograph on *Le dernier séjour de J. J. Rousseau à Paris*. G. R. Havens in his *Abbé Prévost and English Literature* (Elliott Monographs, 9) has presented us with a valuable supplement on one of the many factors on

the theme of cosmopolitanism, so brilliantly summed up by Texte. A contribution to the same subject is found in what R. H. Crane and H. B. Smith have written on "A French Influence on Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*", (*M. Ph.*, XIX, 83-92). They point out a number of definite textual borrowings on the part of the English author from the *Lettres chinoises* of the Marquis d'Argens. H. Floyd in her dissertation on *Women in the Life of Balzac* has given an interesting study of an important factor in the novelist's life, while a valuable contribution to the development of his style has been made by J. M. Burton in his *Honoré de Balzac and his Figures of Speech* (*Elliott Monographs*, 8). E. R. Goddard has shown in a note on "Color in Lamartine's *Jocelyn*" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 221-5) what a limited sense of color the poet reveals in his descriptions of nature. A. Schaffer's note on "The Sources of Théodore de Banville's 'Gringoire'" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 225-9) is a contribution to the reading of the poet, and G. Chinard shows in a note on "Les Sources d'un poème de Leconte de Lisle" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 101-4) shows that the "Calumet du Sachem" found its inspiration in Longfellow's "Evangeline," as well as in the travels of Domenech, and in reminiscences of Chateaubriand. The historian and critic is well characterized by H. L. Norman in an article on "The Personality of Hippolyte Taine" (*P. M. L.*, XXXVI, 529-550).

On the linguistic side, two important contributions are to be noted, one by G. C. Laubscher, who in his monograph on *The Syntactical Causes of Case Reduction in Old French* (*Elliott Monographs*, 7), has thrown light on a number of points in a difficult subject, and the other by H. A. Todd, who has reviewed and added to the evidence in regard to the accepted explanation of "The French locution 'Qui vive'" (*R. R.*, XI, 370-380).

The Sexcentenary of the death of Dante has been responsible for a number of publications on the work of the greatest of Italian poets. Of these the most important collection is found in *The Rice Institute Pamphlet*, Vol. VIII, No. 2.

It contains the following papers, which were delivered as lectures: C. H. Walker, "Historical Background of Dante"; G. C. Evans, "The Physical Universe of Dante; H. E. Conklin, "The Aesthetic of Dante;" R. A. Tsanoff, "Dante's Idea of Immortality;" R. G. Caldwell, "The Political Writings of Dante;" A. L. Guérard, "Dante and the Renaissance"; and S. Axson, "Dante and English Literature." All these papers offer an adequate treatment of their diverse subjects, while those by Evans and Guérard are at once original and inspiring. For the same occasion a number of *Studies in Philology* is devoted to studies in medieval literature, and contains an article as enlightening as its subject "Illumination" (*St. in Ph.*, VIII, 377-391), in which C. H. Grandgent discusses the poet as an inspired prophet. It also contains an essay by J. B. Fletcher on "The Comedy of Dante" (*Ib.*, 392-411), which has been included as one of three essays in his book on the *Symbolism of the Divine Comedy*. E. H. Wilkins under the title *Dante: Poet and Prophet*, has published three well informed essays on the poet and his work, and in an article on "Dante's Scheme of Human Life" (*M. Ph.*, XVIII, 412-418), has tabulated and commented on certain fundamental elements of Dante's thought. J. E. Shaw under the title "And the Evening and the Morning were One Day" (*M. Ph.*, XVIII, 569-590) has given an interpretation to *Par.* XVII, 136-8, which has the merit of being subtle and original. G. L. Hamilton under the title "The Pedigree of a Phrase in Dante (*Purg.* VII, 107-8)" (*R. R.*, XII, 84-89), adds further to the history of a conventional attitude in art and literature, R. S. Phelps writing on "Rime Clues in Dante" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 144-6) points out the correlation, which the poet made a point of making, between his verse structure, and the subject matter in the *Divina Commedia*. M. J. L. Perrier completes his attempt to vindicate the reputation of the Provençal poet and swashbuckler, writing on "Bertran de Born, Patriot, and his Place in Dante's *Inferno*" (*R. R.*, XII, 21-43). M. W. P. Mustard in his article on "Petrarch's Africa" (*Amer. Journ.*

Ph., XLII, 97-121), has analysed and pointed out the sources of the poet's ambitious Latin epic. T. F. Crane has found analogues in unexpected quarters for a little studied story in his article, "The Sources of Boccaccio's Novella of Mitridanes and Natan (*R. R.* XII, 193-215). M. Garver has continued working in a field in which he has done commendable work in his publication of "Some Supplementary Italian Bestiaries" (*R. R.*, XI, 308-327). In his article on "Nature in Early Italian" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 329-334), E. C. Knox continues his studies on the presentation of Nature as an allegorical figure. R. Altrocchi's study on "The Calumny of Apelles in the Literature of the Quattrocento" (*P. M. L. A.*, XXXVI, 454-491) might serve as a model for the way in which he traces the continuation of a literary tradition in the art and literature of the Renaissance, resulting in a contribution to the history of art, literature and humanism. R. C. Williams in his articles, "The Purpose of Poetry, and Particularly the Epic, as Discussed by Critical Writers of the Sixteenth Century in Italy" (*R. R.*, XII, 1-20), "Method of Treatment of the Epic as Discussed by Sixteenth Century Critics (*Ib.*, 276-285), and "Metrical Form of the Epic as discussed by Sixteenth-Century Critics" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 449-457) makes so many contributions to the history of criticism in the Renaissance. A. H. Krappe points out a part of "The Sources of Sebastiano Erizzo's *Discorso del governi civili*" (*R. R.*, XII, 181-6) in Polybius and Macchiavelli.

K. Pietsch in completing his study on "The Madrid Manuscript of the Spanish Grail Fragments" (*Mod. Ph.*, XVIII, 591-6) reveals the gaps in the histories of early Spanish literature, in the field of translations of religious works. A. M. Espinosa writing "Sobre la Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara" (*R. R.*, XII, 135-145) gives two new versions of the story, one of which contains fragments of a romance. R. Lansing in her article on "The Thirteenth Century Legal Attitude Towards Women in Spain" (*P. M. L. A.*, XXXVI, 492-507) has collected material which will

be useful to illustrate the references to the same subject in the literature of the period. J. P. W. Crawford has summed up the old, and supplied new evidence on a curious item of the liturgical drama in his "Note on the Boy Bishop in Spain" (*R. R.*, XII, 146-154). In "A Note on the 'Comedia Calamita' of Torres Naharro" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 15-17) he suggests some of the possible sources of this drama, while M. Romero-Navarro in his "Estudio de la 'Comedia Himenea' de Torres Naharro" (*R. R.*, XII, 50-72) points out the importance of another play of the same dramatist, and its indebtedness to the *Celestina*, while in his "Observaciones sobre la Comedia Tideia" (*Mod. Ph.*, XIX, 187-198) he has pointed out the influence of the same work, combined with that of the Elogas of Juan del Encina, and the plays of Torres Naharro. G. L. Dale fixes "The Date of Antonio de Villegas' Death" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 334-7), as late as 1576, instead of the generally accepted date of 1551, by study of the practice of granting privileges for printing books in the sixteenth century. E. Buceta points out much that is new in the development of euphuism in Spain in his article "Algunes Antecedentes de Culteranismo" (*R. R.*, XI, 328-348). A. S. Sloan in a note on "Juan de Luna's Lazarillo and the French translation of 1660" (*M. L. N.*, XXXVI, 141-3) shows that the Spanish text printed with Part I of the translation was not Luna's. A. Hamilton shows "Ramón de la Cruz, Social Reformer" (*R. R.*, II, 168-180) in a series of the dramatist's later plays.

F. Vexler gives the source of a number of Roumanian words in his "Etymologies and Etymological Notes" (*R. R.*, XV, 90-92).

GEORGE L. HAMILTON

III. GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

In the field of German literature there are a number of articles on various aspects of Goethe's works. A. R. Hohlfield, *Pact and Wager in Goethe's Faust*, *Modern Philology*

for Feb. gives a careful analysis of the problems involved, coming to the conclusion that the wager between the Lord and Mephisto and between Faust and Mephisto are practically identical and that Mephisto loses both. James T. Hatfield, *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Philol.* for Jan. gives a summary of Gustav Roethe's study *Die Entstehung des Urfaust* showing that Roethe postulates three different phases in the composition of the work. The same author gives a study of Goethe's poem *Im ernsten Beinhaus*, *Publ. of M. L. A.* for Sept. which he thinks owes its inspiration to Goethe's first visit to Switzerland in 1775, renewed on his second journey in 1797 at which time he began the composition of the poem. He laid it aside, however, and did not finish it till 1826 when Schiller's skull was placed in the Weimar library. The title *Bei Betrachtung Schiller's Schädel* was added by Eckermann for the Cotta edition of 1833. Hohl-feld likewise discusses in *The Poems in Carlyle's Translation of Wilhelm Meister*, *Mod. Lang. Notes* for April. The Various versions in the editions of 1824, 1839 and 1858. Helen C. White *Matthew Arnold and Goethe*, *Publ. of M. L. A.* for Sept. shows how greatly Arnold was indebted to Goethe for the general trend of his thought.

Two articles treat of Schiller. Allan L. Carter *Schiller and Shaftesbury*, *Int. Journal of Ethics* for Jan. gives an exhaustive treatment of Shaftesbury's influence on the German poet. Kenneth Hayens *Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans and The Historic Maid of Orleans*, *Mod. Lang. Notes* for Feb. discusses the many changes Schiller made in Joan's character, changing her from a humble maid into a lofty virgin and making her the embodiment of patriotism which she was not to the French of her time. Starting with a quotation from Schiller Archer Taylor, *Mod. Lang. Notes* for Feb., traces parallels to the proverb 'In the evening praise the day' through various Germanic and Romanic languages.

Martin Schuetze in his third article on *Fundamental Ideas in Herder's Thought*, *Mod. Philol.* for Nov., discusses first the idea of personality, which according to Herder, is not to be

found in any abstract conception, but in a synthetic unity of characteristic traits, second Herder's identification of folk literature with classic literature, as the latter is not produced by imitation of other masterpieces, but springs from the genius of the people.

In the field of the drama William Diamond discusses the question *Does Emilia love the Prince* in Lessing's play *Emilia Galotti*, *Mod. Philol.* for Nov., and decides it in the negative against Goethe, Riemer and a host of German critics. John W. Scholl *The Cave Scene in "Die Familie Schrockenstein,"* *Mod. Philol.* for Feb., tries to prove that the stage direction at the beginning of the scene 'Agnes mit einem Hute in zwei Kleidern' was introduced to make the piece *theaterfähig* and that Kleist originally planned a complete exchange of attire on the part of the lovers. F. W. J. Heuser *Personal and Literary Relations of Hauptmann and Wedekind*, *Mod. Lang. Notes* for Nov., interestingly shows how Hauptmann used Wedekind as the model for Robert in his drama *Friedensfest* and the revenge which Wedekind took in his comedy *Die Junge Welt* in which he introduces Hauptmann in the disguise of the naturalistic poet Franz Ludwig Meier whose dramas he ridicules. G. M. Allen *Problem of Individualism in Relation to Society in Ibsen, Maeterlinck and Hauptmann*, *Poet Lore* for June, discusses the question in a most superficial way. Huntley Carter *Socializing the German Theatre, Drama* for Jan., describes the attempts being made in this direction in Germany by the German Actors' Union and its periodical *Der neue Weg*. A. W. G. Randall *Contemporary German Dramatists*, *Dial* for August, gives a brief but excellent review of the chief plays that have appeared since 1914. A. Busse has edited an edition of Hebbel's *Nibelungen* for the Oxford German Series.

In the field of the novel Friedrich Schöнемann in an article entitled *Friedrich Lienhards Literaturbetrachtung*, *Mod. Philol.* for Feb., discusses Lienhard's art which he calls *Heimatkunst*, showing him to be an idealist and the direct opposite of Hauptmann. Heinrich Mann's novel *Der*

Untertan has been translated by Ernest Boyd as *Patrioteer* for Harcourt's series *European Literature*. Johanna Spyri's popular stories for children have been appearing in translation, *Cornelli* and *Mazli* published by Lippincott, the latter translated by Elizabeth P. Stork; *Heidi* by Philipp S. Allen for Rand.

In the field of the lyric Edwin G. Gudde *Traces of English Influence in Freiligrath's Political and Social Lyrics*, *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Philol.* for July, seeks to prove that Freiligrath's change to political poetry was not made under the influence of British poets, but that after the change he frequently selected British subjects and motifs, showing especial fondness for Thomas Moore. Ludwig Lewisohn writes on the *Progress of German Poetry in the Nation* for April 13th and A. W. G. Randall discusses the *Main Currents in Contemporary German Literature* in the *Dial* for April.

In the Middle High German field Gudmund Schütte *The Nibelungen Legend and its Historical Basis*, *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Philol.* for July, makes an ingenious, if somewhat phantastic attempt to continue the work of Müllenhoff and to trace the historical elements in the Nibelungen legends.

In the philological field Edwin C. Roedder in an article entitled *A Critical Survey of Recent Research in German Philology*, *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Philology* for April, discusses at considerable length Baesecke's survey *Deutsche Philologie*, acquainting the reader with the principal philological works that have appeared in Germany between 1912 and 1917 and Baesecke's opinion of them. Otto B. Schlütter *Weitere Nachträge zu den althochdeutschen Glossen*, *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Philol.* for July, adds glosses taken from various codices. W. Kurrelmeyer under the guise of a review of the ninth edition of Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Mod. Lang. Notes* for Dec., gives a number of etymological studies of his own as a contribution to the next edition. A. M. Sturtevant *Die Endung des Partizipiums Präteriti der Germanischen Starken Verba*, *Amer. Journal of*

Philol. vol. 42, pp. 12-24, seeks to prove that the suffix *-in* in North and West Germanic is not old but rather a younger development of original *-an*. The same scholar in an article entitled *Zum Vokalismus des Gotischen And-waihando in seinem Verhältniss zu Altisländischem vega 'töten,' Journal of Eng. and Ger. Philol.* for Jan., discusses the possibility of connecting these words together and with the O.H.G. verb *ubar-wehan* and decides that they do not support Streitberg's assumption of a Gothic verb *and waiha*—*andwaih*, but that it is better to assume with Braune that *and-waihando* is an error for *and-weihando*. W. Kurrelmeyer *Niflant, Iflant, Mod. Philol.* for Feb., treats of these forms which have generally been considered mere variants of Livland and shows that they are the forms usually found in Middle and Upper German documents, whereas Lifland is the form in Low German monuments.

In the field of German-American relations Clara E. Schieber in a study *Transformation of American Sentiment towards Germany 1870-1914, Journal of International Relations* for July traces the gradual change in American feeling toward Germany from the favorable attitude at the time of the Franco-Prussian war to the hostile feelings in the recent war, showing also the reasons for the change. It is a condensation of a more elaborate study in her dissertation at Clark University 1920.

In the Old Norse field H. G. Leach *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature*, vol. 6, has treated of the historical relations of the two countries and of their mutual literary influence during the period in question. Edith S. Krapp in an article entitled *The Casina of Plautus and the Prymskvíða (Scandinavian Studies* for August) presents an argument to prove that this comedy of Plautus was the source for the Norse story. Archer Taylor, *The Death of Orvar Oddr (Mod. Philol.* for August) has traced similar tales in English, Russian and German folk lore, showing that in the case of the English version it is a direct borrowing, that the Russian borrowed too, but that

in the case of the German tale of the hunter of Hackelberg the matter is uncertain. H. R. Holand, *The Goths in the Kensington Inscription* (*Scand. Studies* for May) has presented a clever argument to prove that the famous inscription found in Minnesota is not a forgery, as so frequently stated, but is a correct account of the expedition of Paul Knutson between 1355 and 1364. In *Scand. Studies* for Feb. A. M. Sturtevant has ably discussed the resemblances between Oehlenschläger's *Helgi* and Tegnér's *Frithiofsaga* and concludes as against Miss Thome (*Finsk Tidskrift*, 1918, 272-288) that for the composition of his work Tegnér owed very little to Oehlenschläger, aside from the arrangement of his poem in cantos with their varied types of verse form. D. K. Dodge has most interestingly discussed *Longfellow's Scandinavian Translations and Imitations* (*Scand. Studies* for August). In the same number Adolph B. Benson, in an article entitled *Was Gustavus Vasa the First American Drama*, has shown that no trace can be found of such a play, which was attributed by Hornblow in his *History of the Theatre in America* to Benjamin Colman a student of Harvard and was supposed to have been performed in 1690. A volume on the *Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* from the pen of Bertha S. Philpotts has been published by Macmillan. Anton W. Brogger in the *American Scandinavian Review* for July gives an account of the Viking ship found at Oseberg (also printed separately). Adolph B. Benson *Scandinavia in French Literature*, *American Scandinavian Review* for June, traces the ever increasing interest in Scandinavia and its history on the part of the French, beginning with the period of the Thirty Years War and ending with Victor Hugo's *Hans of Iceland*.

In the field of Norwegian literature Ibsen's early plays, *Cataline*, *Warriors Barrow* and *Olaf Liljekrans* have been translated by Anders Orbeck and published as volume 17 of the *Scandinavian Classics*. Ina T. Firkins has compiled a volume *Henrik Ibsen, a Bibliography of Criticism and Biography* with an index to characters for H. W. Wilson's series of

Practical Bibliographies. Julius E. Olson has discussed the symbolism of *Gerd, the Hawk and the Ice Church* in Ibsen's *Brand* (*Scand. Studies* for Feb.). A. L. Roy Andrews has suggested that Molbech's *Klintekongens Brud* may have influenced Ibsen in the writing of his *Fruen fra Havet* (*Scand. Studies* for May). Jonas Lie's *Family at Gilje*, a domestic story of the forties, has been translated by Samuel C. Eastman with an introduction by Julius E. Olson and published as vol. 19 of the *Scandinavian Classics*. Arne Garborg's *The Lost Father* has been translated by Mabel J. Leland and published by the *American Scandinavian Foundation*. This is the first attempt to introduce Garborg to American speaking audiences. Knut Hamsun's works continue to be popular. Three of his novels have been translated by W. W. Worster for Alfred Knopf: *Markens Grøde*, which was the indirect reason of his receiving the Nobel prize, under the title *Growth of the Soil*; *Pan*, with an introduction by Edwin Björkman, and *Dreamers*. Another of his novels *Ny Jord* has been done into English under the title *Shallow Soil* by Carl C. Hyllestad for the same publisher. Hanna A. Larsen has contributed an excellent article on the works of Hamsun to the *American Scandinavian Review* for July. The same author has written an article on *Recent Fiction in Norway* for the November number of the same periodical, treating of novels by Sigrid Undset, Hamsun, Bojer and others. Undset's novel *Jenny* has been translated by W. Emmi for Knopf. P. Selver has published a volume of *Poems of Sigbjörn Obstfelder* with the original and the English versions in parallel columns.

Among Swedish writers Strindberg continues to claim the principal attention. Axel J. Uppvall has made an excellent translation of Carl Gustaf Uddgren's life of Strindberg for the Four Seas Co. under the title *Strindberg, the Man*. Axel Brett in an article *Psychological Abnormalities in August Strindberg*, *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Philol.* for Jan., passes Strindberg's life in review, as shown in his autobiographical volumes and other works, in an attempt to account for the

author's eccentricities. In the Feb. number of the *Living Age* Edmund Gosse discusses the question of how far the madness of Strindberg should affect our appreciation of his writings; in the June number L. Maury writes on *Strindberg's Confession*: in the July number appears an account of the famous communistic society of Northern France *Famillière of Guise* translated from hitherto unpublished journals of Strindberg. Verner von Heidenstam's great prose epic *The Charles Men*, describing the campaigns of Charles XII and his soldiers has been done into English by Charles Wharton Stork as volumes 15 and 16 of the *Scandinavian Classics*. Gustaf af Geijerstam's gloomy novel *The Book about Little Brother* has been translated by Edwin Björkman and published as volume 18 of the *Scandinavian Classics*. Under the caption *The Modern Drama in Sweden* August Brunius in the *American Scandinavian Review* for Jan. has given a brief but interesting survey of the dramatic output in recent years. In the November number of the same review Johan Mortensen has contributed an article on *Books of the Year in Sweden*. In the field of Danish literature Martin A. Nexö's novel *Ditte, Daughter of Man* has been translated by A. G. Chater and Richard Thirsk for Holt and Co. Christian Rimestad has contributed an article on *Danish Literature* to the *American Scandinavian Review* for November.

In the Dutch field Lucius L. Hubbard has published a monograph on the *Story of Sjouke Gabbes*, a Dutch source for Robinson Crusoe (Wahr).

DANIEL B. SHUMWAY

I. MORE ABOUT CHAUCER'S WIFE OF BATH

I.

He who would enter upon anything like an adequate explanation of the remarkably complex and contradictory character of Chaucer's Wife of Bath must expect heavenly guidance and receive aid from the stars. Though one may not be quite prepared to accept entirely the pronouncement that she "is one of the most amazing characters . . . the brain of man has ever conceived,"¹ still she is so vividly feminine and human, so coarse and shameless in her disclosures of the marital relations with five husbands, and yet so imaginative and delicate in her story-telling, that one is fascinated against his will and beset with an irresistible impulse to analyze her dual personality with the view of locating, if possible, definite causes for the coexistence of more incongruent elements than are ordinarily found in living human beings. Some time ago when I proposed casting the horoscope of the Wife of Bath,² it was with the supposition that rules of natural astrology might be used exclusively in the interpretation of certain data, concerning planets and their influence, which Chaucer has furnished us; but it is not entirely so. In the full presentation of the Wife's "fortune"—her character, personal appearance, and the significance and location of mysterious "marks" about her body—constant reference must be made to what the mediæval mind believed to be truths found in the "science" of celestial physiognomy and perhaps of geomancy.

¹ G. L. Kittredge, *Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 189.

² 'Chaucer's Reeve and Miller,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXV, 207, Note 53. This is the second of a "series of studies advanced in support of the general thesis that Chaucer, in his choice of physical peculiarities that would fittingly correspond to the characters of his Canterbury Pilgrims, made use of, or at least was influenced by, the rules and regulations laid down in the universally popular physiognomies of his time." See also 'The Secret of Chaucer's Pardoner,' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XVIII, pp. 593 ff.

That startling revelation of a woman's experiences in love, the Wife of Bath's Prologue, reaches its climax, I suppose, at the point where Jankin, the unsophisticated clerk of twenty, is selected by Dame Alisoun, aged forty, to fill the recently vacated place and to take up the labors of her fourth husband who has just been packed off to the churchyard. She has wept a little for decency's sake, it will be remembered, and has worn the mourning veil for at least a month out of respect for custom; but her heart has never been in the grave of her husband. Even while following the bier, she tells us, she kept an appraising eye on the shape of Jankin's leg—she always had a "coltes tooth."

Gat-tothed I was, and that bicam me weel;
 I hadde the prente of sēynt Venus seel.
 As help me god, I was a lusty oon,
 And faire and riche, and yong, and wel bigoon . . .
 For certes, I am al Venerien
 In felinge, and myn herte is Marcien.
 Venus me yaf my lust, my likerousnesse,
 And Mars yaf me my sturdy hardinesse.
 Myn ascendent was Taur, and Mars thereinne.
 Allas! alas! that ever love was sinne!
 I folwed ay myn inclinacioun
 By vertu of my constellacioun;
 That made me I coude noght withdrawe
 My chambre of Venus from a good felawe.
 Yet have I Martes mark up-on my face,
 And also in another privee place.³

Now from this passage it appears that, to the mind of Chaucer, the cause of Dame Alisoun's peculiarly contradictory character lies not in herself but in her stars; she is in no way responsible. For at her birth the sign Taurus, one of the "houses" or "mansions"⁴ of Venus, is said to have been in

³ *The Oxford Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat, C. T., D, 600 ff. All further references to the text of Chaucer are to this edition.

⁴ Professor Skeat has already given sufficient explanation of the astrological terminology used by Chaucer: *vide* 'mansions,' *op. cit.*, I, 497; III, 348; 'face,' V, 372, 395; 'term,' V, 395. For his discussion of the conjunction of Venus and Mars in Taurus see his notes on 'The Compleynt of Mars,'

the ascendant over the horizon, hers being what the exponents of natural astrology would call "the horoscope in Taurus." Her dominant star or ruling planet is Venus—she speaks proudly of the wisdom taught her by the love-star (D, 575)—^{4a} which, being posited and at home in its own house Taurus, may be considered "well-dignified" or particularly beneficent in aspect toward the "native." Most unfortunately, however, the combined good influence of the ascendant sign and the dominant star is vitiated by the presence in conjunction of Mars, one of the most "malific" and evil of planets.⁵ Both Mars and Venus—and if one may put faith in astrologers, the sign Taurus—have left their "marks" upon her body as well as upon her character. With one eye upon this constellation and with the other on the mediæval astrological and physiognomical lore, which must have been familiar to Chaucer,⁶ let us read and interpret the Wife of Bath's horoscope.

II.

Mediæval astrologers are exceedingly careful in setting up and in drawing figures of the heavens representing horoscopes in all the various signs of the zodiac. Ioannes Taisnier finds

II, 468; III, 249. See also J. W. Manly, 'On the Date and Interpretation of Chaucer's Complaint of Mars,' *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, V, 107 ff. The other house of Venus is Libra.

^{4a} That Venus is the dominant star in this nativity is suggested by the power which she wields over the native and by the fact that she is further referred to as 'my dame.' And that Venus is situated also in the ascendant sign Taurus—and is therefore in conjunction with Mars—seems certain, because the good Wife has the 'prente of sēynt Venus seel' upon her person; Venus in any other than the ascendant sign would be powerless to leave a mark. See the authorities cited in Note 25.

⁵ For the evil influence of Mars, see Skeat, *op. cit.*, V, 80-2, 149; III, 348. Mars's companion in evil is Saturn, Skeat, III, 349; V, 88, etc.

⁶ Chaucer's immense knowledge of astrology has been pointed out by many scholars: Skeat's notes on 'The Astrolabe'; T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 395 ff.; Florence M. Grimm, 'Astrological Lore in Chaucer,' *Univ. Neb. Stud. in Lang. and Lit.*, No. 2, 1919; A. E. Brae's Introduction to his edition of *The Astrolabe*, etc.

that, when Taurus is just rising *in oriente*, Aquarius is discovered *in medio coeli*, Scorpio *in occidente*, and Leo *in imo coeli*, and shows what particular influence each sign in this position exerts upon the native:

Horoscopus si fuerit in Tauro, ratiocinandum erit in hunc modum, videlicet fore eum hominem laboriosum, anxium, atque varijs disunctum curis in opibus acquirendis, facilem ad diuitias, & item procliuem ad easdem amittendas, triumphatorem de suis hostibus.

Hunc acceptum Principibus facit in medio coeli Aquarius, atque actibus praestituet & publicis officijs, fortasse etiam negotijs quae ex aquis sunt, quod aquae naturae videtur esse deditior.

Scorpius in occidente cordatum, officiosum, qui vxorem amittet, si masculus sit, sin autem mulier, quae marito & filio priuabitur.

Leo in imo coeli si fuerit, patrimonium vendicabit, quod, non obstantibus omnibus insidijs, et agnatorum conatibus consequentur.⁷

So far one may follow with some confidence the technical directions of natural astrology, but no farther; Chaucer has failed to give data concerning the exact positions of sun and moon, and has not indicated the exact hour of the day—whether morning, afternoon, or night—and the day of the year of the nativity in question, all of which is absolutely necessary. But writers on metoposcopy are not silent regarding the supposed influence of Taurus on women—and men—born under that sign. For example, Philippi Finella says:

Tauro veniente pro ascendente. Erunt valdè magni vultus mulieres, & frontis, cum rudi colore, facies carnosae cum magna in 3 topicis locis linearum copia, & in fronte praecipuè. Nemo ex Zodiaci signis tantas ducit, vt Taurus lineas, quando ascendentis fuerit Dominus, & signum dictum, quando ascendet; mulierem oculos terrentes habentem & capu(t) mouibile, magis à dextra quam à sinistra parte demonstrat. Capilli ad nigrum, & magnum

⁷ *Absolutissimae Chyromantiae Libri Octo*, In quibus quicquid ad chyromantiae, physiognomiae, & naturalis astrologiae perfectionem spectat, continetur, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1563, p. 496. A figure may be found facing the same page. Taisnier is following closely the work of Ioannes Indagine, *Introductiones apotelesmatice elegantes, in chyromantiam, physiognomiam, astrologiam naturalem*, etc., Lvgdvni, 1556, which see for a like figure and the same interpretation.

tendent; spatulae latae, simulque pectus erit; tardos ducet motus, tamen maxime fuerit labore praedita, & minimè odio illam habebit. Signo praedicto cum prima facie ascendente ducet mulierem libenter amoris dedicatam rebus, virum habebit maioris aetatis sua; in amoribus suis pluries crimine appocietur suorum parentum causa à signabilibus officietur infortunijs, & quia prima facies est in dominatione Mercurij; mulierem instabilem, & de repente volubilem nunciat nunc ad vnum, ad alterum nunc, & quia multum se praeualet in hac secunda facie Mercurius; neuum ei dabit sub nucula colli, versus spatulas declinantem, hoc cum possidebit, felices possunt coniecturari aeuentus, si à dextra fuerit parte; verum si à sinistra, iustitiae causa multa possunt praedici pericula, etc. . . . Lineam Venerio, dum iu(n)ctam lineae Martis obserbabit . . . mulierem valdè virilem, sagacem & cum externo esse dandam in matrimonio indicat.⁸

A later writer concerning these matters assures us that "those born under Taurus are of a cold and dry constitution, inclined to melancholy; one that . . . loves pleasure; . . . once provoked, seldom reconciled; of short stature, but well set; short legs, big buttocks, a bull's neck, wide mouth, and black hair."⁹ And the most scholarly of the students of celestial physiognomy, Baptista Porta, reporting faithfully the opinions of Haly, Maternus, and Leopoldus, presents in a passage too long to quote, 'De Tauri formae constitutione, moribus, & physicis rationibus,'¹⁰ much the same conclusions as those cited above.

⁸ Philippi Finella, *De metroposcopia*, Antverpiae, 1648, p. 134. I cannot resist the temptation to give a part of the influence which Taurus exerts upon men: "Cum in ascende(n)te homo signum Tauri possidebit, caput magis rotundum quam longum; eius frons ad magnitudinem potius quam ad paruitatem inclinabit . . . Nasus aliquantulum latus apertis cum nariebus valdequè latae vt plurimum eius capilli erunt nigri, aut ad nigrum vergent; . . . bonus erit loquutor in loquendo, & talis erit, minimè non claras reliquens rationes, erit animosus; magis mendacium, quam veritatem celebrabit; superbus, luxuriosus, narratorque fuerit. Illi, ad quos Tauri ascendit signum, valdè loquaces homines sunt, & eorum opinionibus valdè sunt dediti," *ibid.*, p. 134. Ordinarily the predictions made concerning men may be applied with equal truth to women.

⁹ Erra Pater (*pseud.*), *The Book of Knowledge*, Boston, 17, p. 14.

¹⁰ Ioannes Baptista Porta, *Coelestis physiognomoniae libri sex*, Neapoli, 1603, p. 116. (Compare also Battista della Porta, *Della Celeste Fisonomia*, Padoua, 1627.)

Still fuller and far more detailed are the prognostications which may be made with certainty regarding the physical form and the disposition of those so fortunate as to be born when Venus, posited in either of her two houses, Taurus and Libra, is the ruling star in a nativity. Unfortunately I have not had access to the works of astrologers who lived and wrote before the time of Chaucer, but Baptista Porta quotes, apparently with painstaking accuracy, the opinions of Haly and others whom the English poet may have been acquainted with. In a passage headed 'De Veneris forma ad Astrologis descripta,' Porta says:

Maternus: Venus geniturae domina si fuerit effecta, dat corpus longum, candidum, oculos gratos, venustatis splendore fulgentes, spissos capillos, aut moliter flexos, aut gradata pulchritudinis venustate componit, aut crispis crinium facit. . . . Hali: Venus similis Ioui, nisi quod ex peculiari quodam beneficio ei contingit esse formosiores, ac maioris venustatis, melioris conceptionis, & pulchrioris formae, quoniam formositatem significat conuenientem formositati mulierum, et est magis mansuetus, & corporis blandioris, & proprie oculi eius sunt inter Zarchum & nigrum, & pulchrum. Aliqui dicunt, quoniam aliquantulum bazus cum rubidine mixtus, debilis, pulchri aspectus, nigredo oculorum suorum maior albedine, subtilium superciliorum, ac iunctorum, & subtilium labrorum, multae carnis in facie, angusti pectoris breuium costarum, crassorum crurium, blandi aspectus, & saporosi, pulchrae faciei. . . . Messahala dicit: Hominem album declinantem ad aliquam nigredinem, & ex inde quorum nigredo aliquid maior, quam in aliis reperitur, tamen decens pulchros capillos, faciem rotundam, non tamen magnam, neque maxillas. Dorotheus dicit, hominem facere pulchram faciem habentem, pulchros oculos, quorum nigredo erit plusqua, apparens, pulchros capillos & multos, crassiem, album & rubore infectum. Abdila dicit: Venus pulchros facit capillos, pulchra supercillia, in eundo se nulliter gerit, aut aliquid agendo, mediocris staturae.¹¹

¹¹ *op. cit.*, p. 61. To this imposing array of ancient opinion may be added Finella, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Taisnier, *op. cit.*, p. 493; *Les Oeuvres de M. Jean Belot*, Lyon, 1654, p. 235; Rosa Baughan, *The Influence of the Stars*, London, 1889, p. 26; William Lilly, *Christian Astrology, modestly Treated of in three Books*, London, 1659, pp. 85, 265; Jean de Indagine, *Chiromance & Physiognomie* (trans. Antoine de Moulin Masconnois), Lyon, 1549, p. 279; Ioannes Fredericus Helvetius, *Amphitheatrum physiognomiae medicum*, Heydelbergi, 1660, p. 79, and the same author's *Microscopium physiognomiae medicum* Amstelodami, 1676, pp. 87-91—all of whom are in more or less amplified agreement with Porta and his authorities.

Nor does the same author leave us in doubt as to the exact disposition and character of the person born when Venus reigns well-dignified and undisturbed by evil influences in the ascendant sign, Taurus. In the section called 'Mores, quos Venus largiatur' he continues:

De Veneris moribus loquens Hali dicit: Quando Venus fuerit significatrix spiritus nati, seperatim & per se, & fuerit in bono statu, procreat natum quietum, mansuetum, bonum, minime vitiosum, lympidum, bonarum cogitationum, is amat saltare, & est magnus Zelotypus, rixas abhorret, amator magis, teriorum, subtilium operum, bonae formae, bonorum signorum, veridicorum & bonorum somniorum, facit se diligi ab hominibus, factor boni, pius, bene dat, & bene accipit, foelix, et communiter maior pars suae voluntatis erit in causis mulierum. Maternus: Venus facit homines delectabiles, laetos, assiduo luxui vacantes, amabiles, gratos, venustos, amatores, libidinosos, iustos, pios, apus quos integra & incorrupta amicitiae vicissitudo permaneat, potu multo gaudentes, ac paruum cibum sumentes; omnes cibos facile digerunt, qui semper venereos coitus, et crebo cupiditates ardore desiderant, in omni vita nobiles, & mundi, et quorum vita, animus et institutum musicis semper delectationibus inhaerescant. Tum balnea, suci, odorataque opobalsama, gratia, iocus, camenae, in chorumque locupletatus applausus. . . . Significat etiam conuiuia, ientationes, dulciaque tragemata, siue bellaria, et quicquid sapore dulce, ac volupe est. . . . Cantores & lepidos facit, omnes amicos habent . . . pietatis, & misericordiae studiosissimi viuentes ociosè, & delicatè, delectabitur muliebribus ornamentis vtetur ornamento sui corporis pulchris indumentis, & mundis. . . . Erit homo ludi, risus alachritatis & gaudii, libenter delectabitur societatibus, comestionibus, et potationibus confidens aliis, & saepe deceptus. Erit largus, & supit audire sonos, erit suavis moribus, bonus auricus . . . beneuolus, dulcia & mollia effudit verba, dulcissima habet eloquia. . . . Corporis & sui vultus studiosissimus, pulchris figuris delectabitur, & odori-bus, facile ad fletum pronus, ob id et misericors.¹²

To this significant passage may be added a pertinent excerpt from the four full pages which Helvetius presents upon the same subject:

Libenter peregrinantur, ut nationum exoticarum fruantur favore; vestes amant mundas & ornamenta albi, caerulei, nigri etiam coloris aut opere

¹² *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65. Compare also like accounts by Helvetius, *Amphith. physiog. med.*, p. 79; Taisnier, *op. cit.*, p. 493; Lilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 265; Baughn, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 55; and Finella, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 36.

Phrygis parata ex auro, argento & gemmis ad cultum corporis, profacultatum suarum ratione; . . . in amoris tamen exercitatione saepius excedit modum, & ad exhibendum in occulto officia promptissima sunt admodum fervidi atque flagrantis. . . . In conjugio admodum est variabilis & praecepue quando non lautè sustentatur, & sanè saepius in delectatione felicior esset, si tot dies valedictionis seu divortii darentur quot in amore percepto numeravit. Nam sua accepta suavi perficit amoris actiones simulque Amphiboliis utitur jocisis, ad animos amantium ad redamandum subtili callidate fascinandos.¹³

And still further items may be gleaned from Indagine's account of the influence of Venus when she dominates in the roots of nativities of phlegmatic¹⁴ natures:

Venus fait l'homme folle, & rageux, inconstant, ioyeux, paillard, beau, aymant & craignant Dieu, iuste; . . . il sera grand beueur, musicien, ioueur dinstruments & chantre. Et aymera les arts qui font manuelement, comme peinture & autres choses qui sont faites proprement & sans ordure.¹⁵

I have ventured to give at considerable length these prognostications regarding the influence of Venus in Taurus, because in any correct interpretation of Chaucer's Wife of Bath it is necessary that one realize what she might have been. Such a fascinating personal appearance and attractive disposition might have been assured her at birth¹⁶

¹³ Ioannes Fredericus Helvetius, *Microscop. physiog. med.*, pp. 91-95. The quotation is taken from p. 95.

¹⁴ It is a well-known astrological fact that Venus is found only in roots of nativities of phlegmatic natures: "Pour Venus elle ne se trouve qu'en la natiuité des Flegmatique . . . la fille née en cette constellation garde peu son pucelage, s'il se rencontre qu'elle soit camuse, ce qui est le plus souuent," *Les Oeuvres de M. Jean Belot*, p. 235. The Wife of Bath is, therefore, of a phlegmatic nature.

¹⁵ Jean de Indagine, *op. cit.* (trans. Antoine de Moulin Masconnois), p. 279.

¹⁶ It may be of interest to observe how the above conclusions are confirmed and strengthened by reference to the principles of geomancy. Skeat has already explained how fortunes may be determined by the use of geomantic methods (*op. cit.*, V, 82-83; *The Academy*, March 2, 1889; cf. *The Saturday Review*, Feb. 16, 1889; it is necessary here only to point out that the figure which he calls Puella (p. 83) and to which he assigns—quite errone-

had not fate—or perhaps her creator—decreed that she should sink in the scale by virtue of the malignant influence of the war-planet, Mars, at that time in conjunction with Venus. At the conclusion of a long discussion of the beauty and charm of one born under the dominion of Venus, Indagine says: “Si Mars entre dedens occultement, il change lesdites choses en cauteles, paroles vaines & menteries, & aux choses qui sont de sa nature.”¹⁷ Let us consider, therefore, the power and nature of Mars.

All the writers on these occult matters, whom I have consulted, agree with convincing unanimity that Mars, either in his own houses or in those of the other planets, is a powerful worker of evil. Finella remarks ‘De Martis horae dominio’:

Quando Mars primae praefecerit horae, & si Taurus Ascendens interbitauerit, nimiae natum lasciuiae, & incestuositatis infamia flagrantam palescet, siquidem cui mulieri nubet, prius cognouerit, quam plura ex falsitate cum damna, tum proditones degustabit, & haec vt plurimum propter mulieres;¹⁸

ously—the zodiacal sign Libra, is the geomantic “figure” of the Wife of Bath and corresponds to the sign Taurus. (The other figure of Venus is *Amissa*, corresponding to the sign Libra, her other house). The following interpretation is given by M. Belot: “Alors qu’il se recontre *Puella* ou *Amissio*, qui sont les deux maisons de Venus, l’une representent Taurus, & l’autre (Libra) au sort des points, ils nous representent l’homme ou la femme Venerienne; s’ils sont nés, ou s’il se recontre *Puella* ou Taurus en leur ascendant, ils sont d’une couleur pure, & le corps massif, nitide, beau, pur, net & sans macule, les levres grosses, eminentes, particulièrement la supérieure; ils sont d’une stature petite; ils ont la face belle, les cheveux longs, non crespus, blandides, les yeux grands,” *op. cit.*, p. 249. Le Sievre de Pervchio also remarks: “La fille (i. e. *Puella*) exterieurement, promet du bien, de la ioy, du profit, & de l’honneur; ce n’est pas que la personne soit exempte de luxure, d’inceste, ny de scandale, car même elle sera sujette aux querelles, & à faire des ennemis. Mais elle se plaie d’ailleurs aux saveurs douces, aux odeurs fâcheuses, aux jardins, aux bastimens curieux & portiques . . . Ses louables moeurs luy promettent bonne fortune; telle personne estant officieuse, oaisible, plaisante; rusée, pourtant auare, & même cruelle & impudique,” *La Chiromance, la Physionomie, et la Geomance*, Paris, 1657. p. 228 (cf. also p. 241).

¹⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 279.

¹⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 233.

Porta in his discussion of Mars in the various zodiacal signs quotes Haly¹⁹ and Maternus as follows:

Hali. Mars in tertia facie Tauri, est formae mirabiliter turpis, abhominabilis vultus, iocatores diligit, hilaritates, cantiones & citio. Maternus. Si Mars in Tauro fuerit inuentus, erit homo turpissimi, foedissimique aspectus, iocisque, ioculationibus continue deditus, etiam edax, temerarius . . . hacque de causa infoelicitate plurima defaticabitur;²⁰

and Taisnier, adding further harrowing details, is in substantial agreement:

Cum Mars fuerit . . . in domo Veneris . . . erit natus luxuriosus, fornicator, perpetrans scelus cum vxoribus consanguineorum suorum, vel cum suis consanguineis, vel desponsabit mulierem, cum qua antea moechatus est, & patietur detrimentum á mulieribus. . . . Si vero in Taurus extiterit, significat omnem luxuriam & malitiam coniunctam.²¹

Still, one is delighted to learn that the case of phlegmatic natures is not so desperate as that of the melancholic and the coleric:

Mars est mal situé en la natiuité dun flegmatique; il fait lhomme roussatre, ou iaunatre, de petite & soudaine nature, fort, auentureux, grand babillard & menteur. Et nest laspect de Planette quelconque que ce soit, se doux & valable, que sil ha vne fois le dommaine de lenfant né, il ne iette & exerce toute sa malice sur luy. Il brusle les cheueux au sommet de la teste, & fait la face large, & engrossit le chef; il fait aussi lhomme cruel, & regardant de trauers, fort courageux, & hardy, alaigre & bien delibere; soudain, annuyeux, & facile a se courroucer, grand babillard, vanteur & glorieux, traytre, fier & arrogant, . . . controuueur de noises, pilleur, batteur de gens, tuer de ses pere & mere, digne destre battu, & secret annuieux de ses amis. Neantmoins il fait toutes les choses susdites plus doucement en la nature flegmatique qu'en celle du melancolique, ou colerique; & ce pour cause que lhumeur flegmatique escume & reproidit la chaleur.²²

¹⁹ Since this article was written I have been able to verify these quotations from Haly. See Albohazen Haly, filii Abenragel *Libri de iudiciis astrorum*, Basileae, 1551, pp. 12, 170 (Mars), p. 165 (Venus). This is Ali ibn Abi Al-Rajjan an Arabian physician and astrologer of the eleventh century. Porta's citations are correct. He has also been faithful in his copying from Maternus; see Firmicus (Iulius) Maternus, *De nativitatibus*, Venetiis, 1497, sigs. d₁, f₆.

²⁰ *op. cit.*, p. 147. Cf. also Helvetius, *Amphith. physiog. med.*, pp. 71-87.

²¹ *op. cit.*, p. 615. Cf. also Helvetius, *Microscop. physiog. med.*, p. 45.

²² Jean de Indagine, *op. cit.*, p. 278. Compare also the account of M. Belot (*op. cit.*, p. 233), which concludes with the remark that "cette nature est fort vicieuse."

Thus the influence of Mars, situated in Taurus or posited at all in the nativities of phlegmatic natures, is evil enough; but when he happens to be in conjunction with Venus the situation is, according to Guido Bonatus and Cardan, indeed deplorable:

(Aphorism) 14. He that has Mars in his ascendant shall be exposed to many dangers, and commonly at last receives a great scar in his Face (p. 9). When Mars is Lord of a Woman's Ascendant, and Venus is posited in it, or Venus is Lady of it, and Mars in it . . . 'tis more than probable she will Cuckold her Husband (p. 13). 69. When Venus shall be too powerful in a Geniture, and in places of the Infortunes (i. e. in conjunction with Mars, for example), inconveniences are to feared from unlawful Loves (p. 19). 95. If in a Woman's nativity Mars shall be under the Sun Beams, she will be apt to play the Harlot with her Servants and mean fellows; but if Venus be there, then she will trade discreetly with nobles and Gallants of Quality.²³

And William Lilly has it that "Mars with Venus denote the Wife full of spirit, movable, an ill House-wife, prodigall, and that the native is or will be an Adulterer."²⁴

Not all the astro-physiognomical material that may aid in the correct interpretation of the Wife of Bath's constellation has been presented, however, until some explanation has been offered of the mysterious 'prente of sēynt Venus seel,' located somewhere about her person, and of 'Martes mark' which is found upon her face and 'also in another privee place.' What is the nature of these 'marks,' and exactly where are they placed? It is a marvelous truth, we are told by the celestial physiognomists,²⁵ that every human being has printed upon

²³ Guido Bonatus, 'Choice Aphorismes of Cardan's Seven Segments,' in *Anima Astrologiae, or a Guide for Astrologers* (trans. William Lilly), London, 1683, pp. 9-33, *passim*.

²⁴ Christian Astrology, p. 595. Cf. also Baughan, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²⁵ This paragraph is a free translation of the exposition given by M. Belot (*op. cit.*, pp. 219-221) except that I have omitted his irrelevant illustration which takes up the Sun and certain other planets in conjunction in the sign Aries. For further discussion of natural marks and moles see Lilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 155; Le Sievre de Pervchio, *op. cit.*, p. 104; M. H. Cardan, *La Metoposcopia*, Paris, 1658, p. 220; Richrd Saunders, *Physiognomie and Chiromancie, Metoposcopia, Dreams, and the Art of Memory*, London, 2nd ed., 1671, Introduction to the section on Physiognomy; M. de Mirbel,

his body, at the hour of conception or perhaps at birth, the 'mark' of at least the ascendant sign and of the dominant star which are supposed to rule his fortunes. These marks are found in those parts of the body that are referred or 'attributed' to the various signs and planets; and whether they are placed before, behind, or to the right or left side depends upon the 'face'²⁶ of the sign just appearing above the horizon. If there should be another planet in conjunction, moreover, and if the Sun should be in the ascendant, then the native will have an additional set of marks on those parts of the body which correspond to these stars. Thus it comes about that a person may have four marks—each one of which may possibly be duplicated in another place. The mark of the ascendant sign, it must be observed, is always the highest, that of the Sun lower—if he happens to be rising—, that of the dominant star still lower, and that of the planet in conjunction lowest of all.

For example, the Wife of Bath's horoscope is in Taurus, but Chaucer has unfortunately neglected to inform us as to which face of the sign was in the ascendant at the time of her birth. We may locate, therefore, the mark of this sign somewhere on the neck, but whether it is on the throat, or on the side, or on the nape of the neck cannot be determined. M. Belot says in this connection:

Quand la personne est née au signe du Taurus il a la marque au col; si c'est á la premiere face, que les Arabes nomment *Adoldaya*, elle est en la gorge en forme d'une fraissette, ou une petite tasche rouge ou piste d'un pied de chat, celle lá est mauuaise. Si la personne est née en la seconde partie, qui est depuis dix iusques á vingt, la marque est á un des costez du col, ayant la forme cy-dessus; si c'est qu'il ne soit né en la troisième partie, la

Le Palais du Prince du Sommeil, ou est enseignée L'Oniromancie, Autrement L'Art de Devenir par les Songes, Lyon, 1670; and my article in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXV, pp. 204 ff.

²⁶ Each sign of the zodiac is divided, for astrological purposes, into three equal parts: from one to ten degrees is called the first face, from ten to twenty the second face, and from twenty to thirty, the third face. Cf. M. Belot, *op. cit.*, p. 221; Skeat, *op. cit.*, V, p. 395.

marque est derriere le col, mais elle est souuent en maniere d'une petite bulbe ou loupe. Au dessous de ces marques sur le bras senestre est celle du Soleil & celle de la planette dominante vers l'endroit qu'elle regit & gouverne.²⁷

Since there is no indication in Chaucer's text of the relation of the Sun to the Wife of Bath's constellation, one may safely conclude that she has escaped being branded on the left arm by that planet. But, as we have seen already, she is marked with the print of Venus's seal. If one may credit Le Sievre de Pervchio, "Venus . . . imprime a l'homme quand elle est en son ascendant, vne marque rouge sur le bras gauche; c'est vne espece de cicér, chargé d'une petit vermeil, qui le decore;"²⁸ or according to M. Belot, who differs slightly from the opinion of Pervchio, "Lorsque Venus domine, ces marques sont aux reins, testicules, cuisses, ou bien au col, á raison de Taurus sa premiere demeure qui regit cette partie; les formes de ces marques sont bulbes ou marques plattes, de couleur violette ou blanchastre, qui ne signifient que lasciuité."²⁹ On the whole, I am inclined to think that M. Belot is the more trustworthy authority and to accept his location of the mark of Venus, especially so since all of the astrologers and physiognomists agree in attributing the secret parts of the body to that planet. Nor is that all; the good Wife has Mars's mark somewhere in her face and—because, as I have shown elsewhere,³⁰ every mark

²⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 221. Cf. also Pervchio's additional information and interpretation: "La teste du Taureau constellation celeste, domine au milieu d'Auril; sa marque est imprimée au col, en forme d'une tache rouge, denotant la naissance en cette saison la. Elle represente l'homme courageau, honneste, & doté d'humeur loüable; il est pourtant colere & lascif, ayant bonne couleur, les cheveux longs . . . Le Coeur de Taureau preside a la fin d'Auril, imprimant sa marque au dessous du col . . . La queue du (Taureau) domine au commencement de May, auquel temps naissant ceux qui ont sa marque derriere le col," *op. cit.*, p. 110; and Baughan, "When Taurus is rising at a birth, the native bears a mark in the front of the throat; sometimes in the form of a raspberry or red-coloured mole, which mark is always ill in its effects," *op. cit.*, p. 184.

²⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 107.

²⁹ *op. cit.*, p. 225.

³⁰ *loc. cit. supra* (note 25).

or mole on the face is certainly reduplicated in the corresponding part of the body—also in another 'privee place.' M. Belot says:

Si c'est Mars estant dominateur, ces marques sont en ces parties du costé droit, & le plus communement en la tête aux parties deuant (i. e., in the face, though one cannot be sure as to the exact position), ou bien (he might have said "*et bien aussi*") au petit ventre, proche les parties honteuses, ou aux aisnes. Ces marques sont rouges ou purpurées, le plus souuent grandes comme roses, ou gouttes de vin, ou comme verruées, en couleur comme fraisettes, ou cerises.³¹

It should be quite apparent by this time that Chaucer, the artist, considered it necessary only to make suggestions, in connection with the constellation in question, concerning certain planetary marks, being confident that his educated and cultured—from the mediæval point of view—hearers or readers would instantly understand their exact nature, color, shape, size, and location.

III.

Chaucer's Wife of Bath is not merely a "typical woman of the middle class"³² or a type representing the mediæval shrew, as some have supposed, nor is she entirely created out of scraps and fragments from *La Vieille* and *Le Jaloux*,³³ two figures found in *Le Roman de la Rose*; she is, I believe, the living embodiment, both in form and in character, of a conflict in astral influence. That she herself is aware—and makes capital—of this conflict started within her

³¹ *op. cit.*, p. 223. Cf. in addition Le Sievre de Pervchio: "Sa marque est en forme de verruë au petit ventre, aux parties honteuses, & sur les reins," *op. cit.*, p. 106.

³² R. K. Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 231. Cf. Ten Brink, *History of English Literature* (trans. Robinson), II, p. 126.

³³ W. E. Mead, 'The Prologue of the Wife of Bath's Tale,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVI, 388 ff. It must not be supposed that my theory is presented in opposition to, or with any idea of supplanting, these illuminating studies. One needs to consider all of these influences, traditional, literary, and astrological—together with others if they may be discovered—in interpreting fully the Wife of Bath's complex character.

nature at birth is suggested by her somewhat pitiful lamentation:

For certes, I am al Venerien
 In feline, and myn herte is Marcien.
 Venus me yaf my lust, my likerousnesse,
 And Mars yaf me my sturdy hardinesse . . .
 I folwed ay myn inclinacioun
 By vertu of my constellacioun.

Instead of having the naturally beautiful and well-proportioned figure—stately and tall, plump but not stout, graceful, with white skin touched delicately to pink—which should have been hers under the free, beneficent influence of Venus, she is endowed by Mars with a stockily-built, ungraceful form of medium height. That strength which should have accompanied the grace and beauty of body has been distorted into a somewhat repulsive fecund energy. Her hips are large.³⁴ In place of the attractive face—round but not too large, with finely chiseled features, resplendent black eyes and delicately arched eyebrows, and with a lovely peach-bloom complexion set off by thick, curling hair of a dark shade—which Venus might have given, she has inflicted upon her by the malignancy of Mars a heavy, fat face characterized perhaps by coarse features and certainly by a suspiciously red or florid complexion.³⁵ Her voice, which should

³⁴ Skeat, *C. T.*, A, 472. The physiognomists are agreed in the significance of large hips. M. Angellus Blondus says, "Verum coxae carnosae, fortis, audentis, atque superbi animi testimonium. . . . Ac protensa coxendicorum ossa, uirilitalis signum ni mollis caro contingit," *De cognitione hominis per aspectum*, Romae, 1544, p. XV; Rudolphus Goclenius agrees: "Coxarum ossa duriter eminentia, & exterius apparentia, virilitatem monstrant," *Physiognomica et chiromantica specialia*, Hamburgi, 1661, p. 93. Cf. Porta, *De humana physiognomonia*, Hanoviae, p. 249; Rases and others in *Scriptores physiognomonici*, ed. R. Foerster, II, pp. 172, 217, etc.

³⁵ 'Bold was hir face, and fair, and reed of hewe,' says Chaucer (*C. T.*, A, 458), which indicates, as I have already shown (*P. M. L. A.*, XXV, p. 197), that the man or woman is immodest, loquacious, and given to drunkenness. Cf. Goclenius, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Indagine, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 197, etc. Let no such woman be trusted!

have been sweet, low, and well-modulated, is harsh, strident, and raised continually, as one might expect, in vulgar jest and indelicate banter.³⁶ And the Love-star might have given her small, sharp teeth, white as alabaster and evenly set in gums like coral;³⁷ Mars is responsible for the long, spike-like teeth, set far apart with gaps between, which she possesses. Unfortunately the good Wife is 'gat-tothed.'³⁸

³⁶ C. T., A, 474ff. The Wife's voluptuous and luxurious nature is especially betrayed by her voice. Porta says, "Asperae vocis viros luxuriosos iudicarem, & ad hircos referrem, qui luxuriosi & asperae vocis sunt," and continues with the following explanation: "Vox ceruis maribus tempus coeundi est, rauescere tunc ficticia voce dicitur. . . ; cum libidinantur mares, feminas ad coitum vocant, siue elato capite gutture plena, siue ad terram demisso. Raucentes tunc ololygonas vocantur," *De humana physiog.*, p. 249. One has suspected for a long time that the Wife of Bath knows only too well how to 'laughe and carpe' in fellowship with the most dissolute rakes among the Pilgrims. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that her physical characteristics and her disposition correspond in a remarkable way with the 'Signa mulieris calidae & quae libenter coit' given by the physiognomists. Says Michael Scotus: "Signa autem calidae mulieris & quae libenter coit sunt ista: Iuuentus; completis annis duodecem; sit ad minus semel corrupta; mammas habens paruas; et illas conuenienter plenas & duras Cuius pili sunt grossi & asperi . . . ; audax in lingua; in luquendo vox subtilis & alta; in animo superba . . . ; boni coloris in facie; recta in hasta; . . . ebriosa . . . ; cantat libenter; circuit loca; & delectatur . . . ornatibus suis, si ea potest habere," etc., *Liber physiognomiae et procreationis*, Venezia, 1477, cap. III. Cf. also Marc Vulson, *Traité de la Physiognomie*, Paris, 1660, p. 12; Lilly, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

³⁷ Helvetius has it: "Dentes sunt exiles, acuminati, alabastro aemuli albo, arcté juxta se invicem dispositi in pulchra, sana, corallina-rubra gingiva; duo tamen incisores superiores aliquantum sunt lati & prae aliis elati," *Microscop. physiog. med.*, p. 89.

³⁸ C. T., A, 468; D, 603. I have accepted, it will be observed, Skeat's rendering (*op. cit.*, V, 44) of the phrase 'gat-tothed,' *gap-toothed*, rather than that of other commentators, namely, *goat-toothed*, i. e., lascivious, though Skeat's interpretation (*loc. cit.*) is more interesting than convincing. As to the physiognomical interpretation of 'gap-toothed,' there seems to be a division of opinion. Porta is somewhat exercised over the fact that his authorities associate rare—i. e., far apart—teeth with a weak body and a short life, especially so since he finds that many men with rare teeth, Augustus Cæsar for example, have lived to be over seventy years of age and in good health (*op. cit.*, p. 224). He finally comes to the conclusion, however, that

Not less remarkable than this distortion of the Wife of Bath's body is the warping of her character which results from the Venus-Mars conjunction in Taurus. One may still find traces everywhere of the Venerean disposition—never essentially evil or vulgar, but *inclining* sometimes to be so—intensified or turned awry and metamorphosed by Martian influence into a caricature—or even into something quite the contrary—of what might have been. The children of Venus, as we have already seen, are naturally of a happy, joyous disposition, amiable and therefore charming and universally attractive, delighting in the dance and in all forms of innocent amusement, but with all that characterized by a gentleness, a refinement, and by a calm dignity which results in an intense hatred of brawls and strife of any description. They are religious by nature, just in their dealings with men, leaders of noble lives, and—this is most important—of an artistic temperament which expresses itself in an appreciation of song and instrumental music, in a love for delicate and pleasant odors, and which revels in the

earlier writers probably had reference to *small, slender, short* teeth set far apart; in the case of *strong, long, sharp* teeth similarly placed, one must give a different interpretation. Now if the Wife of Bath had been born under the influence of Venus alone with teeth *exiles, acuminati* (note 37) and far apart, one might have offered the following explanation: "Dentes parui & debiles in opere, & rari & curti, significant hominem debilem, boni ingenij, tenerae capacitatis, mansuetum, legalem, fidelem, secretum, timidum, vitae brevis, & ad vtrique conuenientem," Taisnier, *op. cit.*, p. 466. Cf. also Scotus, *op. cit.*, cap. LXVIII; Indagine, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Le Sievre de Pervchio, *op. cit.* p. 152; and Bartholomaeus Cocles, *Physiognomiae et chironomantiae compendium*, Argentorati, 1533, cap. XV. But since she has come under the strengthening influence of Mars, one may safely accept the following interpretation of 'gat-tothed': "Cuius dentes acuti, longi, rari, & fortes in opere, significant hominem inuidum, impium, gulosum, audacem, falsum, infidelem, & suspisiosum" (Porta, *op. cit.*, p. 225), or perhaps this: "Cuius dentes sunt grossi, & lati, siue declinent foris, siue intus, siue sint rari, siue spissi, significant hominem uanum, lasciuum, grossi nutrimenti, cito credentem, simplicem, fallacem, & mendacem," Cocles, *op. cit.*, cap. XV. Cf. Scotus, *op. cit.*, cap. LXVIII; Taisnier, *op. cit.*, p. 466; Porta, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

colors of elegant wearing apparel and in precious jewels. Being tender-hearted, bountiful and benevolent, they are particularly happy in their social intercourse with people of culture and with those who have a taste for the artistic. Endowed with the warmest and most affectionate hearts, they are lightly prone to violent *amours* with the opposite sex, though it must be observed that their amatory relations need not of necessity lead to vice; they may be pleasure-loving and even voluptuous by inclination without being sensual or lustful, passionate without being touched by wantonness, and full of a consuming—and perhaps entirely human—desire without a trace of licentiousness. Their nature demands that variety of scene and the spice of exotic life which comes only through travel in foreign countries and through the association with peoples of unlike customs and manners.

Such a woman the cloth-maker of Bath might have been. But how different! The natural cheerfulness of her disposition resolves itself into a sort of crude and clamorous hilarity, an overflow of superabundant animal spirits, which makes of her a *bonne vivante* and a fitting companion for such tavern revelers as the Pardoner and her fourth husband. Her religious instinct has been debased to the extent that she goes to vigils and to preaching for the sole purpose of showing her finery and arousing the envy of less fortunate women as she parades first to the offering, or that she attends miracle plays and follows the routes taken by devout pilgrims to the shrines of saints in order that she may satisfy an idle curiosity or perhaps find another lusty husband. The artistic temperament which should have been hers has been cheapened and coarsened by the influence of the War-star, so that she flashily decks herself out in gaudy colors—in scarlet dresses and hose, to say nothing of brand new shoes and silver spurs—and adorns herself with coverchiefs weighing ten pounds surmounted by a hat as large as a buckler. Even this strikingly overdressed woman shows a certain feeling, all the more pitiful because it is uncultivated

or perverted, for the beautiful; she is at least delightfully neat and trim for her time. But worst of all, Mars has played havoc with the luxurious impulses—the 'likerousnesse'—which come from her mistress, Venus; she has always had a 'coltes tooth.' In the Prologue to her tale she appears little more than a healthy and frank female animal—human, to be sure, but for all that the more repulsive—whose dominating idea is the glorification of fleshly lust and the gratification of physical desire. Mars has given her a 'sturdy hardinesse' and a body so full of 'ragerye' that even at the age of forty she is still 'faire and yong and wel bigoon.' She has married five husbands at the church door—besides other 'compayne in youthe'!—, has enjoyed them with varying degrees of animal pleasurable, and has laid them to rest after their marital labors were ended. Welcome the sixth; eight would be all too few. With the most brazen and shameless lack of modesty she reveals her experiences abed omitting neither the feigned appetite, which secures for her whatever funds she needs for the decking of her person, nor the disgusting love-making—an excellent example of misdirected tenderness—with which she wins the services of her three old husbands. She is not so much a restless wanderer as a gadder about in search of excitement—until her fifth husband puts a stop to her going and her gossiping for a season. And it is Mars who impels her to gain at all costs the dominating power over her husbands and who makes of her a wrangler, a chider, and a striker of blows until she attains her purpose. Truly, whatever one may say of Venus' influence is turned into the opposite when Mars is discovered in conjunction. So the Wife of Bath appears in the Prologue to her tale: a fair Venerean figure and character imposed upon and oppressed, distorted and warped, by the power of Mars.

No one must suppose, however, that this worthy woman is entirely depraved; after the worst has been said, she still has Venus for her mistress. Everybody knows that, even in the Prologue to her tale, she is pursued by the melancholy conviction that the type of life she has led is not the best

possible; her laughing and carping—and perhaps her coarseness is in part but a mask to hide the bitterness which has been forced upon her by an unholy constellation. She knows better, at least, and still has the grace to cry,

Allas! allas! that ever love was sinne.

Consequently there need be no occasion for surprise when we come to her tale to find that her creator, not only a genius but the most sympathetic of men, should have lifted the veil for a moment from the secret places of her nature and should have permitted her to tell a story of the most delicate beauty and grace. It is an artistically woven tale of faery,³⁹ centering, to be sure, about the Wife's original contention that women should have dominion over their husbands but none the less imaginative and free from the slightest touch of vulgarity, and containing a long and nobly expressed sermon on the nature of what constitutes true 'gentillesse' of heart and life. So excellent a critic as Ten Brink, not understanding the artistic side of her character and finding therefore something dramatically inappropriate in such sentiments from the lips of a clothweaver, is moved to say: "The thoroughly sound moral of the long sermon given by the wise old woman, before her metamorphosis, to her young, unwilling husband, comes more from the heart of the poet than from the Wife of Bath."⁴⁰ But it is not so; both the story and the sermon may be considered as highly characteristic of the unfortunate teller.

Professor Root gives, with a remarkably keen and sympathetic insight into the complexities of the character under discussion, a more or less correct description of—though not the "key" to—the whole contradictory situation. "I conceive of the Wife of Bath," says he, "as endowed originally with strong passions and vivid imagination, with what we are wont to call the poetic temperament. Had she been born in

³⁹ For a discriminating appreciation of this story *vide* Lounsbury, *op. cit.*, III, 418; Root, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁴⁰ *op. cit.*, II, 163.

a palace, she might have become your typical heroine of romance, her inevitable lapses from virtue gilded over with the romantic adornments of moonlight serenades and secret trysts. But born heiress to a weaver's bench, there was no chance for her poetic imaginativeness to develop. Laughed at by others for her fine-spun fancies, she would certainly grow ashamed of them herself. I can believe that her excessive coarseness of speech was originally an affectation assumed to conceal the natural fineness of her nature, an affectation which easily became a second nature to her. Her strong passions demanded expression; and denied a more poetical gratification, and quite unrestrained by moral character, they expressed themselves in coarse vulgarity. It is only when called upon to tell a story, to leave the practical every-day world, in which she is forced to live, for the other world of fantasy, that the original imaginativeness of her nature finds opportunity to reveal itself."⁴¹ Precisely! The key to her character, however, lies in the fact, as I have already indicated, that the fineness and delicacy which finds expression in the story is but the resurging, as it were, of the artistic Venerean impulse, an outcropping of the poetic temperament which somehow has been kept, subconsciously no doubt, pure and untainted from the blasting and warping influence of Mars. Or perhaps she has faithfully guarded as a kind of sacred possession this love of the beautiful, which no one about her could understand; perhaps in moments of world-weariness she sought this fairy realm of the imagination given to her by her mistress, and found refuge for a time from the coarseness inflicted upon her by the War-star. The unsatisfied yearning for that gentility and nobility of character which might and should have been hers, but for the power of an evil planet, is pathetic; the struggle which has kept unmarred a bit of her original nature in the midst of sordid conditions of life and in the face of adverse circumstances is

⁴¹ *op. cit.*, p. 239.

heroic. The poet may, after all, have considered her his most tragic figure because—as is certainly the case—she is the most nearly completely human.

In conclusion, it must be observed that if the material presented in this study comes anywhere near establishing the thesis contended for, then an entirely new light has been thrown upon Chaucer's manner of constructing character and upon his method of artistic workmanship. Critics have pointed out that in creating many of his figures he borrowed freely whatever material he needed from other writers, or that occasionally he drew his characters according to prevailing literary fashions or perhaps to represent common social types. This is undoubtedly true in some instances. But one must remember that Chaucer was probably a close observer of human nature himself, an original thinker, a creator, a *scop*, so to speak. He was, moreover, well versed in the philosophy and especially in the sciences of his day: he knew medicine⁴² with no small degree of accuracy; metoposcopy, geomancy and both natural and celestial physiognomy were familiar to him; and he was steeped in what passed for astronomy and in natural astrology. Being continually exercised over the problem of foreordination and apparently believing to some extent in the influence of the stars upon the affairs of men, he has, in the case of the Wife of Bath, assumed the prerogatives and the responsibilities of a creator, setting up carefully a horoscope, producing a human being to be ruled by it, and amusing himself—perhaps like some other Creator—with the inevitable actions and emotions of his living creature. The result is the strikingly vital and complex personality of a woman both blessed and cursed by the stars.

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⁴² Cf. Lowes, *Modern Philology*, XI, p. 391; Emerson, *ibid.*, XVII, p. 287. In my next article I shall show that Chaucer's diagnosis of the Summoner's malady and the prescription which he suggests might be effective in the cure of it are, from the point of view of mediæval medical men, accurate and correct.

II. SOME NOTES ON THE PEARL

In spite of all that has been done to elucidate this beautiful poem, there still seems to be room to add some items in textual emendation and explanation. The pioneer work of Morris was excellent for its time, and is still to be reckoned with. Gollancz and Osgood have added much in their editions of the poem, and such commentators as Kölbing and Holthausen have made interesting suggestions. Nor must we neglect the critical studies of Fick and Knigge, Fischer and Schumacker. The comments of all of these and of others who have less fully considered the poem must be read and weighed by any who would understand this nameless poet, who at his best may be ranked with the great ones of the fourteenth century. His language, however, and sometimes his careless indication of sentence union and transition make the closest reading necessary.

To begin with, we have to do with an exceedingly bad copyist—for surely no one but a bad copyist could make so many errors of the most obvious sort. Take for example some of the many blunders in rime, notwithstanding the guidance of one, two, sometimes five rime-words in the stanza. An instance of the last sort is *synglure* for *synglere* in the first few lines. No less remarkable, to mention some of the most obvious, are such mistakes as *adubment* for *adubbement* (72); *pyse* for *pese* (229); *spyce* for *spece* (235); *uncortoyse* for *uncortayse* (303); *Poule* for *Paule* (457); *sez hit* for *sy3 hit* (698); *endeure* for *endure* (1082); *enpresse* for *enpryse* (1097); *swone* for *swowne* or *swounne* (1180). Equally obvious are other errors of the same sort within the line, as *cortayse* for *cortaysye* (469, 481), though this may represent a monophthonging of OF. *ie*; *hym* for *hem* (635, 715), and *hem* for *hym* (1196); *makelez*, (*makellez*) for *maskellez* (733, 757).

The copyist often repeats himself by writing letters and words a second time. The *Pearl* shows fewer repetitions than

the other poems in the same manuscript, perhaps because of the syllabically more stable line, but compare *ē ē* (538); *out out* (649); *þus þus* (673). The other poems contain many such examples, as for *Clannesse*: *poueuier* for *pouer* (127); *þe masse þe mase* (395), the latter perhaps a correction; *þat þat* (last crossed out) 324; *he he* (586); *wendeþ wendeþ* (777); *mevand mevande* (783); *counseyl counsayl* (1056), again perhaps a correction because *counsayl* is more common (Pl. 319; Cl. 683, 1201), but *counseyl* (Cl. 1056, 1619; Gaw. 557); *þe þe* (1405); *as as* (1619); *hatþ sende hatþ sende* (1722). For *Patience*: *þe þe* (194); *baþeþes* for *baþes* (211); *to to* (245). For *Gawain*: *werere* for *were* (58); *of of* (95); *as as* (182); *hazerer* for *hazer* (352); *verertueþ* for *vertueþ* (634); *þat þat* (1255, 1830); *beforere* for *before* (1693); *to to* (1712); *her her* (1919); *sellyly* for *selly* (1962); *ē ē* (2137); *þy þy* (2247); *he he* (2305); *hardilyly* for *hardily* (2390); *with wyth* (2426), possibly a correction.

Careless copying is especially likely in words or expressions somewhat alike. Thus stanzas 62 and 64 have *makelleþ* (733), *makeleþ* (757) for *maskelleþ*, although the latter is the catchword of the stanza. In line 200 the rime requires *ene* 'eyes,' but the copyist has chosen to write the form *yȝen* with which he was also familiar. The poet's use of two forms of *was*—*watz* (Pl. 45) for the form with final *z*, *wace* (Pl. 65) and *wasse* (Pl. 1108, 1111) for that with final *s*, probably explains the careless writing of *hatz* 'has' (Pl. 441) for the form with final *s*, which should have been written *hace* to rime with five words ending in *-ce*. Compare *mas* and *mace* (Gaw. 106, 1885). In Cl. 395 the similarity of *masse* and *mase* may account for the error of writing both words. Other striking examples under this head, so far as *Pearl* is concerned, may best be left for fuller discussion in their places.

It is not strange that a careless copyist should have made many blunders in relation to individual letters. Thus an intrusive vowel, usually *e* or *o*, less commonly *u* or *i*, occurs in many words. An *e* or *o* intrudes between a consonant

and a liquid or semi-vowel in *sembelaunt* (Pl. 1143; Gaw. 1843); *werbelande* (Gaw. 2004); *nobele* (Gaw. 1264); *bereste* for *breste* (Pl. 854); *dewyne* for *dwyne* (Pl. 11), *dowyne* (Pl. 326); *borozt* for *brozt* (Pl. 628); *selepe* for *slepe* (Pat. 186); *dowellez* (Gaw. 566, 1075); *dowelle* (Gaw. 1082); *dowelled* for *dwelled* (Cl. 376, 1196); *wyndowande* for *wyndwande* (Cl. 1048). An *e* or *o* between a consonant and vowel occurs in *endeure* for *endure* (Pl. 1082); *modey* for *mody* (Cl. 1303); *cout* for *cut* (Cl. 1104); *foul* for *ful* (Cl. 1458); *goude* for *god* 'good' (Cl. 1525), and similar forms occasionally in all the poems. An intrusive *i* is found in *Krystyin*, *fyin*, *enclyin* (Pl. 1202-6), *niyyt* (Gaw. 929), unless that which has been so read is part of a mis-copied *m* for *n*, as in other examples which will be cited later. A *u* intrudes in *coumforde* (Pl. 309) compared with *comfort(e)* in Pl. 55, 357; *guere* for *gere* (Cl. 1505); *four* for *for* (Cl. 756); *fourferde* for *forferde* (Cl. 560), *pour* for *for* (Cl. 1384).

Most of these might be mistakes of one copying by ear, but numerous cases seem to point to blunders of the eye only. Thus intrusive *l* in *lyttlel* (Cl. 233), *glolde* for *golde* (Cl. 1408), *cloler* for *coler* (Cl. 1744), *clolde* for *colde* (Pat. 152) may be anticipations of the following *l*. Intrusive *n* in *ins* for *is* (Pl. 309), and *inmonge* for *imonge* (Cl. 1485) are difficult to account for on any rational basis. But *is* for *is* (Cl. 1524), *if* for *if* (Pl. 1185, Cl. 692), *ilyche* for *ilyche* (Pl. 546), *inoghe* (Pl. 625, 636, 648), *inoze* (Pl. 624), *inogh* (Pl. 660, 661), *inome* (Pl. 703), *imonge3* (Cl. 278), and other similar forms may be errors of copying the breve for an accent which the MS. often shows over the *i* in similar situations. At least the implied *n* of these MS. words can not be justified historically, and can scarcely have existed in speech.

Confusion of similar letters is common. That between *n* and *u* or *v*, as between *c* and *t*, need scarcely be illustrated. But *f* and a long *s* are confused in *sor* for *for* (Pl. 700); *fo* for *so* (Cl. 1243, 1452, Gaw. 282, 718, 1304); *fyn* for *syn* (Pat. 35); *unfavere* for *unsavere* (Cl. 822); *luslych* for *lustlych* (Gaw. a583), and see *clesly* for *cheshly* below. Confusion of *b*, *h*, and *l* occur in *by* (= *hy*) with omitted breve for *hym* (Gaw.

1906); *clapel* for *chapel* (Gaw. 705); *clesly* for *cheffy* (Gaw. 850); *claplaynez* for *chaplaynez* (Gaw. 930); *schulde* for *schulde* (Gaw. 1286); *lorde* for *borde* (Cl. 467); *lere* for *here* (Pl. 210). More common is confusion between *m* and *n*. Thus *m* is written for *n* in *mezbor* or possibly *niezbor* for *nezbor* (Pl. 688); *withinme* for *withinne* (Cl. 312); *myzt* for *nyzt* (Pl. 630, Cl. 1779; *mon* for *non* (Pat. 348); *emdelez* for *endelez* (Gaw. 629); *mot* for *not* (Gaw. 1053 where it has been read *wot*, 2131); probably in *myz* for *nyz*[t] (Cl. 359). *N* appears for *m* in *hen* for *hem* (Pl. 532); *lonbe* for *lombe* (Pl. 861); *numnend* for *nummen* (Cl. 1291); *hyn* for *hym* (Gaw. 865); *nerci* for *merci* (Gaw. 1037); *tyne* for *tyme* (Gaw. 1810); *welcon* for *welcom* (Gaw. 2240). Besides, *nn* or four strokes in the MS. represent *m* in *conne* (Cl. 703); *nnry* for *myry* (Gaw. 1447); *nnorsel* for *morsel* (Gaw. 1690); perhaps *banne* for *bame* 'balm, comfort' (Cl. 620), and *tonne*=*tenne* for *teme* (Cl. 655). A *v* means *w* in *vayned* (Pl. 249); *vyf* (Pl. 772); *vyvez* for *wyvez* (Pl. 785); *veved* for *wewed* (Pl. 976); *hov* (Cl. 140, 915, 1110, 1150, 1154, 1159); *nov* (Cl. 921, 1015, 1111, 1305, 1505); *staved* (Cl. 352, 357); *trave* (Cl. 587). On the other hand, *w* means *v* in *awayed* (Pl. 710); *merwayle* (Pl. 1081); *colwarde* (Cl. 181); *weng* (Cl. 201); *awayled* (Cl. 408); *pewes* (Cl. 1142).

Vowel confusion is equally evident. Confusion of *a-o*, suggested by Morris in *laved* for *loved* (Cl. 1703) and *costez* for *castez* (Gaw. 1696), was later used by Bödtker (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXVII, 127) in emending *canacles* (Cl. 1461) to *covacles*. Similar confusion would also explain a considerable number of other forms not hitherto noted in this connection, as *uncortoyse* for *uncortayse* (Pl. 303); *Poule* for *Paule* (Pl. 457); *knew* for *know* (Pl. 541); *rawe* for *rowe* (Pl. 545), all in rime. Compare also *staved* (Cl. 352) and *stawed* (Cl. 360), both for *stowed*; *condelstik* (Cl. 1275) beside the *a* form in 1478, 1532; *kyndam* (Cl. 1700, 1731), but *kyndom* (Pl. 445, Cl. 161); *woxes* (Gaw. 518), which Knott has more recently said is *waxes* in MS.; *Wowen*, *Wowayn* (Gaw. 1302, 2189) for the prevailing *a* form; *snawe* for *snowe* (Gaw. 2234), where rime requires the *o* word; perhaps *bade* for *bode* (Gaw. 1699). I am inclined

to believe this confusion accounts for *traw* 'trust, believe,' OE. *trēowian*, and probably *knawe* 'know' regularly, although the latter may sometimes vary with its Northern form.

Similar confusion between *e* and *o* is found in *love3* for *leve3* (Pl. 302, 308); *forlote3* for *forlete3* (Cl. 101); *unte* for *unto* (Pat. 470); *ho* for *he* (Pl. 479, Gaw. 1389); *he* for *ho* (Gaw. 1872); *hom* for *hem* (Cl. 1715, Gaw. 99, 819, 979, 984); *hor* for *her* (Cl. 1524, Gaw. 130, 1014, 1127, 1139). Besides, a new reading of the MS. (R. J. Menner, *Yale Studies in English* LXI) indicates that *pre* (Cl. 590), as it has been read, is really *pro*.

The clear confusion of *e-o* in these examples suggests that it may account for *helde* instead of *holde* (Pl. 1193, cf. Gaw. 2129); *bo* for *be* (Pl. 451); *help* for *holp* (Cl. 1163, unless this is a past tense without *-d*; *foch*, *fochche3* for *fech*, *fechche3* (Gaw. 396, 1961), beside *feche* in rime (Pl. 847); *fotte* for *fette* (Gaw. 451); *noghe* for *neghe* (Gaw. 697); *felde* for *folde* (Gaw. 890); *kerchoses* for *kerchefes* (Gaw. 954). Again, copying by ear may account for a number of these forms, while there is also the possibility that some of them represent peculiarities of the poet's language. Or the copyist may have written sufficiently later than the poet to indicate actual changes that had already come about in the language.

One of the curious peculiarities of these *Alliterative Poems* is the frequent appearance of final *y*, rarely *i*, for the usual final *e* in unstressed syllables, or in those supposed by the scribe to be unstressed. This may represent confusion in the language itself, a final unstressed *e* of the older language or historically in borrowed words having become *i* as in *hit*.¹

¹ It has not been noticed, I believe, that in the Cotton MS. of the *Cursor Mundi*, written in the late fourteenth century, there is sometimes the same confusion between final *i* (*y*) and *e*. Thus final *e* corresponds to OE. *-ig* in *bode* 'body' (14309), *bodes* pl. (5402), *fifie* 'fifty' (9164), *fourte* 'forty' (2758), *ferles* 'ferly, wonder' pl. (15130), *thritte* 'thirty' (1434), *anlepe* 'single' (9521), but *anlep* (27939), *hungre* 'hungry' (4571), *selle* 'wonderful' (26010), *semle* 'seemly' (28015), *semele* adv. (8322), *unsele* 'unhappy' (7279); to OF. *-ie* in *felunne* 'felony' (2834), *maistre* 'mastery' (7513), *maumentre* 'idolatry'

Our poet once rimes *-esse* with *blysse* (Pl. 406-8), and for similar rimes in Chaucer see Ten Brink's *Lang. and Metre* (Smith) §328. The peculiarity in the poems of the *Pearl* poet, as we have them at least, is the actual appearance of *y* for the final (rarely medial) unstressed *e* of other Middle English writers, while sometimes *e* also appears for final unstressed *y*. In her article "Notes on Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" (*Eng. Stud.* XXXVI, 222), Mrs. E. M. Wright of Oxford notes "several examples in our text of the use of *-e = -i*," citing *fole* for *foli* (OF. *folie*) of 1545. The matter warrants a more exact treatment than has been given hitherto, especially as Knigge's excellent monograph does not treat unstressed syllables.

The most certain examples of confusion in final *e-y* are in the writing of *be* 'be' and *by* (*bi*) 'by.' Thus the copyist's *be* must mean *by* in Pl. 523 (*be naȝt*) Cl. 819, Gaw. 1216, 1498, and *forbe* mean *forby* in Gaw. 652. On the other hand, *by* must mean *be* the verb in Cl. 104 (*by fylled*), 212, 356 1610, Pat. 117, while *bi* also means *be* in Cl. 1330. Equally certain are other instances. Thus final *e* represents OE. *-ig* in *pene* (Pl. 510, 562) compared with *peny* (Pl. 546, 560, 614); in *prette* (Cl. 317); *fyste* (Cl. 442); *unwitte* (Pat. 511); *bode* (Gaw. 357); *bale* (*baleȝ*) 'belly, bowels,' OE. *bælg* (*bælig*) beside *belg* (*belig*) in Gaw. 1333; *lade* (Gaw. 1810). It also represents the corresponding ME. *-y* in *angre* 'angry' (Cl. 1035); *heve* (Gaw. 289); *wyle* (Gaw. 1728). Such a final *e* also represents OE. *-līc* (*līce*) or the Anglian *-līh* (*līhe*) in *enle* (Pl. 849); *ferlyle* (Cl. 1460); and its ME. equivalent ending *-ly* in *Iolile* (Gaw. 42).

(9188, Fairf. MS. *Mamentre*), *Alexandre* 'Alexandria' (21589), *levelilade* for *levelade* 'livelihood' (24686), *Mare* 'Mary' (155, with which cf. Gaw. 1769), *velune* 'villany' (Fairf. MS. 803); to OF. *ē* in *prive* 'privy, secret' (2338), *privity* 'secrecy' (2738). It would seem that the change of final *e* to *i*, indicated occasionally by the written form even in the Chaucer MSS., had become so frequent in Northern English that either *e* or *i(y)* might be used for the sound. Chaucer examples of this same fact are *foly* 'foolishly' = *fole* adv. of *fol* 'foolish' (*B. of D.* 874), and *oundy* 'wavy,' OF. *oundē* (*H. F.* 1386).

We expect final OF. *ē* when retaining stress to be represented by ME. *e*, but *y* sometimes appears in words which have principal or secondary stress, as *meyny* (Pl. 892); *synglerty* (Pl. 429); *realty* (Cl. 1371). When not retaining principal or secondary stress, a final *y* is still more common, as in *pryvy* (Pl. 12, 24, Cl. 1748); *meyny* (*mayny*, *meny*) in all the poems. On the other hand, a final *e* is common even when such words have shifted stress, as *cyte* (*cite*, *cete*) in Pl. 792, 952, 1023, 1097, Pat. 67; *bewte* (Pl. 765); *semble* (Cl. 126, Gaw. 1429); *ville* (Cl. 199); *bounte* (Cl. 1436, Gaw. 357); *sewrte* (Pat. 58); *preve* (Pat. 525, Gaw. 902); *dayntes* (Gaw. 121, *daynte* (Gaw. 1250, 1253, 1266); *querre* (Gaw. 1324); *melle* (Gaw. 1451); *chemne* (Gaw. 875, 878); *chymne* (Gaw. 1030).

Similarly we expect *ie* (*ye*, *y*) for OF. final *ie*, but final *e* by monophthonging appears in *perre* (Pl. 730, 1028, Cl. 1117); *contrere* (Cl. 4, 266); *Armene* (Cl. 447); *fe* (*fees*) (Cl. 960); *fole* (Gaw. 1545); *surquidre* (Gaw. 2457). Besides, *felonye* (Pl. 800) must be the similar monophthonged *felone* for rime, and *query* must be *quere* (Pl. 803) as I shall show later. This suggests that *cortayse* (Pl. 469, 481) needs no more emending to *cortaysye* than in Cl. 1097, although it must be so emended for the rime in Pl. 480. As often in such cases the poet, or at any rate the scribe, may have known and used double forms of the same word.²

The examples so far cited are of words with an original long vowel or diphthong. An original short vowel which regularly appears as *-e* in other works is here sometimes represented by *-y*. Thus in substantives and adjectives we have *clyvy* for OE. *clife* 'bur, burdock' in Cl. 1692; *bayly*, *baly* = *bayle* (Pl. 315, 1083); the dative *skyly* (Cl. 62) beside *skille* (Pl. 674); *tuly* 'tulle' (Gaw. 858) beside *tule* (Gaw. 568); *sovly* = *sowly* 'foul' (Cl. 1111) beside *sowle* (Cl. 168); *styllly* adv. (Cl. 806, 1778, Gaw. 1117) beside *stille* (Cl. 486). I assume also that *mayny* (Cl. 514) is the weak adjective

² With these diverse spellings, compare those of Spenser in such words as *charitie* (*y*, *ee*), *company*, *cruelty*, *flattery*, *frailty*, *nativity*, *vanity*, *victory*.

form equivalent to *mayne*: that *mery* (Gaw. 1736) is the same as *mere* (Gaw. 153, 878), and perhaps *servy* (Gaw. 751) is for *serwe*, or possibly a scribal error for *sorwe* by *e-o* confusion. In Midland generally, OE. verbs ending in *-ian* had become ME. *-e(n)* by analogy of those without *-i-*, and OF. verbs in *-ir*, *-er* had fallen together. Yet in this poet's works we find final *y* appearing beside *e*, as in *wony* (Pl. 284, Pat. 462) but *wone* (Cl. 1489, Gaw. 257). So *lovy* 'love' (Cl. 1066) beside forms which imply no final *y*. Compare also *fayly* (Pl. 34, Cl. 548, Gaw. 1067) beside *fayle* (Pl. 317) and numerous forms which imply no *-y*; Scand. *dayly* (Icl. *deila*) at Pl. 313 beside *daylyeden* = *dayleden* (Gaw. 1114); OF. *atteny*, *pleney*, *streny* (Pl. 544-51) beside forms without *-y-*, as *playned* (Pl. 53, 242), *strayn(e)*, *strayneȝ*, *strayned* (Pl. 128, 691, Cl. 1540, Pat. 234, Gaw. 176).

This is not the place to treat the question of the pronunciation of the final unstressed *e* in these poems, especially *Pearl*. It may be pointed out, however, that the interchange of *y-e* in final position seems to be paralleled to some extent by the same interchange within a word, often when the vowel is presumably not pronounced. Thus *worply* in Pl. 1073, 1133 is written *worpyly* (*worpily*) in Pl. 47, 846, Gaw. 72, 144, and *worpely* in Cl. 651; compare also *worpylych* (Gaw. 343), *worþelych* (Cl. 471, 1351, Pat. 475), but *worþloker* (Pat. 464).

The copyist often blunders in inflectional forms, as if following the text without close attention to the idea intended. Thus a final *s(ȝ)* has been carelessly added in *perleȝ* for *perle* (Pl. 335); *hyllēȝ* (Pl. 678); *quykeȝ* (Pl. 1179); perhaps *lastēȝ* (Cl. 1141); *sleȝeȝ* (Gaw. 893); *wedeȝ* (Gaw. 987); *houndeȝ* (Gaw. 1422); *croweȝ* (Gaw. 1412); *frekeȝ* (Gaw. 1588); *burnes* (Gaw. 1616). An *n* has been wrongly added in *runnen* (Pl. 26), the rime requiring *runne*. An *s(ȝ)* has been carelessly omitted in *fende* (Cl. 269); *fynde* (Cl. 1295), *palle* (Cl. 1384); *lyve* (Gaw. 706); *water* (Gaw. 727); *towre* (Gaw. 795); *mote* (Gaw. 1141); *prynce* (Gaw. 1770); perhaps in *daynte* (Gaw. 1266) with which compare Cl. 38, 1046; and in

bedde (Gaw. 1959). An uninflectional final *s* has been omitted in *a* for *as* (Pl. 115, 1058, Pat. 520, Gaw. 1281).

In *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XIV, 413, Miss Mabel Day gives thirty examples of "omission, in certain connections, of the final *-d* of weak preterits and past participles." She suggests that this may "point to some dialectal or other peculiarity in the language of the poet," not noting that this is a peculiarity of Northern English as shown by Murray (*Dial. of Sth. Counties of Scotland*, pp. 53, 121), Wright (*Engl. Dial. Gram.* §§ 295, 307), G. G. Smith (*Selections from Mid. Scots* §§ 12, 22). To Miss Day's examples I would suggest adding the past tenses *fylter* (Cl. 224, possibly 1191); *ask* (Cl. 1098); *help* (Cl. 1163) unless a scribal error for *holp* by *e-o* confusion; *sweȝ* (Gaw. 1562) if for *swe* 'followed' as seems likely. With these belong the past participles *depryve* (Cl. 185), *welcom* (Cl. 813); *lance* (Cl. 966), and possibly *save* (Pl. 696). On the other hand, *swey* (Cl. 788), given by Miss Day, seems to me an infinitive dependent upon *syȝe*.

Confusion of inflectional endings, as of *ed-es* occurs in *lykes* for *lyked* (Cl. 1646). There is confusion of *-en* and *-end* in *numnend* for *nummen*(*numen*) in Cl. 1291, and *aswagend* for *aswagen* in Pat. 3. The pronouns *hym-hem* are often interchanged as if by careless error of scribe; compare Pl. 611, 635, 715, 1106; Cl. 843, 915; Pat. 213, 331; Gaw. 862.

Medieval MSS. are not careful in indication of compounds, the writers often separating words or parts of words belonging together. The latter is the usual practice of our scribe, as noted by Osgood,³ even prefixes being often written as separate words; cf. *bycalle*, *byswykeȝ*, *forbrent*, *forgo*, or the suffixes in *bredful*, *Godhede*, *godnesse*. Contrariwise, words or parts of words unquestionably separate are often united, as Osgood has indicated for unstressed monosyllables which are united with the following (sometimes preceding) words. This practice of the copyist necessitates on the part of editors the separation or reassembling of the MS. words

³ *Pearl*, Introd. X, footnote.

in many cases, and has occasioned some errors, for example *agrete* (Pl. 560) and *to-even* (Pl. 1073) by Osgood, and *oncom* (Pl. 645) by Gollancz and Osgood. Similarly the copyist has several times united the conjunction *ande* with a preceding word, suggesting a present participle. To those examples of this sort hitherto pointed out I would add *swangeande* for *swange ande* (Pl. 111), with which compare Björkman (*Scand. Loan-Words in Mid. Eng.* p. 221) although he does not mention this example; *glaumande* for *glaum ande* (Gaw. 46); *donkande* for *donk ande* (Gaw. 519).

Omissions of the larger sort are not frequent, although a line of *Pearl* (472) has been lost in spite of the regularity of stanza structure. In Pl. 690 a word or two must have been omitted, spoiling sense and perhaps alliteration, as also the catch-word *John* of Pl. 997, and the necessary *gret* of the refrain in 1104. Here and there in the other poems a single word has sometimes been lost in copying. Very common are omissions of single letters, as shown by any of the carefully edited texts. Some of the most obvious examples are in the rimes of *Pearl*, for instance *y* in the rimed syllable of *cortays(y)* *e* (480); of *u* as usually printed in the four rime words from 963 to 969; and in *fasor* (430), *swone* (1180). Nor are these by any means the only examples of MS. errors. For instance the omission of *y* in the diphthong *ay* of *sa[y]de* (Pl. 532, 784, Cl. 210; *sa[y]t3* (Pl. 677); *ba[y]ly* (Pl. 1082); *a[y]per* (Gaw. 1357), suggests that it may have been omitted in other places, as *ba[y]* in Pl. 856, *ha[y]lsed* (Cl. 1621).

Opposed to this careless copyist, who must be responsible for many of the MS. errors, is a poet of more than usual technical skill and imaginative power. We must therefore suppose him usually correct in rime and meter, as correctness was understood in his time. It should be our purpose to restore these poems to their original form, so far as that may have been disturbed by an unreliable copyist, and with such light as a knowledge of the language of the time may throw upon the poet's probable accuracy. With that end in view, I proceed to examine the rimes in *Pearl*, hoping at a later

time to consider other possible emendations and explanations of meaning.⁴

8. *synglure*. All editors must accept Fick's restoration to *synglere*, OF. *singulier*; cf. *synglerty* (Pl. 429), and *gyngure* (Pl. 43) for *gingere*.

10. *yot*. Fick proposed to derive from OE. *ge-ēode*, appearing as *ȝod* (Gaw. 1146) and there riming with *gode* 'good.' G. Thought from OE. *geat* 'got,' but the vowel as well as the sense would be difficult of explanation. It has not been noted in the connection that *flot* (46) from OE. *flēat*, *schot* (58) from OE. *scēat*, suggest development of *yot* from OE. *gēat* 'flowed, streamed,' here 'glided.' In all these words the vowel of the past participle appears in the past tense, probably by analogy. Compare for a similar development *chos* (Pl. 187), *flowen* (Pl. 89), *cloven* (Cl. 965), *schotten* (Gaw. 1167), among other examples. See also Schwahn, *Die Conjugation in Sir Gawayn . . . und den . . . Alliterative Poems*.

24, 36 *spotte*. The rimes of the stanza show conclusively that the form should be *spot*, as G. has it. There were two Scandinavian words, Icl. *spotti* which gave ME. *spotte*, and Icl. *spottir*, ONorw. *spott* which would give the correct form here. Both may have been known to poet and copyist, the former perhaps used in *spotteȝ* (945).

29 *fede*. The rime requires a long open ē, and this would be exactly supplied by an OE. **fēan*—*fēde*, parallel to Scand. *feyja* 'let decay, go to ruin,' cited by Gollancz. This would give a ME. pp. pl. *fēde* with correct rime and sense. Knigge's assumption of derivation from OE. *fēdan* 'feed' spoils sense

⁴ The abbreviations Pl., Cl., Pat., Gaw. have already been used in this paper for *Pearl*, *Clannesse*, *Patience*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. For conciseness, M., G., O. will be used for the three editors Morris, Gollancz, and Osgood. Other abbreviations will be readily understood, as AN., CF., NF., for Anglo-Norman, Central French, Norman French; OAng. for Old Anglian; Scand. for Scandinavian, usually Old West Scandinavian. So NED. for the *New English Dictionary*, EDD. for the *English Dialect Dictionary*, CtDict. the *Century*.

and rime, while O's suggestion of OF. *fade* makes no explanation of the phonology.

53 spenned. Holthausen's suggestion *penned* restores alliteration and makes better sense. (*Archiv* XC, 145). The *s* has been carried over from the preceding *s(z)* sound. For the opposite change see Pl. 115, Cl. 117 and my note in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XIV, 206.

66 cleven. G. glosses 'cleave' without explaining which *cleave* is meant, although his translation 'rose sheer' rightly implies *cleave* 'split.' O. places with *clyven* (1196), referring to OE. *clifan* (*clifian*). It is OE. *clēofan* 'split, separate,' which gives the correct close *ē* vowel, agreeing with four of the other five rimes. 'Where cliffs cleave (separate)' is equivalent to saying they are many and with abrupt sides.

72 adubmente. Should of course be *adubbement* as in all other rimes in accordance with G's correction. So also *oryent* in 82, as G. prints.

95 gete. *Get* 'obtain' seems hardly the word here, and I suggest Scand. *gæta* 'watch, heed, tell of,' the last meaning especially apt in this place. Orm writes this word as *gæten*, showing the long open *ē* necessary for the rime, without assuming lengthening of ME. *geten* 'get.'

134 hade, that is hāde. The only time the word appears in rime in this poem, the supposed example of 1140 probably having a different explanation as I shall show. For *hāde* compare Chaucer's *C. T.* 554, 617.

107 schereȝ. This seems to be ME. *schēren*, OE. *sceran* 'cut, sheer,' and might thus be the original of the nautical term *sheer*, although that word is usually referred to Dutch.

158 mere. M. glosses 'sea, lake, stream' for 140 and this place. O. connects with WS. *gemære*, which would be OAng. *gemære* and give in this place close *ē*, an imperfect rime. That alone should incline us to M's derivation from OE. *mere*, ME. *mēre* with open *ē*.

165 schere. G. suggested OSwed. *skāra* 'purify,' the meaning of which is right, but the form impossible. Kölbing

proposed Scand. influence, but there is nothing impossible in an unrecorded OE. **scāran* 'purify' in gradation relation with OE. *scīr* 'bright,' *schyr* of Pl. 213. Cf. Björkman's discussion of ME. *sker(e)*, *Scand. Loan-Words*, p. 125. The *NED.* puts *scherez* of 107 with this word with a question, but the meanings do not agree.

170 fonte. M. and O. assume OE. *fandian*, ME. *fōnden*, which does occur in rime at 939 but would spoil the rime here. I suggest OE. *fundian*, ME. *funden*, with essentially the same meaning 'endeavor to find,' here 'find out about, scan,' which would be correct in rime with the five *u*-words. For past participles with *t* for final *d* after *n*, *l*, *r*, cf. *fonte* (327); *rert* (591); *bent*, *bente* (664, 1017, 1189); *shente* (668); *blente* (1016); *bycalt* (1163); *endente*, *endent* (629, 1012).

183, 185 clos, porpose. These words again rime with *ros* and other voiced *s* words in 506 f., and must be assumed to have that sound; compare Ten Brink, *Lang. of Chaucer*, § 111.

189 galle. G. glosses 'stain,' but O. has confused with the different word *gawle* (463). This is Scand. (Icl.) *galli* 'fault, flaw,' appearing with *fylpe* and *glet* in 1060.

197 beauuiys, or beaumys as G. reads it; that is *beau mys* or a compound. O's contention that *mys* for ME. *amis* (*amice*) 'cloak' is impossible, must be wrong. Cf. Wyc. *Is.* xxii, 17, *as an amyce* for the Vulg. *amictus* 'cloak.' The word is also early Mod. Eng. (Milton), and the *CtDict.* quotes Scott's

A palmer's amice wrapped him round.

198 bene. The rime requires long close *e* and the word is doubtless the same as Scotch *bien*, although usually regarded as of unknown origin. Knigge (p. 83-4) was doubtless right in proposing a monophthonging of Scand. *ei* to *e*, an Old East Scand. peculiarity (Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words* 60, 282). It would thus correspond to Old West Scand. (Icl.) *beinn*, ME. *bain*, which appears in these poems as *bayn* (Pl. 807, Cl. 1511, Pat. 136, Gaw. 1092, 2158). M. had

suggested the connection of the two words, but without explaining. The original meaning of the word is 'straight,' and already in Icl. the metaphorical meaning 'hospitable' had developed. From 'straight' have naturally come such meanings as 'pleasant, agreeable, ready, willing.' The word *bene* is an adj. in *bonkeȝ bene* (110), and here an adv. 'straightly, pleasantly,' as Scotch *bayn* also means 'readily, willingly.' For more than one form of the same word compare this poet's use of *were* 'were,' Scand. *wäre* (Pl. 151), and the derived *wöre* (154), as well as our own doublets *whole—hale*, *rear—raise*.

200 *yȝen*. There should be no hesitation in changing to the doublet *ene* for the rime, as Holthausen proposed (*Archiv* CXXXIII, 241). O's suggestion that the word is here accented on the inflectional ending is of course impossible, the rime even then being imperfect in quantity.

205 *gyrle*. The poet must have used the other form of the word, *gerle*, as shown by the rimes, so that *gyrle* may confidently be assumed as a copyist's error.

208 *upon*. The same rime at 824 and Chaucer's occasional use of the adverbs *on*, *upon* with long *ō* are sufficient reason for assuming a perfect rime here. Compare Ten Brink, *Lang. and Metre of Chaucer*, §§ 35, 58.

209 *werle*. M. retained the word in the text, but omitted it and any explanation in his glossary. G. thought it an Old French word of Germanic origin, comparing MHG. *werele* 'an ornament of wire work.' Holthausen (*Archiv* XC, 145) connected with a hypothetical **werels* 'clothing, dress,' which he assumed had been later altered to a singular. O. alters to *herle*, comparing Gaw. 190 where, however, that word refers to the horse's mane inbraided with gold. O. notes alliteration as strengthened by an *h*-word, but the latter is not sufficient reason for a change not otherwise demanded.

Attention in this connection has not been called to Cl. 475, where the verb *wyrle* must be *whirl*, Scand. *hvirfla*, and the fact that in a considerable number of words—usually unstressed it is true—*w* equals OE. or Scand. *hw*; examples

are *wy* Pl. 290, 533, 564), *wyl* (Pl. 528), *weper* (Pl. 565, Cl. 717), *wen* (Cl. 343), *wych* (Cl. 1074). Thus *werle* may easily be for *wherle* 'whirl, whorl,' the latter developing from Anglian *wer* as in *work*, *world*, *worthy* and some other words. The original of *werle* is Scand. *hvirfill* 'circle, ring,' and we may easily believe 'twist of hair' on a woman's head. This would fit the next line, which I shall later show means 'her hair hung loose all about her,' as G. partly suggested.

229 and 235 *pyse*, *spyce*. Both words have been rightly emended to *e* forms, but Fick's *pece* for the first is better than *pyece* of G. and O., since *e* is a regular Anglo-Norman monophthonging of OF. *ie*.

237 *tresore*. For the rime with long open $\bar{o}$ compare Chaucer's *B. of D.* 854.

249 *vayned*. G.'s explanation as from Scand. (Icl.) *vegna* 'proceed,' here 'cause to come,' has been followed by O. who gives the meanings 'bring, bestow.' Unfortunately Icl. *vegna* is intransitive, but a transitive verb is supplied by OF. *wagnier*, a doublet of *gagnier* 'gain,' here 'bring' as in Bradley-Stratmann.

262 here. G.'s emendation to *ner* is somewhat better than O's *nere*, since the final *e* is meaningless in this place, and incorrect historically.

270 *gef*. The form with long close $\bar{e}$ is due to analogy of the Anglian plural, as Knigge showed (p. 19), thus making the rimes of the stanza perfect. Such singular analogical forms prevail in these poems.

283 *feste*. M. and O. make this word 'feast,' thus destroying the rime. G. properly translates 'fast.' *Fest(e)* is the usual form in these poems, as Pat. 290 and *festen* vb. in all of them.

303 *uncortoyse*. G. and O. rightly change to *uncortayse*. See what is said of the copyist's confusion of *a* and *o* in introductory paragraph of this article.

307 *westernays*. We may perhaps assume a copyist's blunder for *bestornays* by supposed alliteration with *wordez*, or possibly a dialectal form of the OF. word.

309 sorquydryȝe, 311 tryȝe. The writing of these words with *ȝ*, instead of *y* only, would indicate the loss of *ȝ* as a consonant in *ȝe* (302), *lyȝe* (304), *dyȝe* (306), *syȝe* (308). Compare *dryȝe* (823) and *syȝe* (1033), each riming with *-ye* words. Final *-ȝ* may therefore be assumed to be equivalent to *ȝ̃(ē)*, and a final *ȝ* to have disappeared earlier than a *ȝ* before *t*. Cf. the *Gawain* rimes at 81-3, 228-30, 247-9, 2087-9.

313-19 *dayly*—*bayly*—*faȝle*—*counsayl*. The last two words can by no stretch of phonology have a true *y* ending, although *counsayl* might have a dative *e*. If the rimes are as perfect, therefore, as commonly in this poet, we must explain the final *y* in the first two words. For *bayly*, G. had the right idea when distinguishing the two OF. words *bailie* 'jurisdiction, administration, power' and *baille(bail)* 'outer wall, barrier, court within.' The first, as he notes, occurs in 442 with stress on the second syllable in rime with *cortaysye*. The second is the word here with the general meaning of 'court, city,' and should be written *bayle*. As noted in the introduction, the poet (or probably copyist) often interchanges final *e* and *y*.

For *dayly*, M. set off the word from the rest of the passage as if our word *dayly*, although no meaning is given in his glossary. G., followed by O., assumes OF. *dalier* 'sport, dally,' quite impossible phonologically. Though not hitherto noted, the word is fully explained as Scand. *deila* cognate with OE. *dālan* 'deal,' and meaning in Icl. 'deal, divide, discern, distinguish, contend, complain,' the first excellent meanings here. *Con dayle* as it should be written means 'can discern as (how) man,' etc., not 'did daily (dally)' as M. G. O. For *daly* 'dally' see Gaw. 1253.

321 *greve*. The rime required open *ē*, and ME. *grēve* 'grove' must spring from an unrecorded mutated form of OE. *grāf* 'grove,' not from OE. *grāfa* (Anglian *grēve*) as O. has it, since that word would have given a long close *ē* and did not mean 'grove.'

349 *adyte*. In spite of G. and O., who assume origin in OE. *adihtan*, this word must be from OF. **aditer*(*enditer*)

as Mätzner and Kölbing (*Eng. Stud.* XVI, 269) proposed. The form *adite* occurs in *Rich. Coer de Lion* (Weber) 1174, and the prefixes *a-*, *en-* occasionally interchange, as in *endorde* (Pl. 368) from OF. *adorer*. Besides, before *t* OE. *h* must still have been a spirant, as in Scotch today. The only other example in the poem in which this would seem not to be true—*tyzt* of 1013—I shall explain in another way.

The line has given trouble in other ways. I suggest *deme* as a noun from Scand. *dæmi* 'judgment,' and as meaning for the line: 'Judgment God may ever indite (or may God ever) for himself.' We should expect the indicative *adytes*, but the poet uses the subjunctive for rime, or possibly *adyte* without inflectional ending for *adytes*. For the latter compare *juele* for *jueles* (Pl. 929), *outfleme* for *outflemed* (Pl. 1177).

369 *coumforde*. An English dialectal pronunciation of OF. *cumfort*, as shown by the verb in *Awnt. of Arth.* st. 4, and by similar forms in other Nth. works.

381 *con*. Compare 827, in which the same rime again occurs with long open vowels, implying at least a dialectal pronunciation of *con* as *cōn*.

383 *Jon*. The name here and at 818, riming in both places with such words as *gōn*, *stōn*, is conclusive proof of a ME. form with long open *ō*, now preserved in the surname *Jones*, a later shortening before the dental nasal accounting for the MnE. *John*.

388 *hate*. Instead of assuming a Nth. *hate* 'hot,' as G. and O., I suggest *hate* 'enmity, hate,' either an early modification of OE. *hete* by influence of the verb, or perhaps better from Scand. *hatr* which became ME. *hat*—*hātes* and then *hāte*—*hātes* by analogy; see my article in *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXV, 147, and note how the other rime words except *gate* illustrate that article. *Harmeȝ hate* 'enmity (hate) of harm' or 'harm's hate' makes excellent sense.

415 *brede*. M. and O. say from OE. *brēdan* 'breed,' M. adding 'replenish' and O. 'dwell,' the latter a less natural extension of the OE. meaning. G. glosses 'revel,' but

without accounting for it. Apart from the gross and unfitting character of 'breed,' the rime should be open, not close *ē*. ME. *brēde*, OE. *brēdan*, used in its literal sense of 'stretch out' in 814, may here have its OE. metaphorical sense 'be developed, grow,' thus fitting the situation admirably and perfecting the rimes of the stanza. This verb is regularly intransitive in these poems. Cf. *Curs. Mund.* 2278.

431 *fasor*. The poet clearly intended *fasour* to rime with the other *-our* words, and the copyist has carelessly written *r* instead of the sign of *ur*. The historically correct ending of the word, OF. *faisure*, appears in the rime *fasure* (1084), but an English dialectal *fasour* must be assumed from this place.

441 *hatz*. As noted in an introductory paragraph, the form should be *hace* 'has,' with voiceless *s* parallel to *wace* 'was' in 65. Both forms of *has* and *was* were doubtless known at the time.

442 *bayly*. This form and that of *Arraby* (430) would indicate that the ending *-ye* was merely *ȳ(ī)* in the pronunciation of the poet.

457-67. Several rimes require comment, and I believe we may assume unusual carelessness or ignorance on the part of the copyist. In 457 *Poule* must of course be emended to *Paule*, and probably be explained as the copyist's confusion of *a-o*.

For *naule* 'navel,' O. cites Knigge (p. 32) who wrongly derives from Scand. *nagli* 'nail,' since Scand. *ag* gives *aw(au)* only when final or followed by a vowel as in *awe*, *law*. Kluge, confirmed by Björkman (*Scand. L-W.* p. 76 f.), supports Bradley-Stratmann and Gollancz in assuming OE. *nafela*. It is true the poet or copyist uses the form *navel* in Pat. 278, but here the rime requires the form with a diphthong from OE. *-av-*, as in one MS. of *Piers Plowman* (B. XIV, 242). For O's objection to the word *navel* on esthetic grounds compare Chaucer's use in *K. T.* 1099.

Gawle (463) presents still another difficulty. The *NED.* connects this word and *gaule* of Pat. 285 with Scand. *galli*

'fault, flaw, drawback,' which appears in Pl. 189. 915, riming with words ending in *-alle*, but does not explain the phonology. The phonology would be clear if we assume a Scand. *gaul* 'lowing, bellowing' in the sense of 'complaint,' with which we might compare the derived meaning of *howl* in *set up a howl*. Or we might assume a hard *g* form, Scandinavian or Northern English, of OE. *gagl* (*gægl*, *geagl*) 'want-onness' in the derived sense of 'folly,' which would suit fairly well both this passage and that in *Patience*. I can scarcely believe these words are connected with Scand. *galli* above or *galle* in Cl. 1022, *bitter as þe galle*, although somewhat later *au*(*aw*) were often written for *a* before *l*.

For *tyste* (460), the alliterative formula *trwe and tryste* is so common in ME. literature that the otherwise difficult *tyste* is doubtless to be altered to *tryste*, as by M. and G. Compare the copyist's error of *stykez* for *strykez* in 1186. O's use of *King Horn* to explain *tyste* and *myste* (462) as equivalent to *tyzte* and *myzte* neglects the fact that our poet regularly keeps apart OE. *ht* and *st*. For *myste* M. suggested with a question 'mysteries, secrets,' and G. that it may be 'poetical license for *myghte*.' I propose OF. *miste* 'joli, gentil, beau mis, propret' (Godefroy), an adj. here used as a substantive for 'gentility, graciousness, courtesy.' The use of an adj. as sb. is especially common in these poems, as *swete* (Pl. 240), *lufsoum* (398), *blysful* (421), *gaye* (433), to take a few examples only. The OF. word is used in the best sense, as shown by the examples in Godefroy. The meaning fits the passage, which has been emphasizing the graciousness of God with a special use of the word *courtesy*. Here the poet adds, 'Right so (that is by courtesy) every Christian soul is a member (*longande lym*) of the Master of courtesy.' For the idea compare Cl. 1097, Chaucer's *Gentilesse* and Skeat's long note carrying the idea back to the *Romance of the Rose* and *Boethius*, the former of which at least our poet knew, as indicated by Cl. 1057. *Myste* would naturally have short *i*, but quality rather than quantity rimes are found in other places, as perhaps in this stanza

Bytwyste is a natural form from OAng. *bitwihs* + *t*. *Gryste* was explained by Mätzner as OE. *grist* 'ground grain' in a special sense 'anger' for this passage only. M., followed by G., gives the meaning 'dirt' without further explanation, and O. connects with OE. *grist* in compounds with a meaning 'bitter resentment,' without adequately explaining its origin. Neither of these would have the vowel length of the rimes *Kryst*, *tryste*, *bytwyste*, and I propose a *t*-extension of OE. *gris* 'fear, dread,' a form fully implied in ME. *grisful* and OE. *grislic*, ME. *grisli* 'dreadful, grisly.' *Lyste* is probably OE. *lyst* 'pleasure' as assumed by the *NED.*, even though the vowel quantity is short. Holthausen's *liste* 'wisdom' (*Archiv* XC, 146) seems not to fit in meaning as well.

473 heve. The rime requires long close $\bar{e}$, not the open $\bar{e}$ of the present subj., as O. has it. The verb is past subj., implying a condition contrary to reality in the dreamer's mind, and a past form with $\bar{e}$ instead of $\bar{o}$ exists in other ME. works, as in *Destr. of Troy* and *Brut*.

470 among. For the rime with $\bar{e}$ words, see 905, and for *jonge* (474) see 535.

541 know, 545 rawe. The rimes with *owe* (543), *lowe* (547), show that these words should be written with *o*'s as usually in Midland English, the copyist probably again confusing *o-a*. This may have been due in these cases to his knowing the Northern forms of the words, and it must be said that he is consistent, always writing these words with *aw*.

513 totz. G. criticised M.'s derivation from Swed. *tota* and pointed to Gaw. 1671 where an inf. *to* seems to mean 'go.' He accounted for it as from OE. *téon* 'lead, draw, go,' the usual ME. form of which is *tēn*. I add that a similar *to* 'draw, go' is found in Layamon's *Brut* 1665 as a past tense. We may perhaps assume for the word a back formation from such a past tense or past participle, and at least, in the uncertainty of derivation, a true rime with $\bar{e}$. Holthausen's proposal of *dots* 'makes, does' (*Archiv*. XC, 146) gives a wrong vowel and none too good a meaning.

542-51. The rimes with *peny* (546) of infinitives with final *-y(e)* would seem to prove that the earlier final *-e* could be *i* in sound. Note the three infinitives written with final *y* and one (*reprene*, 544) with *e*, altered by G. and O. to *y*. Compare the rimes at 313 f., in which it is also possible the final *y*'s and *e* were pronounced *i*, at least at the end of the line. In that case *counsayl* (319) should be written *counsayle*. *Mayny* of 542 should also be emended to *meny* for the rime, a form which occurs in Gaw. 101, 1372, 2468. The peculiarity of the monophthonging of OF. *ei(ai)* in this word and the verbs *atteny*, *plený*, *streny* is the shortness of the vowel, which may, however, be dialectal. It would also be possible to account for *meny*, the true rime here, as from OE. *menge* 'crowd, company,' and suppose confusion by the copyist with *meyny* 'household.' Strictly the laborers are not of the household.

560 a grete. M. properly explained as meaning 'in the gross,' and Holthausen agreeing (*Archiv* CXXIII, 242) notes it as an earlier example than the *NED.* gives. This derivation from OE. *grēat* perfects the rime with the other open *ē* words. G's derivation from OF. *a gret* 'in agreement' spoils the rime, while the 'agreement' has already been mentioned in 562.

563 plete. The verb with *t* was probably an OF. by-form as in the noun. Chaucer also used the verb with *t* in his *Boethius*. The vowel is correctly the open long *ē*, although Chaucer once rimes it with close *ē*'s in *Tr. and Cr.* II, 1468.

567 lyfte. M. and O. take this word to be a past participle 'lifted,' while G. translated it 'turned' without explanation. I propose *lyft(e)* 'weak, sinful,' assuming *to lyþer* to be adverbial and the line a translation of the Vulgate *an oculus tuus nequam est* (*Matt.* 20, 15), with a strengthening of the idea by repetition, as often: 'Or else thine eye too wickedly is sinful.' *Lyft* in the modified sense of 'left,' as in our *left hand*, is found in Cl. 981, 1581, Gaw. 698, 947. Our *left* (hand), usually assumed to be a Kentish form, may be one with *i* lowered in pitch to *e* by the preceding *l*, as in this Anglian form.

572 *mykeȝ*. Still remains the greatest crux of the poem, although so clearly based on the Vulgate: *Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi* (Matt. 22, 14). M. made two proposals, one to connect the word with *mik* of *Cur. Mund.* 2807 with the exceptional meaning 'free laborer,' a connection adopted by the *NED.* and a meaning given in Bradley-Stratmann; the second to assume *be mykeȝ* is for *he mykeȝ* 'he chooses,' without accounting for the form of the verb. G. proposed to interpret as 'great ones,' as if from the adjective *mike* 'great' in *Hav.* 960 with early noun inflection, calling attention to the medieval interpretation of the passage: "many are called but few are chosen for the great places of the world." In this he seems to be followed by O., who translates *myke* 'one in high position' with a question, but has no other comment. Holthausen (*Archiv* XC, 146) proposes *in wykeȝ* 'in offices' for *be mykeȝ*, also citing medieval interpretation. On the whole G's suggestion seems the best, *mykeȝ* then being parallel to *likes* in the dialectal *the likes of you*, although this gives a short vowel form riming with the long *ī*'s of the remaining lines. Yet it is to be hoped a still better explanation of this the greatest crux in *Pearl* may be found. For example, if *wykeȝ* could mean 'officers' instead of 'offices,' both meaning and meter would be satisfied.

573 *pykeȝ*. The rime calls for *ȝ*, so that this is probably not from Scand. *pikka* 'pick, choose' as O. suggests, although the meaning would fit. A similar verb with *ī* occurs in Gower's *Con. Amant.* a half dozen times riming with words having *ī*, and in Chaucer, *Merch. T.*, riming with *liketh* 'liketh.' A Scotch and Northern English form with *ī* still exists.

584 *sum*. The rime requires at least *som* 'some' of the same quality as the other rime words, while *sōm*, OE. *gesōm* 'convenient, fit,' here used as an adverb 'conveniently, fitly, properly,' would restore the rime and well suit the sense. Besides, it would be like this blundering copyist to confuse *al* and *sōm* with the other expression *al* and *sum* (*som*).

585 *tom*. M. gives the meaning 'time,' but G. and O. only 'leisure.' The Scandinavian word warrants 'time,'

however, as the Icelandic Dictionary shows, and that fits better here: 'Others took more time,' explained immediately as served longer, 'but received no more hire.'

591 *reert*. Fick proposed *ert*=*ered*, OE. *eardian* 'dwell,' but that is impossible. On the other hand, *reert*=*rered* with shortening means not simply 'raised' as G., or 'roused, awakened' as O., but 'established, set up as a law or institution,' a good Old English meaning and well adapted here.

601-7 *ryche*—*inlyche*—*chyche*—*dyche*. Rimes of quality rather than quantity, the first two having *ȳ*, the second two *y*.

602 *joparde*. Not 'chance, hazard' as O., but 'chance of loss, peril,' or 'jeopardy' as M. and G.

605 *chyche*. For substantive use of the OF. adjective compare the *Knight of Tour-Landry* (*EETS*) p. 136; "A woman schulde not be a chiche of that she hathe gret plente."

609 *dard*. It has not been noted that the ME. *daren* 'lurk, lie in fear' may also be transitive 'cause fear or awe,' and that the transitive sense is in excellent contrast with *fraunchyse*: 'The graciousness of him who ever caused fear (or awe) is large to him,' etc. Compare *þat daren me full sore of Destr. of Troy* 13550.

611 *reparde*. M. glossed 'kept back' without explanation of form, and G. merely added 'denied.' O. suggests OE. **pearrian* which, if it existed, would require supposing an unusual compound with OF. *re-* for so early a time. I propose OF. *repardir* (*respardir*, *repartir*) 'divide, separate,' which suits the sense admirably and adequately explains the form of the word.

616 *lere*. So MS., altered to *here*=*hyre* 'hire' by G., and so supported by Kölbing who thought he saw part of *h*. This makes good sense but presupposes a Kentish form such as does not otherwise exist in the poem. I propose *bere*, OAng. (*ge*)*bēre*, 'bearing, manner, society, position.' This word makes good sense, a perfect rime, and may be explained either by a blurred *b* which has been read *l*, or by copyist's confusion of *l* for *b* as in some other places noted in an introductory paragraph.

617 abate. All editors have assumed a Nth. form of OE. *abīdan*—*abād* 'awaited, continued, endured,' of which they make *borne* the subject. I propose as simpler the past participle of *abaten* 'cast down, humbled,' which seems to me to strengthen the meaning of the passage and may be readily accounted for as to form; for similar past participles, see the note on 170.

634 alow. M. rightly connects with OF. *louer*, Lat. *laudare*, but G. translates 'allow,' showing he has in mind OF. *allouer*, Lat. *allocare*, a different word. O. gives the proper source, OF. *alouer*, but the meaning 'give credit to,' which seems to suggest the other verb. The OF. verb has the forms *aloer* and *alouer*, the first making the rime correct. Gower rimes it regularly with OE. *ō* words, as with *woweth* 'wooth' C. A. IV, 2282; with *wowe* 'woo' in IV, 2715; and four times with *bowe* 'bend'; as well as with OF. *rescower* (see Pl. 610) in V, 2020.

647 plyt. M. glosses 'danger, fault,' while G. translates 'sore plight' and in a note to 1075 opined that the poet used OF. *plite* 'condition' and OE. *pliht* 'peril' interchangeably, an opinion he again expresses in *Acad.* July 11, 1891; see also the note on 349. O. puts the two words together in his glossary, as if he assumed similar pronunciation. We must indeed assume interchange of meaning by our poet, but he uses the two words correctly in rime, as OF. *plite* here and in 1114, OE. *pliht* in 1075. The confusion in pronunciation and spelling could have taken place only after ME. *ȝt*, MnE. *ght*. had completely lost the spirant *ȝ(gh)*. This leaves only Cl. 1494 to be explained and for that it seems best to assume a copyist's error. The ease of the interchanged idea may be seen in this passage, in which the meaning 'condition' is possible, although 'condition of peril, danger' is probably to be accepted.

648 roghe. The rimes of this section are of OE. *ōh(ōw)*, NF. *ō* words, as *alow* (see note on 634) and *rescoghe* from NF. *rescōsse* CF. *rescousse*. *Roghe* goes back to OE. *rūh* 'rough,' but has had the same development of vowel as OE. *tōh* 'tough,' *hōh* 'hough.' We may reasonably

assume, therefore, that *roghe* is also an *ō* word, OE. *ū* having been altered by the preceding *r* to a vowel of slightly higher pitch.

692 a whyle. O. unites into a compound, but the words mean rather 'one time' than 'space of time' and should remain separate as in the MS.

697 gome—dome—com—innome. A clear case of rime in quality only, *dome* having *ō* (cf. 580), the other words at best a short close *o*.

698 seȝ hit. The rime requires *syȝ hit* and *syȝe* occurs in rime in 308, 1033, while in other places it also interchanges with *seȝ* (*segh*). In 702, 704, 705, 707 we must assume rime-words with final *t* like *justyfyet* in 700, and all with *-et* pronounced as *-it* in the unstressed syllable.

709 con rede. Kölbing (*Eng. Stud.* XVI, 268) proposed *arede* for the meter, a syllable between these two words being clearly lacking. But the form *arede* does not occur in the poems, if the glossary of Morris is to be trusted, and I propose *cone* = *cunne* the subj. Holthausen (*Archiv* CXXIII, 242) had suggested inserting [so] before *con*.

711 arepede. Compare the word in *Sir Isumbras* 6 and *Sir Degrevant* 8 (*Thornton Romances*).

721 hys mylde. Kölbing, in the article above cited, proposed *thys mylde*, referring to *Luke* 18, 16, in which he apparently assumed that "them" of our modern version applies to the children instead of the disciples, to the latter of whom the "them" does refer in the parallel passage in *Mark.* 10, 14. For *mylde*, an adjective used substantively as applied to the disciples, no apology need be made, but compare for the idea line 404. Holthausen's extraordinary alteration of the line (*Archiv* XC, 147) into

Jesus con calle (hem) to hym, he smylde

need not detain us.

730 pres. The rime requires long open *ē*, and this is possible if we assume an adj. *prēs* 'precious, of price' corresponding to the noun *prēs*, OF. *preis*, occurring in Pl. 419.

That there was such an adjective is clear from Gaw. 1945, *prys pinges* 'valuable (precious) things,' *prys* being a well-known variant of *pres*; cf. Engl. *praise* and *price*. *Purȝ perre pres* may then be 'through (among) precious jewels, or as G. translates it freely 'among all earth's gems.' The insertion of (of) before *pres*, as proposed by Holthausen (*Archiv* CXXIII, 242) is unnecessary. While his translation carries the general idea, G. failed to gloss *pres* or otherwise explain it. M., followed by O., glossed as a noun, the latter calling it a "quasi-adj." of *pres* (419). M. had also given the impossible meaning 'press' for this place.

752 *properteȝ*. For rime the word must clearly be *propertyȝ*, corresponding with *property* of 446, and O. rightly emends it. When losing stress OF. final *ē* has regularly become MnE. *y*, as in *assembly*, *city*, *country*, *privy*, *treaty*. In the dialect of the copyist this change may have begun as early as his time—near end of the fourteenth century; cf. discussion in introductory paragraph. With such varied writing of the same original sound, and perhaps with double pronunciation even in the dialect of the poet, it is not strange that the *e*-form of the word is written here for the *y*-form, the *y*-form for the stressed *e*-form in *meyny* (Pl. 892); *synglerty* (Pl. 429); and as I shall hope to show in *query* of Pl. 803. The confusion of final unstressed *e* has been sufficiently shown in an introductory paragraph.

778 *depres*. Here *deprēs*, a form not uncommon in ME. writings beside that with the short vowel of the modern word; cf. especially the uncompounded *prēse(n)*, *presse(n)*, and MnE. *crease*, *cres(t)*; *release* beside ME. *relessen*.

791 *hyl coppe*. It seems to me quite impossible that our poet could have written so false a rime, and I propose a copyist's error for *hyl cot* 'hill dwelling.' This better accords with *in*, the governing word, as well as fully with the situation of the city itself. Similarity in general meaning—the city is on a hill—has misled the scribe.

792 *Jlrm*. So the MS. here and elsewhere, except *Jhrm* (804) by copyist's confusion of *l* and *h*, and *Jrlm* (816) by

careless transposition of the letters. This abbreviation has usually been expanded into the modern *Jerusalem* when the correct form in many places should be a word of three syllables accented on the first and last, as I believe always in this poem. Accent on the first syllable for alliteration with *j* is shown by 804, 817, and accent on the last syllable by rime in all cases. Historically a three-syllabled *Jersalem* is the natural development from OE. *ȝersalem* (*Hiersalem*), Orm's *ȝerrsalēm*, which then became *Jersalēm* by OF. influence on the initial consonant, and only finally *Jerusalem* under Lat. influence so far as the extra syllable, stress, and quantity of the last vowel are concerned. For *Jersalem* see the metrical requirements of Chaucer at *R. of R.* 554; *C. T. A.* 463, B. 3386, D. 495, I. 51, but *Jerusalem* in B. 3786, and Gower *C. A. V.*, 7019. A form with three syllables will also better suit all examples in *Clannesse*. See Fischer (*Langzeile de Gawaindichters* p. 62) on Cl. 1159.

795-97 Juelle—melle. Compare 1118, 1124 for the same rime with short vowels in these words, 925 and 929 for the long vowel forms. The doublets *mēle*—*melle* are natural developments of OE. contracted *mælan* and the uncontracted *mæðelian*, ME. *medlen*(*mellen*). As naturally, the OF. word *jouel* appears in the three forms—*juēle* with accent on the last syllable in Pl. 23, 929; *juel(le)* with similar stress in Pl. 795, 1124; *juel* with shifted stress when not in rime, as in Pl. 249, 253, 277, 278.

800 felonye. For the form compare Cl. 205, though there alliterating on the first syllable. OF. stressed *ie* in final position regularly became ME. *ē* as in *sē* 'see (of a bishop),' *fe* 'fee' from OF. *fie*(*fief*), *fees* in Cl. 960, and whether final or not when retaining stress; cf. Behrens, *Französische Sprache in England*, pp. 146, 148. Such a rime as *felonye* (= *felonē*)—*bē*—*frē*—*hē* is regular therefore, although with shifted stress the word as regularly became *felonie*, later *felony*, as with most similar words—*clergy*, *company*, *hypocrisy*, and others.

802 men. The MS. word has been variously emended, M. G. O. altering to *nem*, that is *nēm* 'took, seized.' Fick

and Kölbing retain *men*, explaining as OF. *mehaigner* 'maim,' each changing the preceding *lande*, the first to *bonde*, the second to *hande*. Holthausen (*Archiv* XC, 147) more radically alters to *in honde* [con] *nem*. Against *nem* it may be urged that the close *ē* would be an imperfect rime with *Jersalēm*, with which an open *ĕ* rimes in *drēm* (790), *bēm* (814), *clēm* (826), and I hope to show in *seme* (838), all the examples in this series of stanzas. With *men* 'maim' the vowel gives correct rime, but the final consonant is opposed by the poet's careful usage. Now confusion of *n* and *m* is one of the copyist's most frequent errors. There are at least eighteen cases in the poems, of which ten are examples of *n*(*nn*) written for *m*. Of the latter five have final *n* for *m*, as *hen* for *hem* (Pl. 532), *Bepelen* for *Bepelem* (Cl. 1073), *cun* for *cum* (Pat. 519), *hyn* for *hym* (Gaw. 865), *welcon* for *welcom* (Gaw. 2240). In Pl. 861 *lonbe* is copied for *lombe*. Under these circumstances I believe there can be no question of making the rime correct in every respect by reading *mem* 'maim,' with Anglo-Norman monophthonging of *ai* to *ĕ* as in *clēm* (826), and the final *m* form of OF. *mahaigner*, the form which has since prevailed.

For the idea, *mēm* 'mutilate, injure' better suits the parallel of the buffeted, scourged and crucified Jesus, while it is not inapplicable to the "sheep before her shearers," which is often injured by careless use of the shears in the process of clipping. The word may be assumed to be present subjunctive 'should maim (deprive of something)' in the hypothetical case.

803 query. Rime and accent require *quere* with *ē* instead of *y*, as already noted for the *y*-forms of *meyny* (892) and *synglerty* (429); see note on 752. The *NED*'s assumption of a noun from Lat. *queri* 'to complain,' for this place only, fails to account for the accent or the rime. OF. *querie* 'requisition,' as given by Godefroy, in some such meaning as 'demand' would better fit the place, while the stressed *ē*-form for the rime would be explained exactly like that of *felonye* (= *felonē*) of 800. For a similar example in Chaucer, compare his doublets *perree*—*perrye* 'jewelry,' from OF.

pierrie. Such explanation of *query* (= *querē*) makes the passage better applicable to *Matt.* 26, 63 (27, 12) and *Mark* 14, 16 (15, 5), as indicated also by the following line of the poem. The poet has in mind the application of *Is.* 53, 7 to the above gospel passages as first made by Philip in *Acts* 8, 32 f.

813 folde. It is difficult to believe this is the same word as *folde* 'fold, enfold' of 434, any more than that *flyze* just before it is 'flay' as M. G. O. make it. For the latter, Holt-hausen (*Archiv* CXXIII, 242) proposed OE. *flygan*, that is OAng. *flēgan* 'put to flight, pursue,' which improves the meaning. I suggest that *folde* is ME. *fōlde(n)* 'put in fold, capture, imprison.' The two verbs would then mean 'pursue and capture,' the latter perhaps somewhat better than the *NED*'s 'bend, throw down, overcome' from the other ME. *folden*.

826 clem. Much discussion went on earlier upon this word, M. originally glossing 'claim' and later shifting to OE. *clēman* 'smear' in the sense of 'lay on,' comparing *Is.* 53, 6. M.'s gloss 'claim' assumed the monophthonging of OF. *ai* to *ē*, and Behrens (*Franz. Sprache* p. 126) had so considered it. Nor is the poet's use of *clayme* vb. and sb. (Cl. 1097, Gaw. 293) an objection, since the similar double forms *strayne* (Gaw. 176) and *streny* (Pl. 151), as well as several other doublets also occur in the poems.

829-30 swatte—pere. Clear cases of a copyist's error for *swete*, *pare*, the latter the less common form but again occurring in rime in 1121.

838 ī seme. M. and G. read *in-seme*, O. *inseme*. In explanation M. cites only OE. *gesōme*, without further explanation. O. follows Mätzner in assuming, for this single instance, a modification of the vowel in OE. *samen* 'together,' O. comparing OE. *gesēman*. These explanations imply a close *ē*, when the rime requires *ē̄*; see note on 802. To perfect the rime, with even better meaning as it seems to me, I propose *in seme* 'in seam, place of joining, border,' an appropriate place for the seals. See the parallel *bryddez*

on *seme*; of Gaw. 610. The final *e* is then at most a dative ending and probably mute here, not an *e* corresponding to *en* of OE. *samen*. Besides, the latter word is usually preserved in full in these poems, as in Pl. 518. For *seam* 'border' cf. also OHG. *saum* 'ora, lacinia, limbus.' The preposition *in* is written *ī* in the MS., as at 9, 13, 22, 30, 56 to take some early examples, and is often combined with the following word as a proclitic (cf. O.'s *Introd.* x, footnote).

841 *pechche*. This has always been explained as OF. *pechet*, Fr. *pêché*, 'sin, offense,' but with no explanation of the change of stress, loss of final *t*, shortening of the first vowel, or applicability to the passage. What can 'sin of other hue than jolly white' mean? I propose *peche* 'piece, patch' from AN. *pêche* corresponding to OF. *piece* 'piece,' with shortening of the vowel, indicated by the double consonant. The Anglo-Norman monophthonging of *ie* is well known, as also the Old French dialectal divergence of *c-ch*. For the latter compare English *lach-et* beside *lace*; *catch* beside *chase*; *pinch* (*pinchers*) beside *pincers*; *pleach* 'interweave boughs,' ME. *plechen*, CF. *plecier*; *vetch* beside CF. *vece*; *grudge*, ME. *grucchen*, beside CF. *grucier*.

For the lowering of the vowel pitch from *e* to *a* of *patch*, see the similar lowering of pitch before a following low-pitched consonant, perhaps assisted by a low-pitched consonant preceding, in the following words: *cratch* 'crib,' ME. *crecche*, OF. *creche*; *latch* 'moisten' (*Mid. Sum.* III, ii, 36) beside British *letch*, Amer. *leach*, OE. *leccean*; *match* 'mate, equal,' ME. *meche* (*macche*), OE. **mecce* (*mæcca*); *batch*, ME. *bach*, OE. **bec(c)* mutated form of *bacan* 'bake'; *hatch* 'half-door' beside Nth. Eng. *heck*, ME. *hacche*, OE. *hæc(c)* 'hurdle, grating'; *hatch* vb., ME. *hacchen*, OE. **heccean* parallel to Germ. *hecken*; Sch. *dratch* (*dretch*) 'delay,' ME. *drecchen* and probably OE. *dreccean* 'vex, trouble'; *thatch*, ME. *pechene*, OE. *ðecen* 'cover, roof'; *thatch* vb., ME. *pecchen*, OE. *peccean*; *watch* sb., ME. *wacche*, OE. *wæcce* 'watch, vigil,' *watch* vb., ME. *wecchen*, OE. *weccean* (*wæcccean*); dial. *ratch* 'stretch, pull' beside *retch* and lengthened *reach*, ME.

ræchen (*rechen*), OE. *ræccean*; *scratch*, ME. *cracchen* (*crecchen*), OE. **cretsian*; perhaps *platch* 'strike with sounding blow,' if from OE. **pletian* (cf. OE. *plættan*). In other words the vowel change, of which there are enough certain examples, would make *pechche* of Pl. 841 the original of the hitherto obscure *patch*, in meaning originally 'piece,' then specifically 'a piece used in mending.' Besides, the principle of the change explains the etymology of a number of other words, as *batch*, *hatch*.

The meaning admirably suits the place. 'This Jerusalem Lamb had never piece (patch) of other hue than beautiful white,' as in 1133 and *Erkenwalde* 85. The poet is emphasizing the Lamb's spotless raiment as symbolic of his sinless life, but not the sinlessness of that life itself.

845 *teche*. OF. *taiche* 'spot, stain,' AN. *têche*, ME. *têche* (*tache*), the last another example of the vowel change mentioned in the preceding note. The word is now preserved dialectally in *tetchy*, derived from another meaning of the word, as 'manner, condition.'

850-852 *blesse*—*lesse*. In rime here the adverb *les* (*lesse*) must have short quantity, as the adjective *lesse* has in rime with *distresse*, *blesse* at 339. As usual in these poems the adjective and adverb have the same form, now *lēs* now *lesse*, and the adjective as *lasse* in 491, 599, 600, 601, 853. But in 950 the compound adverb *nawpeles* rimes with long open ē's, as the adverb *lēs* must also do with *obēs* in 888. This suggests the possibility of its having a long vowel in 864 and 876. In the first the rime is with *mes*, which M. and O. wrongly connect with *messe* 'mass' of 497 and other places in the *Alliterative Poems*. G. rightly glosses 'meal,' but connects without question with OF. *mes* 'course at meal.' The gloss is correct as shown by Gaw. 999,

Boþe at mes and at mele messeȝ ful quaynt,
where both *mes* 'meal' and *messeȝ* 'courses at meal' occur in the same line and must have different meanings. The *NED.* connects *mes* with the OF. word, but the *CtDict.*, rightly as I believe, suggests confusion between OE. *mēse*,

mȳse (Goth. *mēs*) 'table, meal' and OF. *mes* to account for the modern meanings of *mess* as both 'meal' and 'portion of a meal.' Certainly a ME. *mēs* with long vowel occurs in *Cur. Mund.* 12559, where it rimes with *dēs* 'dais,' and in 27904 as *mese* riming with *dēse* 'dais.' In *Thomas of Ercl.* 229 it rimes with *desse*(=*dēse*) 'dais,' in Skelton's *Magnif.* 1009 with *prēse* 'press,' while examples of an early MnE. *mease* (*meeze*) are found, as in Lodge and Greene's *Looking Glass for London*, p. 20. The OE. word would have given ME. *mēs*, but the close *ē* may have been lowered in pitch by the preceding *m* as in *mead*, *meal*, and thus make a perfect rime with *lē̄s*.

In 876 the adjective *les* rimes with *resse* (874), OE. *rā̄s* 'rush, onset, race,' which is prevailing ME. *rēs* with long open vowel, doubtless under the influence of the low-pitched *r*. This example in Pl. is the one case of *resse* cited, although in *Alexander* 2979 *reys*, presumably long, rimes with *chaumbres*, probably a rime in quality only. The word is *res* in Cl. 1782, and in Gaw. 1164, 1899. For the form with long *e* compare *Cur. Mund.* 6580, riming with *Moysēs*, Orm's *Moysēs*; 8879, riming with *blēse* 'blaze'; 25433, riming with *chēs* 'chose'; Gower's *C. A.* III, 1152 and 1671, riming with *pes* 'peace'; VI, 58, riming with *drinkelēs*, and numerous other instances. It would seem that *resse* (874) should be emended to *res*. That the poet should use double forms of *lē̄s* (*lesse*) in such a series of rimes as 850-852, 862-64, 874-76, 886-88, 898-900, 910-12, is not strange.

865 *farande*. Björkman (Scand. L-W, p. 209, 283) assumes Scandinavian, not Old English origin as O. For the semantic change, cf. the colloquial *a going business*, that is 'going well.'

892 *þay swe*. Kölbing proposed *þat* for *þay*, and O. follows, assuming *swe* as third plural by invoking the construction according to sense. M. and G. retain *þay*, without making clear the construction of it. Not the least point against the emendation is the fact that, if emended, *swe* should be *swed*, to agree with the other past tenses of the

quatrain. I believe that it is possible to retain the MS. reading without exceptional change of any sort.

In the stanza the poet is paraphrasing Rev. 14, 3, second clause, and 4-5. He begins with *et nemo poterat dicere canticum, nisi illa centum quadraginta quattuor millia qui empti sunt de terra*. Now there is nothing corresponding to the *nisi* clause except *Bot þat meyny*, which is necessary to complete the comparison. Then, not wishing to repeat the 'one hundred and forty four thousand,' which he has already introduced from verse 1 in lines 869-70, and not using the first clause of verse 4 at all, he paraphrases *hi sequuntur Agnum, quocumque ierit; Hi empti sunt ex hominibus primitiae Deo et Agno*, and follows with verse 5 in the last quatrain. The MS. reading *þay swe* may be kept intact by closing the first sentence of the stanza with *meyny*, here accented on the last syllable and equivalent to *meyne*; cf. note on 752. The *For þay arn boȝt*, etc., is a paraphrase of the last clause of verse 5, with the *de terra* of verse 4, to avoid the use of *empti sunt* twice. Closing the sentence in the middle of the line is unusual in this poem, but occurs in the other poems, and even here the break is scarcely more than in 965.

898 *dystresse*. The form *distres* for the noun and *distressed* for the verb in Cl. 1160, 880 respectively may well indicate that *dystresse* in this place was probably *dystrēs*, and a perfect rime for *lē̃s* (900). It would thus be a doublet of *dystresse* in rime at 337, and perhaps on that account was miscopied by the scribe. For a discussion of the double forms of similar words, see Behrens, *Franz. Sprache* p. 89, and note MnE. *cease* beside *recess*.

905 among. The frequent unvoicing of final *g* in these poems should be sufficient reason for emending to *amonc*, in agreement with *flonc* 'flung' of 1165. Cf. *nobyнк* for *nobyng* (Pl. 308, 496, 587); *þynk* 'thing' (Cl. 819, 1359, Gaw. 1526), and Knigge p. 69 for similar examples.

908 *lose*. The rime requires a long open *ō*, developing naturally from OE. *losian*, ME. *lōsen*, the vowel of MnE. *lose* being a later development.

910 *expresse*. The uncompounded *pres* rimes long open $\bar{e}$ at 957, and the compound *depres* at 778. There is no reason, therefore, why *expresse* here should not be *exprēs*, notwithstanding *expresse* of Cl. 1158. With the long form of the uncompounded word, compare Spenser's *preace* and similar examples in early Mod. Eng.

For the rimes of this section it is worthy of note that *lē̃s* (*lē̃z*) is the prevailing form in the poem of OE. *lā̃s*, occurring nine times alone or in the compounds *naupelē̃s* (*-lē̃z*), *never þe lē̃s*, five times in rime (864, 876, 888, 900, 950). To these must be added, as implying a long open $\bar{e}$ form, *nowþelese* (889) and *neverþelese* (912, 913). The first of these repeats the *never þe les* of 888, a clear rime with an open $\bar{e}$ vowel, the second in rime with the *expresse* (*exprēs*) discussed in the first part of the paragraph.

911 *blose*. M. had suggested Scand. (Icl.) *blossi* 'flame,' and Mätzner, Bradley-Stratmann follow, although *blossi* would give a short vowel and voiceless *s*. Holthausen (*Archiv* CXXIII, 234) proposed ON. *blāsi* 'blower,' which would account for the vowel and consonant, while in the sense of 'boaster' would be possible in the passage. Björkman (*Scand. L-W*, p. 231) thinks this one example not sufficient to determine Scand. influence. G. proposed OF. *blos* which Godefroy defines as 'denué, privé' and G. as 'churl,' with which I am inclined to agree. The final voiced *s* would be the same as in *clos*, *porpose* (183-5, 508-12).

914-21. The lines are a clear example of close and open *o*'s riming together, *done*, *bone*, *mone*, and perhaps *hone* (921) having close $\bar{o}$, *won* a short *o* of similar close quality, and *trone* a clear open $\bar{o}$. The etymology of *hone* is obscure, but it rimes close $\bar{o}$ in *Cur. Mund*.

922 note. M. glossed 'city,' G. 'delight,' neither with any explanation, while O. has put this word and *note* (of musical character) 'song' (879) together. The poet really uses three words of this form: *note*, OE. *notu* 'use, advantage, employment,' in Pl. 155, Cl. 381, 727; *note*, OF. *note* 'sign, note (of music), song,' Lat. *nota*, in Pl. 879, 883; *note* adj. and sb.,

doubtless (though unrecorded) OF. *note* 'noted, excellent,' Lat. *notus*. The last is used as an adj. in Gaw. 2092, as sb. in this passage, and perhaps in Cl. 1233 as M. and *CtDict.* place it, although it might there be the first *note* cited above. Here *þat noble note* 'that noble excellent (place)' is of course Jerusalem.

934 gote. The rime requires an open *ō*, and probably there was an OE. *got*, an o-stem parallel to OE. *gut* 'gut.' This might readily become ME. *gōte* under the influence of the oblique case and plural forms.

938 spakk. The regular singular form of this word, in accordance with the poet's use as given in the note on 270, should be *spek(e)* as in Cl. 1220, Gaw. 1288. The rimes indicate that the poet here used the ME. doublet *spāke*, which the copyist, perhaps by confusion with *spak* 'quick, quickly,' has written *spakk*. We may safely emend.

947 flake. Mätzner, followed by O., connects the word with Icl. *flake* 'hurdle, shield of wicker,' taking *moote* (948) as 'moat.' The interpretation seems forced, since we have already been told (896) *hys flok is lyk to hymself of lote and hwe*, while in 923 the comparison is made between the spotlessness of the Lamb's company and the city. Besides, *wythouten mote* in all other recurrences in the refrain must mean 'without spot.' Bradley-Stratmann must be right in proposing *flake* 'fleck, blemish,' comparing ON. *fleckr*, and Björkman thinks there must have been a native word (*Scand. L-W*, p. 237-8). There should be no difficulty in assuming an unrecorded OE. **flæc*, ME. *flāke* by the change noted in comment upon 388.

957-8 pres, rote. Both with long open vowels, *prēs* like *prece* vb. (Gaw. 2097), *deprēs* of 778, and *presed* (Cl. 1249, Gaw. 830). OE. *rotian* 'become rotten' gave Midland English *rōten* as in Orm, the MnE. form representing a shortening before the dental *t*, as in *hot*.

962-71. The rimed words should all be emended to *-our* endings, all but *cloystour* warranting this form by reason of their origin. As O. points out, *cloystour* may be a NF. form

from Lat. *claustorem*, parallel to OF. *cloistre* from Lat. *claustrum*. The latter form the poet uses as *cloyster* in Gaw. 804.

981 keved. O. has altered the word to *breved*, but needlessly, and especially spoiling the rime with the four open *ē*'s preceding. *Keved*, that is *kēved*, is the past participle of *kēve* (320), Scand. *kefja* 'dip, sink down.' The dreamer is on the bank above the brook and can therefore rightly say of the latter, 'Beyond the brook from me sunk down (or depressed).'

1000, 1007 wale. Possibly Scandinavian, says Björkman (*Scand. L-W*, p. 257), citing Icl. *velja*, OSwed. *vælia*, 'choose.' Both ME. *wālen* and *welen* occur, and the variation may be explained by a lowering of *e* to *a* by influence of the low-pitched *w* and *l*.

1004 pale. G. and O. assume a verb 'grow pale,' but O. proposes OF. *pallir* 'pall' as the original although that verb become ME. *pallen*. Holthausen (*Archiv* XC, 147) would emend *con* to *com*.

1013 tyȝt. The rime requires *tyt* (= *tȳt*), the meaning as well as form of *tyȝt* giving little satisfaction. I propose Scand. *tīt*, neut. of *tīðr* 'frequent, usual, often spoken of, famous,' and metaphorically 'dear, beloved.' The adjective occurs in *Destr. of Troy* 6738:

Menelaus and Thelemon the tore king with their tite batels,

and in Stewart, *Cron. Scot.* (Rolls) II, 258, *Tytest that tyme he was*. It is also implied, as the *NED.* points out, by the adverbs *titely* (*tilly*, *tillike*) in *Sir Tristrem* 2518, 1340 and in *Wm. of Palerne* 2528. This emendation removes another of the examples in which *ȝt* has been supposed to equal *t* alone; see the discussion of *adyte* (349). The copyist's blunder was probably due to the greater frequency of *tyȝt*, as at 503, 713, 1053 in this poem and several times in the others. The quatrain 1013-16 forms an ascending series: "The tenth is well spoken of, the eleventh noble, the twelfth most excellent in every condition," etc.

1028 repayre. G. is wrong in assuming OF. *reparer*, which could not give the diphthong, but O. has corrected by referring to OF. *repaire* 'resort, return, come together.'

1031 cayre. The *NED.*, followed by O., connects with OF. *quarer*, explaining that the vowel has been modified for the rime but taking no account of the consonantal change necessary. Even such a vowel change should be assumed only as a last resort. M., Mätzner, G. and Björkman (*Scand. L-W*, p. 64) assume Scand. *keyra* 'lash, prick on, drive, etc.,' ME. commonly 'go, move, take one's self,' as often in the *Alliterative Poems* and other works.

1041 whateȝ. M., followed by O., regard as a variant of *was* (*watȝ*), O. having a special note and making use of the form for a particular purpose in his *Introduction*. It should be enough to point out that *tȝ* is never equivalent to *teȝ*. Besides, OE. *wæs* in rimes of this poem always has voiceless *s*, as *wace* (65), *wasse* (1108, 1112). G. makes *byrþ whateȝ* a compound and this best suits the situation, although his gloss 'birth-omens' may perhaps be improved. Beside OE. *hwæt* (*hwat*) 'omen, augury' we have Icl. *hwata* 'make speed, hasten,' and *hwatan* 'an urging on, pushing on,' so that I suggest 'succession' as not out of keeping with the other meanings, and probably belonging to the native word. I would place a semicolon after *dateȝ* (1040), and put the next two lines together: 'That is to say, as (according to) their birth-successions, the eldest always first thereon was placed'—a way of saying they followed in regular succession from the eldest to the youngest. If from OE. *hwæt* (*hwat*) the long vowel develops from the oblique case and plural forms.

1064 reget. M. indexed without gloss, and G. glosses 'redeem' without explaining. O. says 'reproduce,' and assumes *re+get* 'obtain' with an interesting note on a medieval idea of a mass in heaven at which the Lamb was thought to officiate. Interesting as this is it does not wholly explain this difficult word, which the *NED.* gives up, saying "of obscure origin and meaning." Again, both G. and O.

take *reget* as an infinitive with the preceding *to*, when the latter bears the stress and is as much a part of the compound *perto* as in 664 and 833 for example. Further, compounds of OF. *re-* with native words are in general later than this time, only *renew* occurring in Chaucer and Wyclif, and that perhaps suggested by OF. *renoveler*, ME. *renowlen* as in Pl. 1080, first becoming *renewlen*. *Reget* 're-get, get back or again' is not cited in the *NED*. before 1604.

As an OF. word seems called for by the phonology, I propose a voiced form of NF. *recheter*, CF. *receter*, 'receive, give refuge, call back,' and the form here a past participle: "The lamb the sacrifice thereto received (or called back)." This fits the place, and the form is in accord with occasional voicings of *t* to *d*, *wh* to *w* or *qu*, and a similar voicing of *ch* to *j* in MnE. *ajar*, *grudge*. The unvoiced form of the NF. word occurs in *Sir Gawain* as *rechataund*, *rechated*, the different vowel being accounted for by differences in Old French. The noun *reset* (1067) is from the corresponding CF. variant.

1066 lone. This should be *lōne* for perfect rime, and I propose Scand. *lōne* 'inlet' instead of OE. *lane* as by O., which would give at best a vowel of wrong quality. The Scand. word is clearly in gradation relation with the English, and doubtless had the meaning 'lane' as well. See Sch. and Dial. Eng. *loan* (*lone*) 'opening between fields, narrow street or way.'

1074 brym. M. placed with *brymme* 'bank, shore' (232), as do Mätzner, G., O. It is probable that his is OE. *brim* 'wave, flood, sea,' as *brymme* must be in Gaw. 2172, and perhaps in Cl. 365. The water of the stream has been especially described as shining wonderfully in 1057-8. *Brokeȝ brym* would then be 'water of the brook.'

1075 plyȝt. A clear case of confusion in meaning between OE. *pliht* 'danger, peril' and OF. *plite*, ME. *plite* 'condition.' See note on 647.

1083 baly. A copyist's error with *y* for final *e*, for *bayl* or *bayle*; compare note on 313-19.

1097 enpresse. Fick first proposed *enprise* for the rime, noting Chaucer's use in C. T. 2540, *Cur. Mund.* 9802. The

true form is *emprise*, which the copyist has confused with *enpresse* (*enprece*) used by the poet in Pat. 43, 528. The meaning 'undertaking' hardly fits the place, and 'result of undertaking, excellence, dignity' are better. For the last meanings see Gower, C. A. I, 2066:

And humbled him in such a wise
To hem that were of none emprise.

1141 *wene*. M. G. O. give to the word the unusual meaning 'doubt,' but the ordinary meaning 'think of, believe' is quite possible with the explanation of *wounde hade* in the next note.

1142 *wounde hade*. The editors are chary of comment, apparently thinking that by giving to *wene* the unusual meaning of 'doubt' they have solved the difficulties of the passage. G. and O. cut off the line from the rest of the quatrain, and G. supplies a subject for *wat3* (1143) in his translation, while dodging the difficulty of *wounde hade* by translating 'wounded sore.' All have apparently taken *hade* as 'had,' thus leaving *wat3* without a subject. I propose *wounde-hade* as a compound, meaning 'condition of being wounded, injury'; see the great number of similar compounds under *hād*, *hēd* in Bradley-Stratmann. It is then possible to read the first line with the rest of the quatrain and give the usual meaning to *wene*: "The Lamb's delight (pleasure) none list to think of, though he were hurt; and wounded condition was not seen in his countenance, so gloriously glad were his glances." The clause beginning with *and* gives the reason why no one thought of the Lamb's delight. The ending would thus be a Nth. form of OE. *-hād*, or shortened form of *-hād*, *-hæd*. Otherwise we must supply a subject for *wat3*, which might be done by inserting [*hit*] before *sene*, without disturbing the meter.

1156 *walte*. M. had connected with *walten* 'roll, overturn,' with *ho* referring to the brook, but as G. points out it is unlikely the feminine pronoun would refer to the water. He proposes to connect with OE. *wealdian* 'rule, control,' and O. associates with *wǣlde* (812) from the same verb. This

requires making *walle* a Nth. form with shortening of the vowel, or perhaps deriving from ON. *valda*. I suggest the possible origin in *wallen* 'surround with wall.' Two obstacles intervene between the dreamer and the maiden, the stream and the wall of the city (Pl. 917, 1017, 1026), both figured in one of the MS. pictures (see Morley's *Illustrations of English Religion* p. 108). Within the wall the maiden is not restrained in any sense, but is happy in a blissful life. The form of the word is exactly paralleled by *bycallt* (1161) from *bicallen*, while the similar *wallit* occurs in Barbour a little later.

1161 bitalt. M's gloss 'aroused' is too free, while G. and O. give 'shaken.' It is the figurative meaning of the OE. word which belongs here, 'shaken in purpose, made uncertain, made to hesitate.'

1177 outfleme. M. glossed 'banished,' associating with *fleme* (334). G. gives 'an outcast,' although he also translates 'banished forth.' O. gives 'exile,' the meaning of a noun set up by the *NED.* for this place only. No one has accounted for the unusual stress on the second element of a compound noun. As Miss Day pointed out in the article already cited, and as I have indicated in note to 349, the word is a past participle without final *d*.

1180 swone. *Swoune* is both correct for rime and phonologically, while in vowel it would accord with the allied form *swowed* of Pat. 442.

1190 geven. There should be no hesitation in emending to *given* or *gyven*, as required by the rime. It would then correspond to the infinitive *gif* of Gaw. 288, 365. No infinitive *geven* is found in the poems.

1196 clyven. M. glossed 'cleave,' separating from *clyves* (Cl. 1630), which he glossed 'cleave, cling to.' G. glosses 'cleave, pertain' without further explanation, and O. 'belong' but incorrectly associating with *cleven* (66), that is *clēven*; see note on that passage. This is OE. *clifian* 'adhere,' from which the meaning 'belong' is a natural development.

1201 sete sazte. O. unnecessarily inserts [hym] between the words. *Sete sazte* 'make peace' corresponds to several Scand. expressions, as the verb with *friði* 'peace' and *grið* 'truce.' As *sazte* itself is probably a Scand. borrowing (Björkman, *Scand. L-W*, p. 100), the idiom may well be so. While the reference of the peace is to *Prince*, a pronoun of reference is not needed, the passage not being exactly similar to Pl. 52 in which a pronoun of subjective reference is used.

The purpose of this paper is not to explain away false rimes in the poem, but to consider such as seem false in the light of the poet's best technique, the possibilities of the language in his time, and the undoubted evidence in other places of a careless copyist. The examination has shown, it would seem, that the poet of *Pearl* was much more considerate of rime accuracy than has been supposed, and that consideration of this possibility may in some cases assist in elucidating the meaning of certain lines. In *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n.* XII, 326, C. S. Northup proposed a fuller discussion of the rimes and I have no idea of forestalling him. I may here add a brief summary of some of the rime relations considered by this paper.

The final *y—e* rimes of stanzas 27, 29, 91 do not indicate imperfect rime technique, but are to be regarded as a copyist's error, or the use of different signs for the same sound. The final *yȝe(yȝ)—ye* rimes of stanzas 26, 38, 39, 87 must also be assumed to be correct, final *yȝ(yȝe)* having lost all trace of a spirant consonant, just as the rimes of stanzas 51 to 55 inclusive indicate the loss of a similar final spirant in the *oghe(oȝe)* ending. Imperfections of rime technique do occur at least in the following instances. Rimes of *ē—ē* are found in stanzas 6, 9, 10, 14, 82, 97, but only one example of different vowel quality in each six rimes. Rimes of *ō—ō* occur in stanza 77 and 88, in the latter of which *upone* rimes with a close rather than an open *ō*, as rarely in Chaucer. This assumes that the adverb *upon* correctly rimes with open *ō* words in 208 and 824. Twice *con* with *ō*, perhaps *ō*, rimes

with $\bar{o}$ words, as in stanzas 32 and 69. Rimes of quality rather than quantity occur when in stanza 59 *dōme* rimes with words having $o=u$; in 77 when *won* (= *wun*) 'dwell' rimes with $\bar{o}$, $\bar{p}$ words; and in 40, 45, and 76 when *among* or *zonge* rimes with *stronge*, *songe*, *ponc* respectively. Somewhat more numerous are similar rimes of $\bar{y}$ — y in stanzas 39, 51, 53, 63, 65, 95. Even taking these into account the rimes of *Pearl* may be assumed to be as accurate as those of most Middle English poets.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON

III. THE FIRST VISIT OF ERASMUS TO ENGLAND

As hero in the romance of scholarship, Desiderius Erasmus has few peers. His fame rests not alone upon his breaking with Scotism and Ciceronianism, but also upon the vigor and validity of the systems which he was instrumental in substituting. In England especially the effects of his doctrines culminated in far-reaching changes of church, state, and university. Most estimates of his career paint him as a Humanistic hero from the first—a master of disputation, a notable author, a scholar in Greek, an educator with theories full-formed, a torch-bearer of Humanism almost before the torch began to blaze.¹ As a matter of fact, the

¹ Compare Samuel Knight, *The Life of Erasmus*, Cambridge: 1726, pp. 1-21; Frederic Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers* (reprint of the 3rd edition), London: 1896, p. 101; George Norcross, "Erasmus, the Prince of the Humanists," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1898*, Washington: 1899, pp. 363-80; J. A. Froude, *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, New York: 1895, pp. 37 ff.; Emile Amiel, *Un Libre Penseur du XVI^{me} Siècle—Erasme*, Paris: 1889, pp. 49-57. Full grounds for a more rational view came with Francis Morgan Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus . . . English Translation*, London: I; 1901; but cf. p. 104, where, in 1494, Nichols rates him as "already the most accomplished scholar of the time." A truer appraisal of the facts is already broached in Ephraim Emerton, *Desiderius Erasmus*, New York, 1899, pp. 62, ff., but Emerton's shrewd, if at times seemingly captious, estimate was hampered in detail, and consequently in inferences, by lack of materials which began to appear, two years after his publication, in Nichols's admirable edition of the *Epistles*. Further progress in certain directions is discernible in William Harrison Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus, Concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, Cambridge: 1904, pp. 10, ff. The Reverend T. M. Lindsay, "Englishmen and the Classical Renaissance," *Cambridge History of English Literature*, New York, 1911, III, Ch. i, pp. 2-3, seems to return to the more enthusiastic and less considered view, in spite of his statements (p. 2) that Erasmus "had produced little or nothing" by 1499; "He was almost unknown and he had no sure prospects in life." It might have been hoped that Kurt Schroeder's "*Platonismus in der Englischen Renaissance vor und bei Thomas Eliot*" (Palaestra, LXXXIII, Berlin: 1920), would throw light on the Erasmus of 1500; but Schroeder consulted none of the critical estimates of Erasmus published since 1894, when Froude's *Life and Letters of Erasmus* was printed

turning-point in his affairs came with his first visit to England, and to that event and its antecedents both Erasmus and the world owe many of the fruits of his later career. To establish this view, it will be necessary to discuss in some detail his schooling, his university days, his residence at the College of Montaigu in Paris, his English friendships, and finally the visit to England in 1499.

The life² of Erasmus began under a cloud. Born in 1466,³ the son of Margaret, daughter of a physician, and Gerard, translator of books, at Gouda (or Ter-Gouda) in the Low Countries, perhaps after "words of betrothal," but certainly out of wedlock, while his father, deceived as to Margaret's death, was in Rome, Erasmus nevertheless received a liberal education beginning with his fourth year. At first he was taught privately, apparently by Peter Winckel of Gouda, afterward his guardian, but later at a "barbarous" school at Deventer belonging to the Chapter of the Church of St. Lebuin, where he remained until his fourteenth year. Thence he went to a school of the Brothers of the Common Life at Bois-le-Duc, where he seems to have remained under severe discipline until about 1482-83, when he entered the "Augustinian monastery of Emmaus in the district called Stein, which adjoined Gouda on the east." The causes which led Erasmus to enter the monastery at Stein are too complex

in England, and ignored Nichols entirely. Following Froude, he dates the first visit as 1497 and (p. 39) continues, "um Griechisch zu lernen, reiste er nach Oxford und hörte Grocyn und Linacre." With Schroeder's citations from the works of Erasmus and with his statement that "Bevor Erasmus 1497 nach Oxford kam, hatte er P[laton] studiert, und zwar in lateinischer Übersetzung," the present study is not concerned. Henry Osborn Taylor's *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, 1920, I, 152-82, contains a notable estimate of the place of Erasmus in Renaissance thought, but its contribution to the question of Erasmus's knowledge of Greek is nil, perhaps because the scale of the work admits little more than the statement (p. 159), "As Oxford possessed little Greek, he returned to Paris to resume its study." When Erasmus had begun it, is not stated.

² Nichols, *Epistles*, I, 5-103.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

for detailed discussion; suffice it to say that he reckoned himself, in the later *Compendium* of his life, as "already ripe for a University" when he left Bois-le-Duc, but his guardian, Peter Winckel, so contrived matters that the boy, egged on by a former schoolmate at Deventer, Cornelius by name, entered the monastic order. At Stein begins the epistolary evidence concerning his life. His inheritance from his father seems to have been mismanaged by the guardian, perhaps to the advantage of Erasmus's brother, Peter Gerard, with whom he afterward fell out. The statement that "when Erasmus joined the monastery, he was prepared, boy as he was, to assume the part of a missionary of Letters"⁴ may well be taken with a grain of salt. That he was industrious cannot be doubted—he had his own way to make in the world—and that he coached young Cornelius Woerden in Terence is indubitable. Now, Cornelius had already been in Italy, and perhaps his account of that scholar's paradise held out to his young coach the first vision of his promised land. Another intimate of Erasmus of Stein was William Herman, also of Gouda, whose relations with Erasmus were close—perhaps too close.⁵ Erasmus carried on, furthermore, a correspondence with one of the younger members of the convent, Servatius Rogerus, which illustrates "a somewhat feminine side of the character of Erasmus, whom [it] exhibit[s] as having formed a devoted attachment to one of his own sex, which was not being returned with equal fervor."⁶ Besides this letter-writing, Erasmus was industrious as regards the classics. To Cornelius of Gouda he named as

⁴ Nichols, *Epistles*, I, p. 43.

⁵ Cf. *Infra*, pp. 101-102.

⁶ For a notice of this trait in the character of Erasmus, see Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. II, "Sexual Inversion," 3rd ed., Philadelphia: 1918, p. 31. After the affair in the English boarding house, Erasmus seems to have learned the folly of committing all his thoughts to paper. A series of events took place at Stein which may or may not have involved William Herman, but which provoked talk and upon which, in 1498, Erasmus did not enjoy looking back. (Cf. Nichols, pp. 170, 173. The references by Erasmus, as given, may as well concern Stein as Paris.)

his "authorities in Poetry, Maro, Horace, Naso, Juvenal, Statius, Martial, Claudian, Persius, Lucan, Tibullus and Propertius; in prose, Tully, Quintilian, Sallust, Terence [*sic*]; . . . for the observance of [the] elegances . . . Laurentius Valla," upon whose collection some of Erasmus's later work was based.⁷ Of then-moderns, he seems to be familiar with Æneas Silvius, author of *De Duobus Amantibus*, Augustinus Dathus, Guarino, Poggio and Gasparino, all of whom he praises for "eloquence," that is, *eloquentia*, smoothness and copiousness of diction.⁸ It appears that his former schoolmaster at Deventer, Alexander Hegius, is "not altogether ignorant of Greek," but here and elsewhere sure evidence is lacking that he had taught Erasmus the language.⁹ It is perhaps worth noting that while at Stein Erasmus went on record in a letter to Servatius as condemning "borrowed sentences, or even what is worse, heaping up expressions, here out of Bernard and there out of Claudian, and fitting them or rather unfitly sewing them on to your own, as a crow might do with a peacock's feathers. That is not," he continues, "composing a letter, but merely putting letters together," a sentiment which became the groundwork of the *Antibarbarians*. Erasmus's own literary compositions at the monastery merit a moment's consideration: several poetic juvenilia, including one *de Casa natalitia pueri Iesu*, certain *Varia Carmina*, three satires, a poem *Ad Lesbium de Nummo*, and verses *On the Contempt of Poetry*:

⁷ Nichols, I, p. 64.

⁸ Nichols's rendering, *eloquence*, is open to misinterpretation.

⁹ The only exception I can discover, which is not based upon inference, is the statement of Beatus Rhenanus, prefixed to the Basle edition (1536) of Origen, that at Deventer Erasmus "imbibed the rudiments of both languages." (Nichols, p. 23.) Now the events of Erasmus's early life as set forth by Beatus Rhenanus do not agree *in toto* with the *Compendium*, a discrepancy which may be due to Beatus's having first met Erasmus at Paris between say, 1503 and 1507. These youthful incidents, then, Beatus learned from conversations with Erasmus (I assume the most direct transmission possible), and, full of admiration for a friend, he was not beyond touching up the account of those early years with an ascription of a knowledge of Greek.

a prose manuscript of Laurentius Valla's *Elegantiae*, an *Oratio de Pace et Discordia*, an *Oratio Funebris*, and the epistle *De Contemptu Mundi*.¹⁰ These works, however, could have brought him little fame, and none of a really substantial sort.

It is probable that during these monastery days Erasmus made the acquaintance of James Batt, town-secretary at Bergen, whose friendly offices with the Bishop of Cambrai, Henry of Bergen,¹¹ provided him with the next step in his climb to eminence. The Bishop, "hoping for a Cardinal's hat," required the services of a *savant* for his proposed journey to Rome, and the indications are that Batt prompted his friend to apply for the post. This Erasmus secured, and after due ecclesiastical formality as regards release from the monastery, he entered the Bishop's service. Henry, however, because of "want of ready money," did not secure the red hat, and the position of Erasmus became somewhat insecure. He left Stein about 1493 and entered the Bishop's service at Bergen and Brussels, and perhaps at Cambrai. Henry at his most munificent proved an impecunious patron, and it may be, as hinted in the *Compendium*, that his cordiality toward Erasmus cooled. But he was sufficiently well disposed to further, or at all events not to prevent, the removal of Erasmus to Paris in the autumn of 1494, to the College of Montaigu.

The *Collège de Montaigu*, founded in 1314 by Giles Aicelin, Archbishop of Rouen, as the *Collège des Aicelins*,¹² was

¹⁰ Nichols, pp. 85-88.

¹¹ Henry of Bergen was no mean figure. On February 11, 1495, the Milanese Ambassador in Flanders wrote from Bois-le-Duc that "His Majesty [Maximilian I] told me that this man [Sir Robert Clifford] when he was in England, divulged that this Duke of New York [Perkin Warbeck] was not the son of King Edward, but is the son of the Dowager Duchess of Burgundy and the Bishop of Cambrai." (Pollard, *Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources*, I, 102.) Professor Pollard, in his Introduction, refers to this hypothesis cautiously, but does not entirely reject it.

¹² Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 1895, I, 512, 515.

restored in 1388 by Pierre Aicelin de Montaigu, Bishop of Nevers and Laon and Cardinal, and received his name in commemoration. About a hundred years later, the college fell again into ruin and its revenues ceased. In 1483 Jean Standonc of Brabant became master, and under him Montaigu College again prospered through taking rich boarders and forcing them to support the *pauperes*. The great college reformer drew up an "exceptionally rigid code of Statutes,"¹³ which included penalties such as stoppages of food and monastic prostrations, and even flogging for violence and rebellion.¹⁴ Considering the frequency of street brawls between town and gown at the end of the Middle Ages, one concludes that the rod was not spared in the *Rue Saint Étienne des Grés*. Indeed, the college was under a most rigorous monastic discipline—not, however, surprising in that portion of old Paris which was the stronghold of the Augustinians.

Exactly what led Erasmus to the College of Montaigu does not appear. It would be easy to point out the identity of order between Montaigu College and the monastery at Stein; the provision for poorer students already referred to; the desire for a rigorous regimen of academic life, to the end that he might reap greater intellectual harvests from his exertions; and perhaps the fact that "*les pauvres Capettes de Montaigu*" (regulation as to dress was strict) were, even during the residence of Erasmus, not required to do more than attend college lectures to obtain a degree.¹⁵ Life at "the lousy college they call Montaigu," as Rabelais dubbed it in the *Gargantua* (Chap. XXXVII), was not luxurious. Erasmus suffered it as a student until the end of 1495, when he

¹³ Rashdall, II, 620.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 620. For a notice of the use of the rod as penance and punishment in the Augustinian Order, see the Reverend William M. Cooper, *A History of the Rod*, London: revised edition, N. D., pp. 79-80.

¹⁵ Rashdall, II, 500. Note 2 shows, however, that it is the Statutes of 1501 for Montaigu College which contain the provision, a possible academic sanction of a then-existing fact.

returned to his episcopal patron and also to Stein. Long afterward he complained of the bad eggs, the fish diet, and an infected bedchamber on his own score, and blindness, madness, leprosy, and death on the score of others at this Renaissance Dotheboys Hall. The hardships brought on an attack of intermittent fever, from which Erasmus recovered through the intercession of St. Geneviève—her church stood hard by the college—and which led to his writing sometime later a *Carmen Votivum* for his restoration to health. Besides preaching some sermons, he contributed to the *Annales* of the French Kings, written by his friend Robert Gaguin and published September 30, 1495, a commendatory *Epistle*, his first published work.

After health had returned at Bergen and Stein, Erasmus came back again to Paris, this time in a new status. He became a tutor¹⁶ and later, in 1496, a resident of a boarding house in which lived several young English noblemen, including Thomas Grey, "whom Erasmus's English biographers have generally supposed to be a son of the Marquis of Dorset."¹⁷ Robert Fisher, cousin of Dr. John Fisher, and William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, a courtier of Henry VII and a chamberlain to the Queen. With these three Erasmus established the best of relations, and on his own evidence, however prudential, it may be concluded that the young men appreciated his scholarship and his ability to teach. Through them, it seems, an English ecclesiastic offered Erasmus preferment in exchange for tutoring and a benefice in England, but Erasmus would not, as he wrote somewhat sententiously to Father Nicholas Werner, then head of

¹⁶ Nichols, I, 109.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 115. Why Nichols so much distrusts Knight's identification does not exactly appear. Besides Nichols's references, I may add the allusion in the *Paston Letters* to "My Lord Haryngton, Lord Marcas son," made Knight of the Bath in November, 1494. If the Thomas Greys are identical, the young man was at that time seventeen years old, not an unusual age for such an honor, considering his lineage. (*Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, III, 384, and Note 1. Cf. *Epistles*, I, 128, note.)

the conventual house at Stein, "by any bribe . . . be led away from sacred studies."¹⁸

The acquaintance with Lord Mountjoy soon ripened into a substantial friendship. Aside from the tuition in rhetoric which Erasmus gave him, and for which, it may be assumed, the teacher was amply paid, their relations developed into such a mutual regard on both sides that some of the arguments on matrimony which formed part of the instruction of the young man became later a part of *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, begun at about this time at Mountjoy and Fisher's instigation.¹⁹ The exercises had a bearing upon Mountjoy's life in that (in, say, April, 1497) he returned to England to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Say of Hertfordshire. During the bridegroom's absence, Erasmus seems to have written to him in regard to the treatise of Letter-Writing and to have received an encouraging reply. Mountjoy's absence probably continued till 1498,²⁰ when, still a minor, he received permission in spite of his marriage to continue his studies in Paris.

Meanwhile matters had gone less smoothly with Erasmus. Toward the end of July, 1497, he became involved in a scandal in the English boarding house, which forced him to quit his comfortable quarters, seemingly at the instigation of the "half-Scot" tutor, with whom he seems to have been previously on excellent terms. Now, however, no censure is extreme to hurl at this disturber.²¹ One who reads Erasmus's

¹⁸ The whole of this Epistle (49) is a palpable attempt to impress rural friends with the urban importance of Erasmus and his English connections, and to justify the extension of his leave from the monastery for study.

¹⁹ Nichols, I, 129-30.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Cf. Hall's *Chronicle*, summer of 1497, when Mountjoy was present as a part of the force assembled in London to suppress the Cornish uprising.

²¹ Nichols, I, 130, ff. I cannot identify this old man, whom Erasmus accuses of being a spy in the pay of the English Crown. As for the identification with Eden, the Englishman with whom Erasmus stayed in 1511, such an "old feud" does not heal. The testimony finds a commentary in the testimony of Jacques de Vitry, fantastically exaggerated perhaps, respecting

denials in the affair finds suspicion growing stronger that he protests too much. To the house Erasmus could not return, in spite of the protests of young Grey and Fisher. He remained on fairly good terms with the *propriétaire*, though he seems to have owed her money, and on the best of statuses with the two English youths. He took up a temporary residence with another pupil.

By the winter of 1497-98, it will be seen, Erasmus presents a figure of some complexity. From obscurity he had risen to a rather notable position by his own unaided efforts and his wits. His intellectual powers were great, and his educational opportunities, of which he had made use with an extraordinary and persistent devotion, had permitted him to lay in a goodly store of learning. He was known as a poet, though he could not be called famous. He was a thorough and inspiring teacher. His literary friends included Robert Gaguin, the historian of Paris, William Herman of Gouda, of whose poetry he was somewhat sanguine, Hector Boece of Dundee, with whom he had attended the *Collège de Montaigu*, and others of no less note at that time. Of his personal friends he might expect more in the way of pecuniary comfort. Though as a patron Henry of Bergen had left much to be desired, the group of young Englishmen promised well, provided they were rightly handled. His earnings as tutor, if not large, at least kept the wolf from the door; his pupils included a young man of Lubeck, whose father paid well. James Batt was always to be relied upon for assistance and influence. But ill-health—the Paris of that day was swept intermittently by fever and pestilence—and a delicate constitution demanded more of comfort and ease than many poor scholars could command. That prudential trait

sexual immorality at the University of Paris some two hundred and fifty years earlier (*Historia Occidentalis*, Duai, 1596, pp. 277-79, a sentence or two from which is quoted by Rashdall, II, Part ii, pp. 690-91). There is little reason to believe that in Erasmus's day student life had completely changed its character, or more than acquired a new set of external appearances.

in the character of Erasmus which, along with the customs of the day, led him to sue for patronage at many doors and, it often seems, to value his friends in proportion to their pecuniary yield, had then a partly physical source. Nowhere could Bacon's tenets find better illustration. Erasmus's ambitions, fed by an innate vanity which at times repels by its frank self-seeking, included both fame and fortune. But without fortune there could be no fame. Having become a Bachelor of Arts in Scotist Theology at Paris in 1498, he looked with longing eyes to a doctorate at an Italian university. His expectations and preparations, which waxed and waned during 1497, 1498, and 1499, had as their goal the University of Bologna. Why Erasmus should have fixed his eyes upon Italy is not far to seek; the fame of the Italian universities, their provision for poorer scholars, the roseate opportunities for advancement, and the fact that "the whole scale of living among the Italian students was rather more luxurious than that which prevailed among the mass of Parisian or Oxonian scholars,"²² and, possibly, an easier attitude on the part of the framers of university statutes toward illegitimacy,—all these facts served to enhance the value of an Italian degree in the eyes of Erasmus. As to his personal character, its traits must be regarded as being little more than products of the age in which he lived. He had his own fame to assure. He could not fulfill his own ambitions on his own resources. The "unpleasant savour" of his "irritable self-conceit, shameless importunity, perfect indifference to the person importuned" may lead one to "a sense of contempt for a scholar who could play so sordid a part,"²³ were they not the way of Erasmus's world. And how else was he to live? Doubtless ill health and realization of lack of means to attain his ends are responsible for the tone

²² Rashdall, II, Part ii, p. 661; and I, pp. 144, ff. For the question of illegitimacy, cf. Vol. II, Part ii, p. 497, Note 1; a dispensation would have set all to rights and later did.

²³ Woodward, *Erasmus*, Part I, Ch. I, "outline of the Life," pp. 8-9. The rosy estimate of Dr. Norcross is still further afield.

of depression and shrewdness which permeates the Epistles of this period of his life.

A visit to the Bishop of Cambrai, who remained Erasmus's patron, but whose gift from the Privy Purse of Henry VII while in England netted Erasmus "plenty of complaints and very little money,"²⁴ improved his health. Tongues seem to have wagged against him, for Faustus Andrelinus, the King's Poet, is at some pains to write in extravagant praise of him to William Herman of Gouda. It was high time for Erasmus to be rising in the world. His friend James Batt paved the way²⁵ to a suit to Anne Lady of Vere, at the Castle of Tournehem in Artois, which culminated in a visit of some days to the castle, and incidentally to Antwerp in February of 1499, but gained him little else besides the discomforts of a winter journey. By May 2, 1499, he was back again in Paris, living with Mountjoy "on the old terms"²⁶ but with a slim purse, which "put off the Italian journey till August." Mountjoy had "resolved to visit Italy, if his mother gives him leave, [one can guess how the idea originated] but not until next year; and not a word has passed between us about his taking me." The "book on Letter-Writing" with the additional notes on "Copiousness, on Amplifications, on Argumentations, and on Figures," is again in hand. Batt has proposed that he and Erasmus should live for a time at Louvain, and in this suggestion Erasmus seems eagerly to acquiesce; but it is apparent that Italy, not Louvain, is his real desire—expenses paid. At about this time he writes obscurely to Batt of a journey elsewhere than to Louvain or Italy, "if we are not allowed to reach the harbour we most wish, we shall at any rate be landed on some shore or other." The reference becomes clearer in the next Epistle; he is starting for England.

Erasmus could scarcely have visited England under better auspices. Henry VII had a high opinion of Mountjoy,

²⁴ Nichols, I, 162.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 175, ff

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, ff.

with whom Prince Henry exchanged letters,²⁷ and the youthful nobleman's father-in-law, Sir William Say, in whose house the young Lady Mountjoy had been living during her husband's absence, appears to have owned residences both in London and in Greenwich near the Court. In addition, Sir William Say seems to have been a friend of Serjeant John More, father of Thomas More. Under these conditions, with the evidences of the Epistles, the visit of Erasmus may be partly reconstructed.

Arriving in England during the summer of 1499, Erasmus may have proceeded to London for a short visit to Mountjoy's town house. Seebohm's conjecture²⁸ that the friendship with More began at the table of the former Lord Mayor, Sir Henry Colet, father of Dr. John Colet, finds little support in available facts. More, who had just attained his majority, was a member and resident of Lincoln's Inn, where Erasmus may have called upon him;²⁹ at any rate, their acquaintance had its inception at this time. From London it is likely that Erasmus accompanied Mountjoy to the country-house at Greenwich, where More came to see him and took him to pay his respects at the royal nursery at Eltham nearby. He did some hunting and riding, and his stay among the nation whom he had stigmatized earlier as "both rich and very ostentatious" certainly improved his manners, laugh as he might at their habits of kissing. The cleanliness of the houses in which he sojourned, in comparison with what he had been accustomed to in France, seems to have impressed him almost as much as the hospitality of their residents. Lord Mountjoy kept him in funds. In short, Erasmus seems during his stay to have come into intimate contact with a social class different from that in which he had moved. The result was a new outlook upon the amenities of society, and his ready receptivity led him to enjoy the change.

²⁷ Nichols, I, p. 424.

²⁸ *Oxford Reformers*, p. 113.

²⁹ Erasmus knew More's roommate, Arnold Edward. (Nichols, I, 235.)

During the autumn of 1499, Erasmus was already intending to cut short his visit and to return to Paris, but for reasons which do not appear, he changed his plans to include a stay at Oxford. It would have been natural for so ambitious a scholar to wish to inspect the university of which he had heard, and, considering his position as an ecclesiastic, to go to a hostel where his attainments would be welcome, and living not unreasonable in price. From September to December, 1499, he seems to have been a boarder at the Augustinian College of St. Mary's.

The monastic College of St. Mary's was never of great academic importance. Though the Augustinians were in Cambridge before 1278,³⁰ they did not acquire the tenancy of St. Mary's, Oxford, until 1435,³¹ when select Canons, supported by their establishments, began to be sent thither from all houses of the order. The Statutes of the college are not available, but it may be assumed that its inmates were permitted to attend the lectures of the university, though they were held under a certain amount of monastic discipline, not, however, of the same strictness as obtained at the *Collège de Montaigu*. The Prior of the house was Richard Charnock, to whom Erasmus became indebted for board, lodging, or small loans, and who gave the visitor a good character to John Colet, at that time a lecturer at the university.

Colet addressed to Erasmus a letter of welcome, contained and dignified in tone, and thus began a long friendship. He had read while in Paris Erasmus's commendatory Epistle to Gaguin on the *De Francorum Regnum gestis* . . . *Annales* and to other guarded praise he adds that, "Erasmus was not without celebrity in the mouth of the learned." Erasmus replied in complimentary vein, including a character of himself: "You will find in me a man of slender fortune, or rather of none at all, averse from ambition, most inclined to

³⁰ Rashdall, *Universities*, II, Part ii, p. 559.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 479, f. Now Frewen Hall in New Inn Street.

love, little skilled indeed in letters, but a most warm admirer of them, one that religiously venerates goodness in others and thinks nothing of his own; who is ready to yield to all in learning, to none in honesty; simple, free, equally ignorant of simulation and dissimulation; of a character humble but sound; sparing in speech; a person in short from whom, except character, you have nothing to expect." How trustworthy a judge was Erasmus of his own characteristics may perhaps be inferred from this passage. The Epistle also contains some compliments for Colet on his spoken style, rather extravagant but not more than could have been gained by hearsay or by attending one or two of his lectures. Mountjoy had also proposed to join Erasmus at Oxford, but did not do so.³²

To another friend made in England, Ioannes Sixtinus, a Frieslander, Erasmus wrote of a dinner party³³ which he attended at Oxford. "First, there was prior Richard. . . ; then the divine who had preached the Latin sermon the same day . . . ; then [Sixtinus's] friend Philip. Colet, asserter and champion of the old theology, was at the head of the

³² He had already studied at Cambridge. Mountjoy is named in another reference of the period, a letter of John Pullan to Sir Robert Plumpton from London, 21 November, 1499: "Sir, this present day was new baresses made in Westmynster hall, and thether we brought Therle of Oxford . . . and afore other Lords, . . . whos names followeth; [thirteenth on the list], Lord Mountioy." (*Plumpton Correspondence*, ed. Thomas Stapleton, Camden Society, First Series, IV, 143; and Pollard, *Reign of Henry VII*, I, 210.)

³³ Nichols, I, 215. H. C. Maxwell Lyte (*A History of the University of Oxford . . . to the Year 1530*, London: 1886, p. 394), says that the feast "appears to have been given on the occasion of an inception in theology;" at Colet's left sat, says Erasmus, "the more modern theologian." Such *convivia* seem to have formed a regular part of commencing bachelorhood. Thus, Walter Paston gave one in 1479. He was made "Baschyler" on Friday, June 7, and "I mad my fest on the Munday after." Though Lady Harcourt's venison did not arrive, "my gestes hewld them plesyd with such mete as they had." (*Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, III, 248.) The feast may, however, have been a dinner in the hall; this might better account for the "mixed and nameless assembly."

table. On his right sat the prior, . . . on his left . . . the more modern theologian. His left was covered by me, that the banquet might not be without a poet,³⁴ while opposite to me sate Philip, to represent the legal profession. Below was a mixed and nameless assembly." The talk ran upon the sin of Cain; "Colet maintained that Cain first offended God by his fault, that in distrust of the bounty of the Creator, and in over-confidence of his own exertions, he was the first to break up the soil, while Abel was content with what grew of itself and fed sheep. The theologian and [Erasmus] did [their] best to contend this theory; . . . nevertheless, Colet alone overcame all." Not a word, except incidentally, does Erasmus give of the formal argument; instead he retails a story which he told in his rôle of poet to break up the discussion. It is to be noted that Erasmus does not occupy the seat of honor at the dinner, and that his place is scarcely that of a guest; and especially that he evidently considered himself beyond his depth as regards both theology and learning. If he had felt that he had made so good an impression with his argument as he made with his fable, it is certain that, characteristically, he would have digested it as well. Instead, he falls back, rather lamely perhaps, upon his invention as *poeta*.

Another, and perhaps a more fruitful, discussion (at least as regards print) between Colet and Erasmus took place at Oxford "upon the right explanation of the discouragement and fear which appear to be expressed by Jesus in his Agony in the Garden, when he is described as praying that the Cup might pass from him."³⁵ The argument was later thrown into the form of letters and partly printed, and is digested and discussed at length by Seeböhm.³⁶ Though Erasmus seems to have taken as his point of departure the "common

³⁴ But Erasmus, on his visit to the Royal nursery at Eltham with More, "had for some years neither read nor written poetry." (Nichols, I, p. 201.) The term *poet* must therefore be taken in its sense of *poeta*, *makir*, fabulist.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

³⁶ *Oxford Reformers*, pp. 116, ff.

explanation of the Schoolmen," Colet objected to it and assumed a more spiritual and perhaps a more radical position. The discussion was interrupted by the entry of Charnock, but the disputants continued it on paper. In writing, Erasmus shelters himself behind the fact that a rhetorician, entering upon theological ground, comes into an arena which is not his. It is notable that throughout Erasmus adheres to the view and authority of the Schoolmen; his attitude is absolutely traditional and medieval. Not only, then, was Colet the more expert wielder of weapons in theological controversy, but he had actually advanced in ideas beyond the older Scholastic system.

It may be assumed that Erasmus, given the opportunity to consider the discussion in all its lights, had the power to evaluate his own arguments and those of Colet. If so, he could not have failed to recognize in a friendly spirit the strength of his adversary, not alone in theology, but also in other learning. When, therefore, Colet wrote to him suggesting that they combine forces for "the restoration of genuine theology" against "that sordid and supercilious crowd of divines," and that Erasmus deliver a series of lectures at Oxford similar to those which Colet had been delivering for some three years on the Epistles of St. Paul, he wisely declined. "With what countenance," he writes, "shall I teach what I have never learned?" Colet seems also to have suggested an alternative course in Poetry and Rhetoric. As to these subjects, Erasmus replied that he did not come to Oxford to teach them, and that they "ceased to be agreeable to [him] when they ceased to be necessary." "I decline this task," he continues, "because it is below my purpose, as I do the other, because it is below my strength." Furthermore, he is about to leave England, but is detained "partly by the winter season," and partly by governmental restrictions on travel imposed because of anxiety occasioned the authorities by the flight of Edmund de la Pole. In conclusion he tells Colet that he may count on his earnest effort "in defence of theology, "when he is conscious of"

"the needful strength." From this reply it must not be concluded that Erasmus intends to give up rhetoric; indeed, he will return to it almost immediately. Nor will he at once forsake criticism and poetry for theology. What lies behind his answer is an aversion to entering upon fields in which he honestly knows himself to be less proficient than those who are already there, and the natural desire not to destroy a reputation which his affability, his friends, and his few publications have built.

So Erasmus left Oxford. On December 5, [1499], he wrote from London to Robert Fisher in Italy praising his new-found friends for their hospitality, and Colet, Grocyn, and Linacre for their learning and eloquence. "But for the curiosity of seeing it," he says, "I do not so much care for Italy;" thus much has he been impressed by English scholarship and thought. But he is anxious to return to Paris for work, in spite of the entreaties of his English friends, and he resorts to a fictitious summons from France to smoothe the parting. On January 27, 1500, he appears to have crossed from Dover to Boulogne, not, however, without the loss of some twenty pounds in the customs at Dover,³⁷ a misfortune which he held against the English almost till his dying day. Arriving at Boulogne-sur-Mer with an empty purse, Erasmus spent a little time with Batt at Tournehem and then undertook the wintry journey to Paris.

What, then, was the effect of England and the English upon Erasmus? Mountjoy's invitation came at a most opportune time. Liable to sickness, with tastes and ambitions beyond his means, but without the income from pupils or patrons to gratify them, small wonder that Erasmus in the winter and spring of 1498-99 should exhibit in his

³⁷ By a statute of Edward IV, re-enacted by Henry VII, taking any coin, English or foreign, out of the realm was prohibited. More and Mountjoy seem to have been aware of this provision only as affecting domestic coinage. It seems scarcely "strange that More should have misled his friend in this particular," when one considers the ignorance of present-day lawyers in regard to the United States Customs.

Epistles a querulous and self-seeking nature. The generosity of the young nobleman removed, temporarily at least, from his tutor's shoulders the all too pressing necessity of continual importunity of rich men and women, whose interest in such a protégé could have no deeper roots than prudential piety and the phantom fame of dedicatory epistles. Mountjoy was "the one Maecenas of my studies," wrote Erasmus in 1508, in dedicating to him the Aldine edition of the *Adages*, in spite of the fact that in the *Compendium* sixteen years later he styles him "more friendly than munificent." That friendliness³⁸ at least spurred on Erasmus to intensive work on the *Adages*, which left the press in June, 1500, and which, dedicated to Mountjoy, instead of to Batt's pupil, Adolf of Burgundy, a course which Erasmus had considered, was the first work to bring its author anything approaching fame. Nor did the patronage of Mountjoy cease in 1500.

Furthermore, the young Englishman was directly responsible for giving Erasmus better manners and a more urbane outlook upon the world, and also friends, More, Colet, Charnock, indirectly Warham, who were able and willing to advance the scholar's fortunes and opportunities, not only immediately, but during his four subsequent visits to England. Without Mountjoy it is likely that the name of Erasmus would have been as obscure to-day as that of his accomplished friend, William Herman of Gouda.

But the noble pupil must share with Colet the credit of intellectual stimulation. In 1599 Colet stood in earnestness and attainment head and shoulders above Erasmus. His greater fortune of birth had permitted him to visit Italy, though he had not the doctorate; and his mind had already begun its own progress independent of the Schoolmen and of tradition. This endowment cannot have been without effect upon Erasmus. Hopes of a visit to Italy were renewed, although it was some years before they were fulfilled. The evidence of the Epistles shows that in March, 1500, Erasmus was "seriously engaged in the study of Greek,"

³⁸ Prior Charnock seconded Mountjoy's urging. Nichols, p. 243.

a language of which before he had probably been ignorant. The influence of Colet upon Erasmus in theology has been disputed. Shortly after he left the College of Montaigu, he showed indications of a departure from the doctrines of Duns Scotus, and he himself stated that it was a conversation with Colet which led him to distrust the authority of Thomas Aquinas.³⁹ Such an influence may easily be overrated, but it is within the bounds of possibility to say that the English visit first opened Erasmus's mind to the New Theology of the Renaissance. In any case, the offers of Colet and the opportunity to lecture at Oxford, though not immediately accepted, gave Erasmus a vision of himself and his own possibilities more tangible and more lofty than he seems to have had before.

To England Erasmus on his first visit brought little. His reputation was slight; outside of a certain circle in Paris it seems negligible. His scholarship did not include Greek—Greek indeed was already at Oxford,⁴⁰ if not in the persons of Grocyn and Linacre, then in those of others. At the university he did not teach, and evidence is lacking that he did tutoring or even attended classes. Finally, Oxford was farther advanced than the Paris of 1500 in the New Learning;⁴¹ the forces of the Renaissance were already stirring toward the Reformation.

The only direct gainer from Erasmus's first visit to England was Erasmus himself. The autumn and winter of 1499 proved the turning-point in his life. In fortune, reputation, and usefulness as an apostle of Humanism, those six months gave him a new birth.

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³⁹ Nichols, I, p. 224.

⁴⁰ Rashdall, II, Part ii, p. 459, note: "The Greek and Hebrew professorships ordered by the Council of Vienne in 1311 were actually founded."

⁴¹ This conclusion is inevitable from the facts as presented. Dudley, in his *Tree of the Commonwealth* (Pollard, *Reign of Henry VII*, III, 210-12) laments the decay of preaching, grammar, and education in general, but especially at the universities. He falls afoul of "young schollers of tenne or twelue yeres of age," "who must highlie be promoted wth an Archdeconry or prebend ere he can say his mattens."

IV. AN INTERVIEW WITH JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

The attempt to contribute, however slightly, to the vast volume of writings on Rousseau is a venture which, all will agree, should be undertaken with diffidence. The character, achievements, and influence of the Great Romanticist have been studied, discussed and debated by so many eminent scholars, that, unless one has something new to offer, the careful critic will consider any attempt to reopen the complex subject as tedious as it is presumptuous. In the present instance, however, the writer feels that he has been fortunate enough to discover some material which, though of modest scope, will nevertheless prove of real interest to lovers of Rousseauiana.

In his *Selbstbiographie*,¹ (of which a copy is to be found in the Harvard library), the minor poet Christian Felix Weisse gives an account of his meeting with Rousseau at Montmorency. Weisse, who was a graduate of the University of Leipzig, occupied at that time the position of *Hofmeister* to Count von Geyerberg, and in company with his patron had made the trip to Paris in the fall of 1759. They arrived there, to be precise, on November 21 of that year. In the following spring Weisse together with a mutual friend, the protestant minister Payon, went out to Montmorency, where Rousseau was then living, in the hope of seeing the world famed recluse. The record of the interview which the two lion hunters were lucky enough to obtain, is presented in the following paragraphs.² I translate the German, but leave intact the French, which naturally is of more especial interest. Indeed, the spelling of the latter is often at variance with French usage, although which is at fault, Weisse or his printers, it would be hard to say.

During his stay in Paris, Weisse became personally acquainted with D'Alembert, Père Barre, Nollet, Count Caylus,

¹ Published by Georg Voss: Leipzig, 1806.

² *Selbstbiographie*: pp. 70 (line 11)-75 (line 2).

Abbé Arnaud, and others. The greatest pleasure, however, was given him by the acquaintance with the celebrated Jean Jacques Rousseau, with whom he was fortunate enough to spend a few hours in Montmorency, during which time he (Rousseau) showed himself in his most characteristic vein. As a matter of fact, Weisse could consider himself fortunate in getting the chance to speak to him, inasmuch as many attempted unavailingly to make his acquaintance, and inasmuch as he avoided friends and Parisians in proportion as they sought his society. At the very moment when Weisse and M. Payon, whom Rousseau already knew, appeared at the Pavillion (where Rousseau was living), a number of carriages filled with officers, *abbés*, and ladies drove up from Paris. He (Rousseau) said to them, with his cane in his hand, 'that they could see that he was on the point of going out for a walk; that he must even excuse himself to these foreigners who came from Germany (he pointed at us). In the meantime, as the carriages were driving away, he invited us *sotto voce* to meet him at noon in the garden of Montmorency. He appeared, indeed, at the appointed hour and was very affable.

When Weisse expressed wonder at the beauty of the surroundings, and congratulated him upon the locality, he said:

"Et pourtant elle ne me convient pas. Mon goût est si blasé, que j'aimerois mieux être dans un désert."

Weisse thereupon gave him Mendelssohn's translation of his essay: *sur l'inégalité des hommes*, and the *Phaedon* of this philosopher. He (Weisse) had to tell him everything that he knew about this excellent man (Mendelssohn), upon which Rousseau said: "He wanted to have Mendelssohn's observations translated, so that he might read them, because they came from a Jew; for otherwise there was not a book in the world he would read."

Rousseau seemed to be no great admirer of the King of Prussia. He reviled the French poets who celebrated him, inveighed against fame and conquerors, and expressed

himself about Frederick in the harshest terms. At this opportunity he began to declaim against the general depravity and *méchanceté* of men, who went so far that they were "méchants pour le seul plaisir d'être méchants." Weisse and his friend maintained rather the contrary, and said that when they were '*méchants*,' they were generally so in the interest of some passion. He refuted us with his dog, who accompanied him, and who was so fat he could hardly walk:

"Regardez ce pauvre chien, à peine peut-il se trainer; c'est que les polissons de Paris l'on chartré. Est-ce par passion ou par méchanceté qu'ils ont exercé cette barbarie?"

It happened that during this conversation they were walking around a large basin upon which there were swans; one of them sailed up to the shore and hissed at his dog. Rousseau raised his stick and ran along the edge of the basin to punish the swan; he remained finally standing with outstretched arm and said:

"You see, evil has even penetrated animals; what had the poor dog done to those swans?"

Of his *Devin du Village* that Weisse had seen a couple of days before at the theatre, he said

"C'est une bagatelle; je ne l'ai faite que pour voir quelles bêtes sont ces François-là, pour pouvoir goûter une telle misère."

He asked Weisse what news he had heard in Paris, and the latter answered: "The most interesting so far as he was concerned had been that people were expecting a new book from him (Rousseau). It was the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. Rousseau showed them some proofs which he had received that very morning from Holland, and asked Weisse 'what people in Paris thought the novel would be? Weisse answered, as he had heard: "Que c'étoit une satire contre les femmes."

"Ce ne sont," he answered, "que des bons conseils, mais elles ne les suivrons pas."

He accompanied them into the church of Montmorency where they saw the "*Grabmaeler*" of the Dukes. His remarks about each and all were tinged with Rousseauistic

"esprit," but Weisse has forgotten them. The ecclesiastics who were in the church came to meet him with much obsequiousness, which he returned with friendliness. M. Payon happened to mention the Gospels, and Rousseau spoke reverently of them.

"When I read them," he continued, I believe 'tout ce qu'elle débite, tant je suis touché de sa simplicité. As soon, however, as I reflect and consult my reason, I begin to doubt and find inconsistencies. 'Bienheureux celui qui n'y en trouve pas.' "

"He invited Weisse, at their leavetaking (after they had walked about with him for two, or three hours), to visit him once more before his departure, and write to him in advance as to the day of his visit, in order that he might not be away. He then accompanied them for a bit of the way beside their *cabriolet*, and finally disappeared in a foot-path that led into a park.

Of the authenticity of this interview there can be, it seems to me, little question. That Weisse should have deliberately invented it, for the purpose of magnifying his own importance is inconceivable. Indeed, the autobiography was actually not his work at all; it was pieced together, after his death, by his son and son-in-law,³ from notes, letters, and miscellanea found in their father's papers. The charge, therefore, that Weisse consciously posed as the acquaintance of famous men, with intent to dazzle the reader, must be dismissed. Corroborative evidence of Weisse's honesty is, furthermore, to be found in the account itself of the interview. Especially is this true of the sayings attributed therein to Rousseau. A careful investigation of them will make this yet clearer, for we shall find that each and every one bears the unmistakable stamp of the latter's singular genius.

Nothing could be more characteristic than the preliminary incident, with which the interview opens; as a matter of fact, we have right at the start a splendid illustration of the Rousseau formula in operation. Much has been written

³ Christian Ernst Weisse and Samuel Gottlob Frisch.

for and against the sincerity of the famous 'conversion' which the success of the first *Discours* appears to have inspired. Whether it was a bit of cool calculation, whether Rousseau's head was turned by his sudden celebrity,⁴ or whether, as Gerhard Gran would have it, the 'renunciation' was the result of a great psychological crisis,⁵ this much at least is certain: No moral conversion ever achieved a greater social success.⁶ As Weisse's account would corroborate, no *solitaire* ever lived who was more unmistakably the 'rage,' no hermit was ever the object of more fashionable curiosity than was Rousseau. Favor of this sort with the frivolous is obviously the reverse of complimentary to the recipient, for the interest of society is more apt to be stimulated by the novel than by the noble; eccentricity of gesture is more certain to sting the blasé taste of fashion than is rectitude of conduct.

That Rousseau was keenly aware of this, that he knew the secret of his success, and that he played his part with gusto is amusingly demonstrated by the little incident recorded by Weisse. For all his surface *naïveté*, the *Citoyen de Genève* was not without a certain kind of craft. Incapable of conventional wit or compliment, he had reconciled himself with much shrewdness to the only promising part left, the part of 'surly virtue.' He found it remarkably congenial, for it combined easily and naturally the attractive elements of sincerity and paradox. It satisfied his plebeian pride, while at the same time it proved a striking contrast to the artificial monotony of contemporary social routine. He also found it a source of convenience in that it enabled him to refuse his society without giving undue offence. The application of the principle as here recorded by Weisse may be considered an eminently characteristic instance of the Rousseauistic shrewdness. Openly and brutally to prefer the unassuming gentlemen to the arrogant social idlers was of

⁴ C. H. Wright: *History of French Literature*, p. 520.

⁵ Gerhard Gram: *F. F. Rousseau, gjennembrud og kampe*.

⁶ *Confessions*, ed. Hachette, VIII, 305, 306.

a 'bravura' which, in the eighteenth century, must have appeared especially piquant. It whetted public curiosity by setting up a new standard of exclusiveness, and it did it in such a manner that the excluded could not complain. All things considered, therefore, the little incident offers a fair sample of Rousseau's peculiar 'originality.' In the conventional sense Mme. D'Epinay's 'bear' may have been deficient in '*esprit*', but that he was not without a certain readiness is here amply demonstrated.

The first actual quotation that Weisse sets down in French, the profession of distaste for the Montmorency gardens, we must receive as a characteristic specimen of the Rousseauistic virtuosity. Uttered with malice aforethought, it was essentially a remark à *effet*, and from that angle only can it be considered sincere. That Rousseau's taste in landscape was really *blasé*, nobody today would believe. As the descriptive passages which abound in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, the *Confessions*, and the *Rêveries* testify, his aesthetic feeling for nature was fresh and virgin. The fierce colors of the tropics, the barren stretches of the desert, or the gloom of the harsh northern coasts that can alone tingle the jaded senses of a Pierre Loti, would have been too strong stuff for the unspoiled Rousseau. Nowhere in his writing do we find any artistic treatment of the sea, or the desert of the dunes; indeed his silence here is more eloquent than words, and affords a striking contrast to the many and gorgeous pages of the later romanticists. If, therefore, we bear these facts in mind, especially the beautiful picture of the Montmorency gardens,⁷ the remark quoted by Weisse assumes a very narrow significance. That it contained any inherent truth is absurd. On the contrary, it is frankly an unblushing sophism, and is of interest only in so far as it shows to what extremes Rousseau was willing to push his paradoxes in order to live up to his reputation.

Love of rural scenery was not, it is well known, a fad of the eighteenth century society; the cult of 'nature' had, in

⁷ *Confessions*, ed. Hachette, VIII, 374.

1760, not yet become fashionable. To prefer the year 'round the woods of Montmorency to the *salons* of Paris was, therefore, distinctly paradoxical, and it is an established fact that this preference on Rousseau's part was looked upon by the social as one of the oddest traits of his character.⁸ In Weisse, however, he found a visitor of an unexpected caliber. Here was a man who actually liked what he himself liked, who, instead of considering Montmorency depressing, found it beautiful. The rôle of eccentricity was by no means so comfortable in this case, but Rousseau was equal to the emergency. The seeming inconsistency of his remark is obviously superficial; its real purport no thoughtful reader can mistake, for it offers indubitable evidence of Rousseau's readiness, when necessary, to sacrifice the genuine nature lover that was in him to the *poseur*.

As regards the passage dealing with Mendelssohn, little comment is necessary. It tallies perfectly with what we know of Rousseau's attitude toward the Jews. The conventional dislike for the persecuted sect found little favor in his eyes, for reasons emotional as well as intellectual, and in the *Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar* he makes no attempt to disguise his sympathy for the victims of the popular prejudice.⁹ The point that concerns us, however, is that in the present instance, he has succeeded in combining with much deftness one paradox (his friendliness toward the Jews) with another (his hatred of books), in short a new enlightenment with a new obscurantism. To except, in his general condemnation of books, those written by a Jew because they were written by a Jew was, in the eighteenth century, a little masterpiece of inversion. Indeed a better example could with difficulty be found of one feature of Rousseau's peculiar genius, his amazing competence in the technique of the paradox.

Of Weisse's next statement, that Rousseau appeared to be no great admirer of Frederick of Prussia, we find corro-

⁸ *Confessions*, VIII, 286.

⁹ *Emile*, Book IV, ed. Hachette, II, 276.

boration in a passage from the *Confessions*. When about to take refuge at Motiers, in the Val de Travers, Rousseau admits that he hesitated. The little village was within the domains of the King of Prussia, and Rousseau felt, he says, a certain discomfort in the thought of casting himself upon the mercy of a monarch toward whom he had, in the past, been severe.¹⁰ The basis of this severity we may feel sure to have been emotional as well as intellectual. The spectacle of an eminent criminal gambling in human life and human folly could not have been pleasing to a believer in the innate goodness of man.¹¹ At the same time, creditable to Rousseau's heart and intellect as was such an estimate of Frederick, we should not forget that it possessed also the attractive element of paradox. It was distinctly unconventional in mid-eighteenth century to attack from the humanitarian standpoint the military and political hero of Europe. That Rousseau was aware of this, and that he knew its value is a reasonably safe assumption. To a German like Weisse such an attitude could not fail to seem little short of sacrilege, and in consequence, arouse that delighted awe which it is at once pleasant to occasion and to experience.

The passage dealing with the diatribe against the *méchanceté* of men, and the pursuit of the swan that had attacked his dog, is thoroughly consistent with what we know of Rousseau's mental condition at this period of his life. The disastrous consequences of his passion for Mme. d'Houdetot, the rupture with Mme. d'Epinay, and the *Philosophes* were still recent in his mind, as well as in the mind of the public.¹² It is easy to understand how, cherishing the mirage of the primitive goodness of man, Rousseau should have been harshly disillusioned by this experience, as well as by eighteenth century society in general, whose callous indifference to almost every form of virtue has become proverbial. The manner in which he reacted is amusingly depicted by the

¹⁰ *Confessions*: ed. Hachette, IX, 35.

¹¹ *Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inégalité*, ed. Hachette VI, 133.

¹² *Confessions*; ed. Hachette, VIII, 356-61.

passage from Weisse; we see Rousseau in the resultant, and for his day unorthodox, posture of fanatic. Even here, however, he contrives to assume a pose that is original as well as paradoxical. The novelty of Rousseau's fanaticism resides in a technicality rather than in a principle, for in spirit it bears a striking resemblance to the religious fanaticism of the past. This technicality is the ingenious substitution of 'virtue'¹³ for 'faith.' In other words, just as the religious enthusiasts of the Dark Ages had been intolerant in the matter of faith, so Rousseau is now intolerant in the matter of virtue. We have not yet exhausted, however, the subtleties of this distinction. The displacement of faith by virtue testifies to remarkable shrewdness, for by this simple trick, the domain of the fanatic's activities becomes greatly enlarged. Whereas faith had been applicable only to men, virtue could be extended to animals. Rousseau's pursuit of the swan for attacking his dog was an eminently characteristic gesture. The desire to inflict physical punishment which is the mainspring of fanaticism, was becoming every day more difficult of satisfaction in the eighteenth century. Thanks to the efforts of the *Intelligentsia*, led by Voltaire, religious persecution was going out of style. By shifting from faith to virtue, however, Rousseau made possible the gratification of the fanatic's passion, while at the same time conforming to the new ideas. If physical persecution of men was becoming *démodé*, the same was not true of animals. To punish one animal for molesting another was, in the eighteenth century, not merely permissible, it was actually extremely *piquant*. That Rousseau often indulged this paradoxical emotion, we know from the *Confessions*.¹⁴ He found it very attractive for it enabled him to gratify the instinctive cruelty that was in him as in every man, the while posing as a champion of the weak and oppressed. How typical of the Rousseauistic casuistry the whole inci-

¹³ *Confessions*, VIII, 355.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, 12.

dent is, need not be insisted upon. That Weisse was impressed by its unconventionality we may feel assured; that he fully appreciated the sophistry of which it was the outward expression, we may venture to doubt.

As regards the sentence that concludes the episode: "You see, evil has even penetrated animals," we have one of the most characteristic *sentences* of the entire interview. The ingenious explanation of the origine of evil by the fall from nature (rather than from God)¹⁵ Rousseau applies here to the animal kingdom, and would have us take it for granted that animals, like men, were born 'good,' but had subsequently yielded to the corrosive influences of civilization. It is a pity that Weisse or Payon did not ask him to explain the process of this interesting decadence, for the Great Obscurantist was never more entertaining than when dogmatising upon data drawn from sentimental assumptions.

The disparaging terms in which Rousseau speaks of his operetta, the *Devin du Village* are akin to his professed distaste for the Montmorency gardens in that they should not be taken seriously. If there was one faculty upon which Rousseau prided himself as upon no other, it was his faculty for writing music. All his life he had labored over the mysteries of the art, but for the most part with indifferent success. His early efforts at composition were grotesque;¹⁶ his new scheme for musical was, despite its real ingenuity, found to be impractical;¹⁷ his score for the opera, the *Muses Galantes*, was deemed unsatisfactory.¹⁸ When therefore, he succeeded in completing, by dint of incredible effort, his *Devin du Village*, and getting the little intermezzo before the public, his self-sufficiency knew no bounds. As a composer, the operetta is his one real achievement, and in the *Confessions*, he does his utmost to magnify its importance.¹⁹ That he

¹⁵ *Discours per l'Origine de l'Inégalité*, ed. Hachette, I, 30.

¹⁶ *Confessions*, VIII, 104-5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 200, 201.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, 242.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 269.

should dub it, as Weisse records, a *bagatelle*, which he had written only to expose the execrable taste of the stupid Parisians, need not surprise us. On the contrary, the remark is typical. In essence it amounts to praise of the operetta by inversion, a paradox illustrating very aptly the homage paid by pagan pride to christian humility. We should remember also, in this connection, that Rousseau's part in the quarrel over the relative merits of French *versus* Italian music, known as the *Guerre des Bouffons*, may have had something to do with the moroseness of the *sentence* quoted by Weisse. Rousseau, it is well known, entered the lists as a champion of Italian art, and in his truculent *Letter on French Music*, had attempted to prove that French music was a contradiction in terms. This theory (expounded with Rousseauistic consistency immediately following the success of the *Devin*) had grown to be a veritable hobby, and in consequence, it is entirely natural to find him, at this period, speaking contemptuously of French appreciation, even at the expense of his own work. Indeed, it is entirely probable that Rousseau condensed into this cynical appraisal of the *Devin du Village*, two independent emotions: pride in his achievement and contempt for French taste. The spontaneity with which this complicated paradox leaped forth is eloquent proof of Rousseau's mastery of his chosen part, the part of 'surly virtue.'

The passage touching on the *Nouvelle Héloïse* is significant (aside from its Rousseauistic flavor) in that it substantiates in a measure the authenticity of the interview. Rousseau, says Weisse, showed them some of the proof which had arrived that very morning from Holland. Now Rousseau himself states in the *Confessions* that he gave the M. S. of his novel to the publisher Marc-Michel Rey of Amsterdam,²⁰ who printed it in 1760, although it was not issued until 1761, at about the same time that the Paris publisher Duchesne got out his edition. It is wholly possible, therefore, that the proofs of the first volumes, at least, might

²⁰ *Confessions*, VIII, 360.

have been struck off as early as March 1760; indeed Weisse's statement that he saw them would seem to justify such an assumption. That both the *Confessions* and Weisse's account should agree upon the time of the printing of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* must be viewed as something more than a mere coincidence.

As for Weisse's remark that Paris expected the forthcoming novel to be a satire on women, we are given here a glimpse of the popular attitude toward Rousseau at this stage of his singular career. His bitterness, his unsociability, and especially the *débauche* of his courtship of Mme. d'Houdetot were so well known, that when it was rumored that he was at work on a novel, the supposition that it would be little favorable to women seemed logical. However amusing this supposition may appear to us who have read the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, the statement of its contents as summed up here by Rousseau, is even more diverting. The modern reader, at least, could find little in the first part that he would consider *de bons conseils*. The originality of Rousseau's novel consists, as a matter of fact, in the voluptuous mingling of the spirit and the flesh on the one hand, and in the sincere idealization of duty and renunciation on the other. To the eighteenth century reader, accustomed to cold intellect or cynical license, both parts of the novel must have appeared startlingly paradoxical. From the eighteenth century point of view, therefore, Rousseau is somewhat justified in calling his work an epitome of *bons conseils* which women will not follow. It might be pointed out, however, that these words apply only to the second part. Indeed the first part might well be dubbed the *raison d'être* of the *bons conseils* of the second part, or, to put it briefly, we might consider Part I the poison, and Part II the antidote. The ingenuity of Rousseau's aphorism, whatever one's opinion of his novel, is none the less eminently characteristic.

The final passage from the interview, describing their visit to the church of Montmorency is perhaps the most important of all. The evident friendliness of the relations

between Rousseau and the officiating clergy, who were catholics, is in itself sufficiently interesting. What the Great Man had to say of the Gospels, however, deserves a more detailed examination.

"When I read it," he said, "I believe 'tout ce qu'elle débite, tant je suis touché de sa simplicité,' but as soon as I consult my reason, I begin to doubt and find inconsistencies. 'Bienheureux celui qui n'y en trouve pas.'"

Nothing, it seems to me could emphasize more pointedly than do these words, the inherent duality of Rousseau's nature. The conflict between the head and the heart from which, by his own admission, he suffered all his life,²¹ is here found in its most acute form. The situation is more poignant than usual, for we know that Rousseau was, as a rule, able to force his intellect to serve up paradoxes in support of his emotions. The problem of the truth of the Gospels, however, was not so easy of solution. The conventional source of information for his attitude in this matter, the *Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar*, pictures the struggle at great length. His final position, as summed up there, is described as one of 'involuntary skepticism,' based on 'humility.'²² Rousseau's words as recorded by Weisse tally therefore, surprisingly well with what he had already written in the Fourth Book of the *Emile*. His heart is 'touched' by the 'simplicity' of the Gospels, but as soon as he consults his reason, he doubts and finds 'inconsistencies.' The last sentence, in my opinion, sums up his conclusions with even greater frankness than does the *Profession of Faith*. The position of 'involuntary skepticism' appears here in the stronger guise of 'regretful skepticism.' A clearer statement of the relations between Rousseau's intellect and his emotions could scarcely be found. The question of the truth of the Gospels brought the conflict between his head and his heart to the supreme test of strength; the struggle was long

²¹ *Confessions*, VIII, 79.

²² *Emile*, ed. Hachette, II, 281.

and bitter, and in the end, as this quotation from Weisse shows, his heart won but a Pyrrhic victory.

At the same time, painful as his condition was, Rousseau contrived to extract some comfort from it. To the eighteenth century mind the position of regretful skepticism was a paradox of incredible complexity. It was equally shocking to believer and atheist, and it is hard to say which party was the more deeply offended by it, the clergy or the *Philosophes*. To Rousseau, as we know, the publication of the *Profession of the Faith of the Savoyard Vicar* brought a startling notoriety, a notoriety which, although it made him a man without a country, was at the same time extremely flattering to his pride. In the present instance the effect upon Weisse was equally satisfactory, for he set down the sentence with evident delight as a typical example of Rousseau's genius and *Sonderbarkeit*. How deep the impression was which the author of the *Confessions* made upon contemporaries, the account of this interview would substantiate. Of all the eminent men, whose acquaintance Weisse made (and they were many, including Lessing) Rousseau is the only one whose actual words he found worthy to remember and record. However one may feel toward him, the compliment to the *Citoyen de Genève* is unequivocal.

Brief as it is, it will be admitted, I think, that this little interview possesses a certain completeness. The eight distinct sections into which it may be divided, epitomize each in its way, one feature of Rousseau's variegated genius. In the majority of cases,—the curt dismissal of the elegant visitors, the expressed contempt for books, the reviling of conquerors, the diatribe against the *méchanceté* of men, the remarks anent the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, or the truth of the Gospels,—in all these instances the agreement with the published utterances of Rousseau is surprisingly close. The two quotations which are in seeming disaccord with his written word, may, as we have seen, be accounted for. The profession of distaste for the Montmorency gardens, or the cynical estimate of the *Devin du Village* appear cer-

tainly to contradict flatly the passages touching on those subjects in the *Confessions*. This conflict, however, is superficial. The opposing opinions, whether spoken (interview) or written (*Confessions*), spring obviously from one and the same source, the fondness of Rousseau for the paradox. The apparent inconsistency in these two cases vanishes as soon as we have recourse to the fundamental principle upon which the Great Obscurantist erected his amazing structure.

On the whole, therefore, Rousseau's books are well represented. In fact the *Contrat Social*, the *Lettre à d'Alembert*, and the first three books of the *Emile* present the only subjects upon which the capricious celebrity did not express himself to Weisse, either directly or *à rebours*. Thus the range of topics upon which Weisse drew from Rousseau a characteristic sentence, is pretty wide. We should be grateful that the visitor got as much as he did, for his account, though brief, gives us an unbiased glimpse of Rousseau's behaviour when 'on parade.' How consistent with his written word this behaviour was, is here amusingly corroborated. Indeed the little interview presents, all things considered, an excellent portrait *en miniature* of that bizarre and baffling genius who 'preferred paradoxes to prejudices.'

FRANCIS A. WATERHOUSE

V. THE INDIAN LEGEND OF HIAWATHA

To the world of letters the legend of Hiawatha connotes Longfellow, without whose popular treatment it would be as little known as the adventures of Coyote or Raven, or a dozen other culture heroes of the Red Men. Since Longfellow's poem is the only form in which American Indian legend has reached the great mass of civilized men, the question of its authenticity must present itself to the general reader of American literature no less than to the student of literary relations. Do sixty years of active work on the part of ethnologists and folklorists show that Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* is truly Indian in theme, atmosphere, and spirit? To essay an answer to this question is the purpose of the present study.

The conditions under which the poem was composed are known to all readers of Longfellow's journal. As early as 1850 we find him entertaining an Ojibwa chief at tea.¹ On June 22, 1854 we read of his intention to write an Indian poem by weaving the tradition into a whole.² He read Schoolcraft's voluminous work on the Indians and found difficulty in selecting from its ill-digested material.³ He first planned to call the poem "Manabozho" after the real name of the hero of the legends, though later, following Schoolcraft's erroneous statement that Manabozho and Hiawatha are identical, he changed the name.⁴ Shortly before beginning work on the poem he read with great pleasure the Finnish epic, *Kalevala*.⁵ It is from this poem, as he tells his correspondents later, that he adopted the meter which is so characteristic a feature of the *Hiawatha*.⁶

¹ Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1893), ii, p. 182.

² *Ibid.*, ii, p. 273.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 273 (June 26, 1854).

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 273 (June 28, 1854).

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 273 (June 5, 1854).

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 298, 303.

When controversy arose after the poem was published and it was suggested that the story issued entirely from the author's imagination, Longfellow declared: "I can give chapter and verse for these legends. Their chief value is that they *are* Indian legends."⁷ Although, as will appear, he fails to be wholly faithful to the Indian spirit, and although he has selected his material so as to produce a unity that the original will not warrant, his statement is literally true. His chief source lies in the several works of Schoolcraft. The parallels between incidents in the poem and the sources are in many cases indicated in Longfellow's notes. In the exhaustive study of Dr. Broilo⁸ an original has been discovered for almost every fact in the poem. In so far as the poet departs from the real legend, it is always due to his being misled by a statement of Schoolcraft.

A good example of this is seen in the error, already mentioned, in the naming of the hero. Schoolcraft had asserted that Manabozho, the demigod of the Ojibwa and their Algonquian kinsmen, is identical with the Iroquois Hiawatha, although in fact, as Mr. Hewitt points out in his study of the Iroquois Hiawatha, there is not a point of resemblance between them.⁹ Manabozho, is the hero of the tales of the Ojibwa of the Lake Superior region, and with greater or less divergence both in name and character, of all the Algonquian tribes from Nova Scotia to the Rocky Mountains.¹⁰ He is endowed with the qualities now of a god, now of an ordinary mortal, now of a trickster and dupe, and now, in transforma-

⁷ *Op. cit.*, ii, p. 287.

⁸ F. Broilo, *Die Quellen des Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha*. In so far as I have checked its results, this study of Longfellow's sources appears to be thoroughly and accurately done. As will be seen, the purpose of the present paper is quite different from that of Broilo: it is to ascertain the present status of the Hiawatha legend among the Indians.

⁹ J. B. N. Hewitt, "Hiawatha," *Handbook of American Indians* (Bulletin Bureau of American Ethnology, xxx, part i, p. 546).

¹⁰ J. B. N. Hewitt, "Nanabozho," *ibid.*, part ii, p. 19; H. B. Alexander, *The Mythology of All Races*—vol. x, *North American*, pp. 38 ff.; also the various references given in notes 12 and 14 below.

tion, of a great rabbit. Hiawatha, on the other hand, was an historical character, an Iroquois statesman of the Mohawk tribe, who flourished about the year 1570. It is to him that the Iroquois owe their League and much of the peace and civilization which characterized them from the first arrival of Europeans.¹¹ For the confusion of this Iroquois lawgiver with the Ojibwa demigod the romantic and unscientific enthusiasm of Schoolcraft is solely responsible. As a result of this confusion, *The Song of Hiawatha* contains not a single fact or legend relating to the historical Hiawatha, but deals instead with the Ojibwa myth of Manabozho. It becomes our problem, accordingly, to determine how nearly his treatment of the legend represents the actual myth as two generations of investigators have enabled us to piece it together.

The legends of the Ojibwa have in recent years been studied with especial thoroughness,¹² both the tales which are

¹¹ Hewitt, "Hiawatha," *loc. cit.*

¹² Writings available to Longfellow were: S. G. Goodrich, *Manners, Customs and Antiquities of the Indians of North and South America* (Boston, 1845); John G. E. Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States* (Philadelphia, 1819); H. R. Schoolcraft, (a) *Algic Researches*, 2 v. (New York, 1839), (b) *Onéota, or the Indian in his Wigwam*, etc. (New York and London, 1845), (c) *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, parts i-vi (Philadelphia, 1851-7); John Tanner, *Narrative of Captivity and Adventures among the Indians*, etc. (New York, 1830). Longfellow also used several other works not particularly related to the Ojibwa or other Algonquin tribes, especially the following: Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians*, 2 v. (New York and London, 1844); Mrs. Mary H. Eastman, *Dahcotah, or Life and Legends of the Sioux around Ft. Snelling* (New York, 1849). In addition to these sources, he picked up information in many miscellaneous ways, most of them oral. See Broilo, *op. cit.*

Subsequent collections of Ojibwa myth are: William Carson, "Ojibwa Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxx, p. 491; A. F. Chamberlain, (a) "A Mississauga Legend of Nanibojo," *ibid.*, v, p. 291, (b) "Tales of the Mississaugas," *ibid.*, ii, 141, (c) "Nanibozhu amongst the Otchipwe, Mississaugas and other Algonkian Tribes," *ibid.*, iv, p. 193; Albert E. Jenks,

in general circulation and those which form a part of the initiation rites of the Grand Medicine Lodge.¹³ From these myths, supplemented by those of closely related tribes,¹⁴ we can construct a generalized form of the legend of Manabozho, both as a culture hero and as a trickster and dupe.

"The Bear Maiden," *ibid.*, xv, p. 33; William Jones, (a) "Ojibwa Tales from the North Shore of Lake Superior," *ibid.*, xxix, p. 368, (b) *Ojibwa Texts*, edited by Truman Michelson (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, vol. vii—part 1, Leyden, 1917, part 2, New York, 1919); J. B. de Josselin de Jong, *Original Odjibwe-Texts, with English Translation, Notes, and Vocabulary* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1913); J. O. Kinneman, "Chippeway Legends," *American Antiquarian*, xxxii, p. 96; Julia Knight, "Ojibwa Tales from Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxvi, p. 91; Col. G. E. Laidlaw, "Ojibwa Myths and Tales," *Ontario Archeological Reports*, 1914, p. 77, 1915, p. 71, 1916, p. 84, 1918, p. 74 (continued in separate reprint issued by the author); Truman Michelson "Ojibwa Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxiv, p. 249; Paul Radin, *Some Myths and Tales of the Ojibwa of Southeastern Ontario* (Canadian Geological Survey, Anthropological Series, ii, Ottawa, 1914); H. R. Schoolcraft, *The Myth of Hiawatha and other Oral Legends*, etc. (Philadelphia and London, 1856); Alanson Skinner, Manuscript (Ojibwa Tales) cited in Skinner and Satterlee, *Folklore of the Menominee Indians*, *passim*; Harlan I. Smith, "Some Ojibwa Myths and Traditions," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xix, 215; F. G. Speck, *Myths and Folk-Lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa* (Canadian Geological Survey, Anthropological Series, viii, Ottawa, 1915).

¹³ See Walter J. Hoffman, *The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Lodge of the Ojibwa* (Report Bureau of American Ethnology, vii, Washington, 1896).

¹⁴ The bibliography of Algonquian myth is very extensive. Collections cited in this paper are the following: Andrew J. Blackbird, *Complete both Early and Late History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* (Harbor Springs, Mich., 1897); Rev. Father DeSmet, *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46* (New York, 1847); J. W. Fewkes, "Contributions to Passamaquoddy Folklore," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, iii, 265; G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (New York, 1903); Stansbury Hagar, "Weather and Seasons in Micmac Mythology," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, x, p. 101; Walter J. Hoffman, *The Menominee Indians* (Report Bureau of American Ethnology, xiv, Washington, 1896); E. Jack, "Maliseet Legends," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, viii, p. 193; William Jones, (a) *Fox Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, i, Leyden, 1907), (b) *Kickapoo Tales* (same series, ix, translated by Truman Michelson, Leyden, 1915), (c) "Episodes in the Culture-Hero Myth of the Sauks and Foxes," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiv, p. 225; A. L. Kroeber,

Manabozho is sent to the tribes by Gitche Manitou, the Great Spirit, in order that he may bring them culture and peace.¹⁵ Most of these gifts were made permanent through the founding by Manabozho of the Midewiwin, or Grand Medicine Lodge, where the initiate receives them as they have been handed down.¹⁶

The legends of the birth of Manabozho—in animal form, the Great Rabbit—are numerous and quite impossible to harmonize. Only the principal versions will here be mentioned. In one of these, Nokomis ("The Earth") is Manabozho's grandmother. She forbids her daughter to look at the sun. The daughter, however, accidentally sees the sun reflected in water and as a result magically conceives.¹⁷ According to other versions it is the wind, as in Longfellow, that causes the magic conception.¹⁸ As to the manner of the hero's birth, there is a great divergence in the different legends, depending on the number of brothers born at the same time. In some forms of the legend, there are only the

"Cheyenne Tales," *ibid.*, xiii, p. 161; Charles G. Leland, *Algonkin Legends of New England* (Boston, 1884); Walter McClintock, *The Old North Trail, or Life, Legends, and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians* (London, 1910); W. H. Mechling, *Malecite Tales* (Canadian Geological Survey, Anthropological Series, iv, Ottawa, 1914); S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmac* (New York and London, 1894); Frank Russell, *Explorations in the Far North* (University of Iowa Publication, Iowa City, 1908); Alanson Skinner, *Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, ix, pp. 1-178, New York, 1911); Alanson Skinner and John V. Satterlee, *Folklore of the Menomini Indians* (same series, xiii, pp. 219-546, New York, 1915); F. G. Speck, "Some Naskapi Myths from Little Whale River," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxviii, p. 70; Clark Wissler and D. C. Duvall, *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, ii, pp. 1-164, New York, 1908).

¹⁵ See Hoffman, *Midewiwin*, p. 175.

¹⁶ See Hoffman, *Midewiwin*, *passim*.

¹⁷ Speck, *Timagami Ojibwa*, p. 28.

¹⁸ DeJong, *Original Ojibwa Texts*, p. 5; Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, p. 240; Radin, *Ojibwa Myths*, p. 12; Jones, *Ojibwa Texts*, p. 3.

hero and his brother Chiapiapos, the Wolf;¹⁹ in others there is also "Flint"²⁰ and in another group a fourth brother, Wabasso, the White Rabbit.²¹ The brothers consult before their birth as to their method of being delivered from their mother's body, and Wolf (or more usually Flint) bursts through her side and kills her.

A quite different version tells how Nokomis, the Earth, brings forth Flint, who makes a bowl which gradually fills with blood and becomes Wabus, or Manabozho, the Rabbit.²² A combination of the myths recounts the story of the death of both Manabozho's mother and brother at the time of his birth. Nokomis, the grandmother, hides the survivor under a bowl, and after four days of mourning discovers the White Rabbit, Manabozho.²³

After Manabozho becomes a young man, he goes to revenge his mother's death. In some versions, the expedition is directed, as in Longfellow, against the West Wind, the betrayer of his mother.²⁴ In others it is against the rebellious brother who has killed her.²⁵ Manabozho defeats his adversary by deception, as the poem records. He exchanges confidences as to the one thing that will kill him. In exchange for his lie, his opponent tells him the truth, and is thus defeated, though not until a mighty conflict has been waged. Signs of this great battle are still to be seen in the mountains and huge piles of rocks that were thrown about. This battle is but the first of the heroic struggles which he carried on against the evil manitous who in the olden times used their cunning to the injury of men. The great

¹⁹ The Micmac version: cf. Rand, *Micmac Legends*, No. 60; Leland, *Algonkin Legends*, p. 15; Jack, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, viii, p. 194.

²⁰ Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, p. 241; Blackbird, *Ottawa and Chippeway Indians*, p. 52. Cf. Hewitt, *Iroquois Cosmology*, (Report Bureau of American Ethnology, xxi) 185 ff.

²¹ DeSmet, *Oregon Missions and Travels*, p. 344 (Potawatomi).

²² Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, p. 87.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 114; Jones, *Ojibwa Texts*, p. 3.

²⁴ Radin, *Ojibwa Myths*, p. 12.

²⁵ DeSmet, *loc. cit.* (Potawatomi); Leland, *Algonkin Legends*, p. 14 (Micmac); Jack, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, viii, p. 194 (Micmac).

animal-manitous he reduces in power until men can prevail against them.²⁶ The winds he places in their quarters of the world, and he assigns to them their duties.²⁷

One of the most widely known stories of the Manabozho cycle is that of Chipiapos, the Wolf, the hero's brother, who in spite of warning, ventures on the ice of Lake Superior, where he is drowned by the wicked Manitous of the water.²⁸ Manabozho weeps for him so long that his friends, the *good* Manitous, make a lodge for him and deliver to him the secrets of the medicine man. They bring Chipiapos back from the dead, but permit him to come no further than the opening in the lodge, where they give him a live coal and send him to rule over the land of the dead. This live coal is said to be the symbol of immortality. The form of the story just recounted is that told in the initiation rites of the Ojibwa to explain the origins of their Grand Medicine Lodge.²⁹ It is also the version which Longfellow uses. Other forms of the myth³⁰ (sometimes in connection with the one just given)³¹

²⁶ Cf. Jones, *Fox Texts*, pp. 337 ff.; Jones, *Journal of American Folk-Lore* xiv, 225 ff.; Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, pp. 91, 93, 114; DeSmet, *op. cit.*, p. 244 (Potawatomi).

²⁷ DeSmet, *op. cit.*, p. 344 (Potawatomi); Speck, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxviii, p. 70 (Naskapi).

²⁸ Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, p. 253; Schoolcraft, *Hiawatha*, p. 35; Skinner manuscript, cited in Skinner and Satterlee, *op. cit.*, p. 519 (Ojibwa); DeJong, *Odjibwa Texts*, p. 13; Carson, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxx, 491 (Ojibwa); Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, pp. 87, 115, 116 (the fullest version); cf. Jones, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiv, 225 ff. (Sauk and Fox); Jones, *Ojibwa Texts*, p. 15.

²⁹ Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, pp. 88, 115; Drake, *Indian Tribes*, p. 57; DeSmet, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-5 (Ojibwa); Jones, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiv, 225 ff. (Sauk and Fox).

³⁰ Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, p. 260; Skinner manuscript, cited *ibid.*, p. 520 (Plains Ojibwa and Cree); Schoolcraft, *Hiawatha*, p. 40 (Ojibwa); Skinner, *Northern Saulteaux*, p. 174; Russell, *Explorations in the Far North*, p. 207 (Cree); Jones, *Fox Texts*, p. 355; Jones, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiv, pp. 225 ff. (Sauk and Fox); DeJong, *Odjibwa-Texts*, p. 14; Lowie, *Northern Shoshone*, p. 241; Dorsey, *The Thegiha Language*, p. 240 (Omaha).

³¹ Cf. Jones, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiv, pp. 225 ff. (Sauk and Fox).

tell how Manabozho masks as a doctor and kills some of Chipiapos' slayers. In other tales he turns himself into a tree to deceive them and shoots them while they are playing ball or la crosse.³² Their evil companions retaliate by causing a flood. To escape this, Manabozho takes refuge in a tree, which magically grows to four times its original height.³³ When the flood finally covers the face of the earth, he sends down animals, one after the other, to try to bring up soil. One finally succeeds in bringing a small amount in its paws, and with this the new earth is formed.³⁴

The story of how Manabozho allows himself to be swallowed by the Great Sturgeon and how he kills him from within is found in many tribes in practically the form Longfellow has used.³⁵

In the more recent versions of the legend, some of the myths told of the hero by Longfellow are assigned to other characters. Such is the fast in which Mondamin, the corn, appears.³⁶ Aside from this fact, Longfellow follows the legend exactly. The story of the dropping of Nokomis from the sky to the earth through the treachery of a jealous

³² Schoolcraft, *Hiawatha*, p. 38 (Ojibwa); DeJong, *Odjibwa-Texts*, p. 14; Skinner, *Northern Sauteaux*, p. 174; Russell, *Explorations*, p. 206 (Woods Cree); Blackbird, *Ottawa and Chippeway Indians*, p. 54 (Ottawa); Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, p. 255; Skinner manuscript, cited *ibid.*, p. 519 (Plains Ojibwa); Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, p. 133; Radin, *Ojibwa Myths*, pp. 20, 23. Cf. Jones, *Fox Texts*, p. 353.

³³ See the Schoolcraft, DeJong, Skinner manuscript, Radin, and Hoffman references in note 32. Cf. also Carson, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxx, 490 (Ojibwa).

³⁴ This incident occurs in the folk-lore of the Indian tribes of every part of North America. For exhaustive references, see *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxx, p. 422. In connection with this story it occurs in the references given in note 33.

³⁵ Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, p. 272; Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, pp. 88, 125 (latter exactly as in Longfellow); Schoolcraft, *Hiawatha*, p. 21 (Ojibwa); Carson, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxx, p. 492; Blackbird, *op. cit.*, p. 55 (Ottawa); Mooney, *Cherokee Myths*, p. 320; DeJong, *Odjibwe-Texts*, pp. 10, 11. Cf. Skinner, *Eastern Cree*, p. 101.

³⁶ See Chamberlain, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, ii, p. 142 (Mississauga).

rival is told in several tribes,³⁷ but concerns a woman quite unrelated to the hero-cycle. The adventures of Pau-Pau-Kee-Wis, described in the poem, are ordinarily told of Manabozho himself.³⁸ In the legend which tells how Fisher let out the summer weather, one recent version confirms Longfellow, but Manabozho is usually the hero.³⁹

Several stories, such as that of "The Son of the Evening Star" and of the visit of the ghosts to Hiawatha, were adapted by the poet from Schoolcraft, but do not appear in later collections. There are, on the other hand, a number of widely-distributed myths which find no place in Longfellow's poem.

Among these is the account of Manabozho's visit to the land of shadows to destroy "The Ghost Gambler." The hero borrows the eyes of the owl in order to see in the dark and with their help liberates the victims who have fallen into the power of the monster.⁴⁰ One of the best known of the whole group of tales of Manabozho is that concerning the men who make a journey to him and ask for gifts. He grants their prayers for prowess, wealth, and success in love. The man who asks for eternal life, however, is rewarded by being turned into a stone. Manabozho gives the others the power of making their return with magic swiftness.⁴¹

³⁷ Jones, *Fox Texts*, p. 101; Schoolcraft, *Onéota*, p. 116 (Ojibwa); Lowie, *Assiniboine Tales* (Siouan stock), *Miscellaneous Tales*, No. 4.

³⁸ One of these incidents is the carrying of the hero by birds or the giving of wings to him. For references see Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, pp. 520-522. Another concerns the catching of game by the hero, who feigns death. References for the latter are: Skinner and Satterlee, *Menominee Folklore*, p. 292; Skinner manuscript, cited *ibid.*, p. 521 (Eastern Dakota, Iowa, and Ojibwa); Jones, *Kickapoo Tales*, p. 129 (Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo); Jones, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xiv, pp. 225 ff. (Fox); Mooney, *Cherokee Myths*, p. 293; Dorsey, *Thegiha Language*, p. 77 (Omaha); Lowie, *Assiniboine Tales*, p. 107; Radin, *Ojibwa Myths*, p. 19.

³⁹ Carson, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxx, p. 492 (Ojibwa); Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, p. 243; Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, p. 126; DeJong, *Odjibwe-Texts*, pp. 6, 7.

⁴⁰ Hoffman, *Midewiwin*, p. 280 (Ojibwa).

⁴¹ Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, p. 487; Skinner manuscript,

In the later collections the final departure of Manabozho appears in many different forms, but they nearly all agree in saying that he is now living in the land of the Northern Lights and that some day he will return to minister to his people.⁴² Longfellow's joining of the departure of his hero with the arrival of the white man does not seem to be a part of the Indian legend.

In exercising the function of selecting incidents to make an artistic production, Longfellow has omitted all that aspect of the Manabozho saga which considers the culture hero as a trickster. The double character of leader of the people and foolish dupe does not appear to strike the Indian as incongruous,⁴³ but Longfellow would undoubtedly have spoiled his poem for white readers had he included the trickster incidents.

A few of these stories concern Manabozho's grandmother, Nokomis, and her bear lover.⁴⁴ Others tell of the hero's capturing ducks by inducing them to dance blindfold,⁴⁵ of his burning himself at the campfire while they are cooking, of his climbing a tree to hold limbs apart out of pure pity

cited *ibid.*, p. 538 (Plains Ojibwa); Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, pp. 118-20, 206; Jack, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, viii, p. 193 (Maliseet); Rand, *Micmac Legends*, Nos. 35, 43, etc.; Hagar, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, x, p. 101 (Micmac); Jones, *Fox Texts*, p. 333; Jones, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxix, 389 (Ojibwa); Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, ii, p. 51 (Ojibwa); Leland, *Algonkin Legends*, p. 98.

⁴² Cf. Leland, *Algonkin Legends*, pp. 66, 130; Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, p. 199; Jack, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, viii, 193 (Maliseet); Jones, *ibid.*, xiv, pp. 225 ff. (Sauk and Fox); Speck, *ibid.*, xxviii, p. 60 (Micmac); Laidlaw, *Ontario Arch. Rep.*, xxvii, p. 85 (Ojibwa).

⁴³ Radin, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxvii, p. 359.

⁴⁴ Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, p. 174; Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, p. 249; Schoolcraft, *Hiawatha*, p. 27 (Ojibwa). With slight variations the story is very widespread, especially among the plains tribes. Cf. Dorsey, *Thegiha Language*, p. 19 (Omaha).

⁴⁵ There is hardly an Algonquian tribe that does not tell this series of trickster incidents. Scores of references could be cited. For those of the closely related Algonquian tribes see Skinner and Satterlee, *Menomini Folklore*, pp. 520-522.

because they are creaking, and of the loss of his feast while he is thus ingloriously occupied. Other stories relate different schemes for capturing game, or various vain attempts which he makes to imitate his companions. One, which Longfellow has used as a suggestion, tells of the trickster's being carried aloft by birds and dropped into a hollow tree.

It is this latter type of tale that the Indians delight to tell of Manabozho in their ordinary gatherings. For the initiation ceremonies of the Midewiwin, or Grand Medicine Lodge, they reserve the more serious part of their mythology.⁴⁶ Even here, however, the trickster element is not entirely lacking; so that the purely serious legend given in the poem cannot be said to represent the incongruous native myth as told to any group.

Broadly speaking, Longfellow had all the elements of the Manabozho cycle at his disposal. In order to give his poem wide artistic appeal, he selected those incidents which he felt to be appropriate to the hero in his character of a man and discarded all those in which he is thought of in animal form, as the Great Rabbit; he used the serious incidents and omitted all those in which Manabozho appears as an undignified trickster.

After all, a comparatively small proportion of *The Song of Hiawatha* is concerned with the Manabozho myth itself. The poet has, in the first place, all but completely humanized the demigod. Then around him he has woven, usually with a high degree of accuracy, typical experiences of Indian life. He has used such occasions as talks between grandmother and grandson, or wedding celebrations for the telling of such Indian tales as do not relate to the hero himself.⁴⁷ In this way he has been able to bring together in the poem a large variety of tales, myths, and customs.

Aside from this principle of selecting and recombining his Indian materials, Longfellow has used several devices by

⁴⁶ See Hoffman, *Menomini Indians*, pp. 161-2.

⁴⁷ See *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, vol. ii, p. 301 (Letter from Schoolcraft to Longfellow).

means of which he makes his poem conform to established standards of taste. He has improved his material by making it more unified, more conventionally poetic and romantic than he found it. From the Iroquois he took the euphonious name of his hero; and from the Finnish epic, *The Kalevala*, he adopted his metrical form and received suggestion for some of his best known lines.⁴⁸ It was also perhaps the same poem that brought vividly before him the device of grouping a mass of incoherent legends around the figure of a central demigod.

His greatest liberties with the legend, however, were with its spirit rather than with details. He introduced into the myth the element of romance to such an extent that to most readers the outstanding fact of the poem is the love making of Hiawatha and Minnehaha, which is entirely the poet's invention. Moreover, he has time and again insisted upon sentiments which form little or no part of Indian feeling, but which do appeal to the civilized reader. This romantic treatment, combined with the omission of all the ignoble qualities and the stressing of all the noble in his

⁴⁸ For example, compare the following passages:

Lo! the time has come for Aino
From this cruel world to hasten,
To the kingdom of Tuoni,
To the realm of the departed,
To the isle of the hereafter.

—*Kalevala*, Rune 4 (Crawford's translation).

Thus departed Hiawatha,
Hiawatha the Beloved,
In the glory of the sunset,
In the purple mists of evening,
To the regions of the home-wind,
Of the Northwest wind Keewadin,
To the islands of the Blessed,
To the kingdom of Ponemah,
To the Land of the Hereafter!

—*Hiawatha*, canto 21, end.

Broilo cites other interesting parallels.

hero, has given a dignity and glamor to the poem which has delighted three generations of readers. There can be no doubt, however, that Longfellow has in this very way done violence both to the original myth and to the spirit of the life which he depicts in *The Song of Hiawatha*.

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VI. THE ORIGIN OF THE WEAVING SONGS AND
THE THEME OF THE GIRL AT THE FOUNTAIN¹

The poems called in this study *Weaving Songs* were in ancient times also known as *History Songs*, for the first name applied to them was *Chansons d'histoire*; then, a little later apparently, they were called *Chansons de toile* or *Weaving Songs*.² By modern critics they have also been termed *Romances* but this name is not altogether satisfactory. If one glances through the critical edition of these poems

¹ I have given the name of *Fountain Songs* in this study to the songs and fragments of songs that treat of the meeting at a fountain of a girl and her lover. It is this class of poem that M. Jeanroy handles on pp. 199-202 of his invaluable work on the origins of French lyric poetry, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age*, 1904. Some scholars may perhaps be surprized to find included under the same heading poems so different in nature and so widely separated in point of time as the Weaving Songs and the theme of the girl at the fountain. If I venture to handle them together within the limits of a single study, it is because I believe that these themes were once more closely allied than they are now, and even sprang originally from a similar source. The reasons for this belief will become apparent in the course of the study.

² The author of *Guillaume de Dôle* was the first to mention the term: "Biau filz, ce fu ça en arriers Que les dames et les roïnes Soloient fere lor cortines Et chanter les chançons d'histoire," ed. Servois, l. 1147. The first mention of the *Chansons de toile* seems to be by Gerbert de Montreuil, the imitator of Guillaume de Dôle, in his *Roman de la Violette*, l. 2305. Henri d'Andeli makes use of the same term in his *Lai d'Aristote*, l. 374 (*Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. Méon, III, 96).

published by Karl Bartsch under the title *Romanzen und Pastourellen*³ one finds that the Weaving Songs are mixed up with other poems under the loose title of *Romanzen*. The term *Romance*, in use since the days of Grimm and Fauriel but first made popular by the collection of old French poems published by Paulin Paris under the title of *Le Romancero français*, was borrowed from the Spanish towards the end of the eighteenth century and then it designated, as it does still today, poems of historical content like our English *Ballads*. If the term was suitable enough during the Romantic period when the *Romancero* appeared, it is a source of dangerous confusion nowadays when the same term is applied to poems so widely different in nature as the Weaving Songs and, to give only one instance, the lament of the young girl in the famous poem of Marcabru, *A la fontana del vergier*, which is generally termed a *Romance*.⁴

Hitherto it has been generally agreed that there are in all some twenty Weaving Songs,⁵ pieces I-X, XII, XIV-XVII, in the collection of Bartsch and the five poems by Audefroie le Bâtard⁶ composed at a later date and probably on the model of the older anonymous poems. Of these, however, no less than five would seem to be fragments,⁷ either left unfinished by the poet or handed down to us in incomplete form, and five imitations. This leaves ten poems, I-X, which

³ In referring to the poems I use throughout the numbers they bear in this edition.

⁴ Even M. Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age*, p. 217, does not make any distinction between *Chansons d'histoire* and *Romances* though he seems to feel that the latter is not always a satisfactory name for the *Weaving Songs*. There is no *a priori* objection to the *Weaving Songs* being called *Romances* but there is to calling all *Romances Weaving Songs*, and for the purposes of this study it is especially important that only those poems should be taken into account which really are *Weaving Songs* or have some claim to be considered as such.

⁵ Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur*, p. 173.

⁶ Bartsch, *op. cit.* Nos. LVI-LX. Cf. the recent edition by A. Cullman, *Die Lieder und Romanzen des Audefroie le Bastard*, 1914.

⁷ Bartsch, *op. cit.* Nos. XII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII.

have generally been taken to be representative of the ancient Weaving Song but in reality only three of these can be fairly considered typical of the genre, namely the famous *Raynaut* song, I, *Bele Aiglentine*, II, and *Bele Yolanz*, VII.⁸ We are thus obliged to limit the present study

⁸ In order to be considered a Weaving Song a poem should in our opinion show either an obvious weaving setting or contain such characteristic traits as are to be found in the unmistakable Weaving Songs, and preferably have both claims. Now if one studies these ten poems closely one is obliged to allow that even these few poems are not all really Weaving Songs, though they have been published together under the same title. Nos. IV and IX are incontestably *Chansons de mal-mariée*, for not only have they no weaving setting but they contain the theme of the unhappily married girl, which is quite another genre, (cf. Jeanroy, *Les Origines*, p. 218). Nos. VIII and X, while they may be Weaving Songs, probably belong to a later date. The former, M. Jeanroy (*op. cit.* p. 217, n.) considers to be by Audefroï, consequently a later imitation, and the latter shows such clear traces of Provençal influence in the mention of the *losengier* (ll. 4 f., 15f., and 51) that it would be very unwise to class it amongst the Weaving Songs. Piece VI opens with three lines which certainly give the impression of a Weaving Song; the rest of the poem, however, is closely akin to the *Chansons de mal-mariée* (cf. Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, p. 218). It would seem, therefore, to be a hybrid poem or rather a *Chanson de mal-mariée* cast in the mould of a Weaving Song. This poem is representative of a type, as pieces XII and XIV would seem to show. Another instance is the curious poem beginning: "Osteis ma kenoille je ne pux filer," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, XCIX, 373. These poems do not seem to me to be Weaving Songs but rather to have appropriated the weaving setting. Of the *Chansons de mal-mariée* I propose to publish a separate study later in another place.

The poems about *Bele Doette* (III) and *Gaiete and Oriour* (V) can hardly be considered Weaving Songs by any one. So far, indeed, are they from being Weaving Songs that they might be very fittingly designated by the term *Romance* or ancient *Ballad* in the English sense of the word. Consequently, whatever their origin may be, it will not be the same as the origin of the Weaving Songs. I do not pretend to know what the origin of these two poems is, but, if I were to look for it, I should be inclined to search amongst the many poetic situations contained in the *Old Testament*. There is a wealth of poetry and of poetic themes in the Bible, which, in spite of the countless religious poems of the Middle Ages based on almost every phase of biblical story, has not been fully credited with all the power of suggestion that it possesses and which may possibly have evoked imitation or lyric treatment at one time or another in the course of the many centuries these themes have been known. Looked at from this point of view the poem

chiefly to these poems and to use the others only with the greatest caution.

The traditional name of these poems was, as we have seen, *Chansons d'istoire* or *Chansons de toile* and they were probably thus named because these terms were considered to be appropriate descriptions of the poems—*Chansons d'istoire* because they recounted an historical episode or some story believed to be true,—*Chansons de toile* because an invariable feature of the poems was the weaving of rich cloths of divers colours. The heroines, who are for the most part princesses or ladies of high degree, are represented, when the action described in the poem begins, as sitting indoors or at the window sewing or weaving:

Bele Erembors a la fenestre au jor
Sor ses genolz tient paille de color I,7

Bele Aigentine en roial chamberine
Devant sa dame cousoit une chemise II,1

about *Gaiete and Oriour* (V) seems to call to mind the scene in *Genesis* XXIV, which describes how Abraham's servant goes to a certain well in order to take a wife for his master's son, Isaac, and there amongst the girls drawing water for their flocks, singles out Rebekah who consents to become Isaac's wife. Very similar to this is the account of Jacob's meeting with Rachel, his future wife, *Genesis* XXIV, 1-14, so similar indeed that it can be considered a second version of the same theme. Now it is not inconceivable that these two scenes in *Genesis* evoked some such poem as ours about the two beautiful sisters Gaiete and Oriour at the fountain. In it a young nobleman named Gerairt descries Gaiete at the fountain and takes her in his arms and kisses her; Gaiete offers no resistance and Gerairt takes her away to his own country and marries her. The general tenor of the poem and the mention of the quintain (l. 5) naturally transports us to France in the Middle Ages, but that would be expected from the nature of the case, if the theme underwent imitation by a French poet. There are some differences between the two themes, of course, but underlying the differences the similarities are still very great and comprise the salient points of the story. One or two are indeed very curious. It was not really to bathe, as the first verse implies, that Gaiete and Oriour went to the fountain but to draw water: "Quant avras, Oriour, de l'ague prise," and that might be a reminiscence of the watering of the watering of the flocks at the well. Again the action takes place in the evening: "Lou samedi a soir," which is all the more

There seems little doubt that this weaving scene was originally an obligatory feature of all Weaving Songs and so popular was this setting that it was extended (cf. note 8) to other poems which are by no means Weaving Songs in the light of their contents:

Bele Yolanz en chambre koie
 Sor ses genouz pailles desploie
 Cost un fil d'or, l'autre de soie VI,1

This poem is sufficiently old,⁹ however, to have preserved something approaching what the weaving setting in the earliest poems must have been and is consequently a valuable testimony. The traditional setting lived on a considerable time,¹⁰ for we find a trace of it in piece VIII and also in the only poem of Audefroï le Bâtard which can be considered to bear any resemblance to the Weaving Songs:¹¹

curious as there are so many more allusions to the early morning in old French lyrics than to the evening. But here it is not without significance perhaps, for it was in the evening that the women used to go to the well to water their flocks as is expressly stated: "And he made his camels to kneel down without the city by a well of water at the time of the evening, even the time that women go out to draw water," (*Genesis*, XXIV, 11). Lastly, in both themes the girl raises no objection to being taken away and both end with the marriage in the bridegroom's country. (Cf. note 24.)

In the same way it is clear that the song about *Bele Doette* (III) is not a Weaving Song either. It has none of the characteristic features of a Weaving Song, not even the weaving trait which was sometimes introduced into poems of a different nature, as we have seen. It also is a *Romance* like the poem just mentioned and probably its origin, if we could know it, is likewise very ancient.

⁹ Cf. Jeanroy, *op. cit.* p. 217, n. 1.

¹⁰ A curious instance of survival is to be found in the opening lines of the Scotch Ballad, *Young Aikin*: "Lady Margaret sits in her bower door
 Sewing at her silken seam."

Quoted by A. G. Latham, *Treasury of French Literature*.

¹¹ I do not think Audefroï had any clear understanding of the nature of the poems he imitated. He wrote at a time when the real significance of the Weaving Songs had long been forgotten. For the most part his poems are variations of the theme of the unhappily married girl (*Chansons de mal-mariée*). It is only in piece LVIII that he imitates the Weaving Songs.

En chambre a or se siet la bele Beatris,
Dementet soi forment, en plorant trait ses fis LVIII,1

But striking as is the weaving setting of our poems their great originality lies in the strange conception of love that is to be discerned in them, for they are all love-poems of a sombre kind. Generally speaking the poems are little love dramas in which is described the meeting and reconciliation of two lovers after a period of estrangement; sometimes the woman is represented as having been unfaithful to her lover and even already with child, but the theme would seem to be susceptible of divergent treatment, for at other times it is the lover who is charged with infidelity and each of our extant Weaving Songs seems to show a different aspect. In the *Raynaut* poem, (I) it is Erembors, the heroine, who is represented as having been unfaithful to Count Raynaut. In the poem about fair Aiglentine, (II) on the other hand, it is the hero, Count Henri, who is to blame for Aiglentine's condition. In pieces VII and X there is no mention of infidelity on either side, but in both poems the lovers have obviously been separated for a space, for they return to each other with such delight. In the main the poet's interest is centred in the woman rather than the lover, and love in the Weaving Songs is considered chiefly from the woman's standpoint, the feelings and passions of men being generally ignored. The heroines are depicted as being consumed by an ardent passion, while the men who are the objects of this love not only do nothing to win or deserve it, but show sometimes considerable indifference for it; in some poems they are even represented as abandoning their true loves secretly and without a word of explanation, as if the latter had been unfaithful to them, (I and II) and when they meet again the knight chides the lady with having forgotten him. Not only Count Raynaut acts thus, (I, 17) but also the unnamed lover of fair Yolanz:

"Ma douce dame, mis m'avez en obli" VII,19

There is, therefore, something mysterious and inexplicable about these women's love and inevitably one wonders what the motive behind it is. Their humility, too, seems to know no bounds, for they accept whatever treatment is meted out to them with the most complete submission. In the first poem Raynaut has abandoned Erembors without any apparent cause and yet it is Erembors who justifies herself and pleads her innocence. The same humility is noticeable in Aiglentine, (II) who after having given her love to a certain Count Henri and been abandoned by him goes herself and asks him if he is willing to marry her.¹² This humble attitude is that of a servant before her master or a devotee before her God, as M. Jeanroy has so well described it: "La fouguese humilité des amantes n'a d'égale que la superbe indifférence des amants; elles ont devant eux l'attitude d'une servante devant son maître, d'une dévote devant son Dieu."¹³

This treatment of love, which is practically peculiar to our Weaving Songs, is all the more extraordinary as from the very beginnings of Troubadour poetry the rôles are exactly reversed. Woman then is the paragon of perfection and it is the lover who humiliates himself and sings whole paeans extolling her beauty and incomparable charm, though with little hope of seeing his love requited. Further, the fact that the heroine of these old French poems is always a young girl or unmarried woman stands out in striking contrast to the received practice of the courtly songs of the Troubadours in which it is almost invariably a married woman who is the object of the poet's adoration. The conception therefore of love that we have in our Weaving Songs is either very old

¹² A situation somewhat similar to this is to be found in the poem of Audefroi le Bâtard about the fair Beatrice (LVIII). It would seem that Audefroi here took the Aiglentine poem as his model and that constitutes the chief claim that his poem has to be considered a Weaving Song.

¹³ Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, p. 220. This conception of love, as M. Jeanroy remarks, (*ibid.*, p. 227 n. 2) was not limited to France; it is also to be found in the most ancient Spanish works.

or inspired at a later date by a very ancient model. If the latter is the case, it is interesting to note that such a conception could survive in an age when all poetic ideas were so diametrically opposed to it,¹⁴ but if the former, it may possibly have originated in some cause that altogether preceded the birth of Troubadour art. Be this as it may, enough has been said to characterize the essential features of our Weaving Songs and two facts at any rate would seem to be certain. These are assured by the titles of the poems which we have alluded to above, for these titles date from a time when it was possible to know more about the origin of these poems than it is at present. We may take it, then, that the terms *Chansons d'istoire* and *Chansons de toile* were accurate descriptions of the original poems and that it was a matter of comparative indifference whether the poems were called *Weaving* or *History Songs*. The latter, therefore, must have celebrated some authentic piece of history or some narrative believed to be such, and in this story the description of a girl weaving must have been of paramount importance or it would not have left such an indelible mark on the poems. But what is this historical episode of which a woman or girl seated weaving is the heroine? And who is this girl who loves in such an unconventional way that all the elaborate laws of the Troubadours about love are either set at nought or unknown? Of the various weaving scenes to be found in history or literature there is only one scene, so far as I know, which is at one and the same time of historical importance and coupled with a little love drama, and that is to be found in the apocryphal account of the

¹⁴ The poems as we know them belong to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. They are mostly contained in that part of the famous Paris MS. 20050 which belongs to the thirteenth century. Those, however, quoted in Guillaume de Dôle go back at least to the twelfth century, since that poem has been shown to date from the year 1200. Cf. the excellent note on the date of the Weaving Songs by M. Jeanroy, *op. cit.* p. 217.

Annunciation of the Virgin Mary.^{14a} Is it possible this story could have been the origin of our Weaving Songs?

The account of the Annunciation as given by the Apocryphal Gospels is certainly a wonderful story. The details are not the same in each gospel but in the main the accounts agree. The two that founded, so to speak, the tradition and so exercised the greatest influence are the *Protevangelium of St. James the Less*, a writing of the second century A. D.¹⁵ and the gospel called *Pseudo-Matthew*¹⁶ which appeared considerably after the *Protevangelium*, probably about the end of the fifth century. After giving the account of the visitation of Saint Anna, and of the birth of the Virgin Mary these gospels proceed to recount Mary's life up to the time of the Annunciation. The *Protevangelium* tells us that the chief priests wished to make a veil or curtain for the temple of the Lord:—Ποιήσωμεν καταπέτασμα τῷ μαῷ κυρίου¹⁷ and for that purpose summoned seven¹⁸ immaculate virgins of the tribe of David to weave the veil and the high priest bethought him of Mary and she was one of them. Then the high priest

^{14a} Professor Carleton Brown refers me to the story of Syndonia. Cf. Hulme's Introduction to the *Harrowing of Hell*, E. E. T. S. Extra Series C, p. lix. There is, however, no love theme coupled with this episode.

¹⁵ "Ex his testimoniis quod sequitur, videri Jacobi librum medio fere saeculo secundo prodiisse," C. Tischendorf, *De Evangeliorum apocryphorum origine et usu*, p. 34. Cf. idem, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 1876, *Prolegomena* p. XIII.

¹⁶ The gospel commonly denoted thus is really entitled *Liber de ortu beatae Mariae et Infantia Salvatoris a beato Matthaeo evangelista hebraice scriptus et a beato Ieronimo presbytero in Latinum translatus*; Tischendorf, *De Evangeliorum apocryphorum origine et usu*, p. 46, dates it thus: "De aetate libri si quaeritur, ut Hieronymi obitu non potest prior esse, ita nec multo posterior esse videtur. Hinc finem saeculi quinti conjecerim." Cf. M. Nicolas, *Études sur les évangiles apocryphes*, p. 344.

¹⁷ Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 1876, p. 20. Cf. the recent text published by Michel, *Évangiles Apocryphes*, p. 20, which is practically identical. *Pseudo-Matthew* has not this passage. The source of the *Protevangelium* in this account of the making of the veil is obviously the description in *Exodus* XXXVI, 35, 37, of the veil made by Moses for the tabernacle. Cf. Michel, *op. cit.* p. 21.

¹⁸ In *Pseudo-Matthew* only five.

bade them draw lots to see which of the different coloured threads each of them should weave:—*Δάχετέ μοι τίς νήσει το χρυσίον καὶ τὸ ἀμίαντον καὶ τὴν βύσσον καὶ το σηρικὸν καὶ τὸ ὑακίνθινον καὶ τὸ κόκκινον καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν πορφύραν.*¹⁹ The purple and the scarlet fell to Mary and she took the scarlet and began to weave:—*Μαριάμ δε λαβοῦσα τὸ κόκκινον ἔκλωθεν.*²⁰ Thus Mary worked assiduously at her task of weaving:—*Insistebat autem operi lanificii.*²¹ While the *Protevan-gelium* is silent, *Pseudo-Matthew* even tells us how she mapped out her day. From early in the morning until the third hour of the day she would remain in prayer, but from the third hour until the ninth she busied herself with weaving:—*Hanc autem regulam sibi statuerat, ut a mane usque ad horam tertiam orationibus insisteret, a tertia autem usque ad nonam textrino opere se occuparet.*²² From the ninth hour on, however, she relapsed into prayer.

Now it was while Mary was engaged in weaving that the Annunciation took place. It is true that according to both

¹⁹ In *Pseudo-Matthew* the account is slightly different: "Tunc Joseph accepit Mariam cum aliis quinque virginibus, quae essent cum ea in domo Joseph. Erant autem istae virgines Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea et Zahel; quibus datum est a pontificibus sericum hyacinthum, et byssus et coccus et purpura et linum. Miserunt autem sortes inter se, quid unaquaeque virgo faceret; contigit autem ut Maria purpuram acciperet ad velum templi domini." Tischendorf, *op. cit.* p. 69-70. That this story enjoyed great popularity in early times there can be little doubt, for it was retold several times in Romance versions and not only in prose but also in verse. Thus there existed a Provençal poem on the childhood of Jesus a few lines of which have been preserved and amongst them this episode of the casting of lots. Mary and her companions "Giteron sortz que obraria Caduna ni que faria, O canebe, o lin, o lana. Maria pres a obrar Porpra al temple per l'autar," *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.* VIII, 545. The old French version, which is obviously based on *Pseudo-Matthew*, is perhaps also worth quoting: "As queles (V vierges compaignes) li vesque ont donné soie, samit, bogherant et pourpre et lin et coton. Dont fisent ces virges le busque entre eles que Marie feroit, si avint que par le busque ele dut avoir le pourpre au voile dou temple nostre signor." *Les ansances nostre Dame et de Jesu*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. 1553, fonds français, fol. 274 v° a.

²⁰ Tischendorf, *op. cit.* p. 21.

²¹ *Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium*, cap. VI, Tischendorf, *op. cit.* p. 63.

²² Tischendorf, *op. cit.* p. 63.

the *Protevangelium* and *Pseudo-Matthew* the angel would seem to have appeared to Mary twice, for according to the former she heard a voice speaking to her at some time previous to the actual Annunciation when she had gone out with her pitcher to draw water, and according to the latter the angel actually appeared to her twice—once while she was standing by the fountain and again another day while she was weaving. The account of the *Protevangelium* is as follows:—Καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν κάλπην καὶ ἐξῆλθεν γεμίσει ὕδωρ· καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα· Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ, εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν. καὶ περιεβλέπετο δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερά, πόθεν αὕτη ἡ φωνή. Καὶ σύντρομος γενομένη ἀπείει εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνέπαυσεν τὴν κάλπην, καὶ λαβοῦσα τὴν πορφύραν ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτῆς καὶ εἶλκεν αὐτήν. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἔστη ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς λέγων.²³

It will be seen that for the author of the *Protevangelium* the two appearances of the angel occurred on the same day and both formed part of the same Annunciation scene, whereas from *Pseudo-Matthew* we can only conclude that the Annunciation took place twice, on two different days, once at the fountain and once indoors (in the temple or in Joseph's house), while Mary was sitting weaving. Now it would seem that from these two accounts there grew up in later times, approximately between the fifth and the eleventh

²³ Tischendorf, *op. cit.* p. 21 f. The text of *Pseudo-Matthew* is as follows: "Altera autem die dum Maria staret juxta fontem ut urceolum impleret, apparuit ei angelus domini et dixit: Beata es Maria, quoniam in utero tuo habitaculum domino praeparasti. Ecce veniet lux de caelo, ut habitet in te, et per te universo mundo resplendeat. Iterum tertia die dum operaretur purpuram digitis suis, ingressus est ad eam iuvenis, cuius pulchritudo non potuit enarrari," Tischendorf, *op. cit.* p. 70. I add the old French version by way of comparison: En i autre jour endementiers que elle estoit d'encoste une fontaine li angeles de nostre signor s'apparu a li et li dist: 'Beneoite es tu, Marie, qui as apparillie en ton ventre l'abitacion de diu. Li lumiere venra dou chiel et habitera en ti si que par ti tous li mondes resplendira.' Endementiers que elle au tierch jour ouvrroit de ses dois pourpre vint a li uns jovenenchiaus qui biautés ne poroit estre racontée. *Les Anfances nostre Dame et de Jesu*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. 1553, fol. 274 v° b.

centuries, perhaps more especially under the influence of *Pseudo-Matthew*, two separate but widely spread traditions concerning the scene and circumstances of the Annunciation, the one recording that it occurred while Mary was weaving, the other that it took place while she was drawing water at the fountain.²⁴ The weaving tradition seems to have established itself at a very early date, for it is represented in one form of art or another from the fifth century onwards. Cameos,²⁵ ivory work,²⁶ intaglios,²⁷ stained-glass windows²⁸ and some old masters all depict the Annunciation thus. In fact before the thirteenth century Mary was hardly ever represented without a spindle or a basket containing balls of wool.²⁹ This tradition was so firmly rooted in the popular

²⁴ Just as the author of the *Protevangelium* borrowed the weaving setting of the Annunciation scene from *Exodus* XXXVI vv. 35 and 37 (cf. n. 17), so in my opinion the fountain tradition, which also appears for the first time in the *Protevangelium*, though it perhaps only receives its final shape in *Pseudo-Matthew*, was borrowed by the same writer from the setting of *Genesis* XXIV, vv. 11 ff. This passage describes how Abraham's servant meets with Rebekah while she is drawing water at the well and announces to her the mission entrusted to him by his master (cf. Thilo, *Codex apocryphus*, p. 366, n.). I have already had occasion to allude to this scene as being possibly the origin of the poem about Gaiete and Oriour (cf. note 8).

²⁵ Le camée byzantin de la Bibliothèque nationale sous le no. 262 donne la Sainte Vierge et l'ange dans un ovale. . . . Les deux figures sont de profil et se regardent, l'ange porte une verge et la Vierge tient un écheveau de fil qui paraît sortir d'une corbeille. L'autre pierre cataloguée sous le no. 264 La Sainte Vierge et l'ange sont encore de profil et tiennent l'écheveau de fil et la verge; l'écheveau sort d'une corbeille. Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge*, I, 78, and Pl. IX.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 78 ff. and Pl. VII, IX, X. *Ivoire de Hanovre*—Une boîte en ivoire du cinquième siècle. . . . La sainte Vierge assise tient de la main gauche un fil qui s'enroule sur un fuseau, qu'elle tourne. . . . *Pesaro* (Pl. IX)—un morceau d'ivoire. . . . De la main gauche elle tient deux fuseaux . . . *Ivoire Spitzer* (Pl. X)—neuvième siècle. . . . la Vierge assise dans une riche maison tient un fuseau de la main droite et une pelote de la main gauche.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 78 ff. Une intaille sur émeraude du septième siècle . . . actuellement à Madrid . . . l'écheveau de fil et la corbeille.

²⁸ Cf. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du treizième siècle*, p. 286.

²⁹ In addition to the examples quoted above see Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.* I, 78-92, and Pl. VII, IX, X, XI. Cf. E. Mâle, *op. cit.* p. 286.

mind that the silky autumnal gossamers were called the "threads of the Virgin" (les fils de la Vierge) and they have kept that name to this day.³⁰ The fountain tradition, of which there is apparently no trace in any form of art before the eleventh century, would seem to have been especially popular in the Eastern Church,³¹ for there are several monastic churches in Greece containing pictures of the Annunciation, in which Mary is painted with a pitcher in her hand standing near a fountain at the moment the angel appears to her.³² A Greek manuscript of the eleventh century contains a miniature of the same scene,³³ which is also represented in the Church of St. Mark at Venice.³⁴ This treatment of the theme became later on popular also in sculpture and it would doubtless be possible to find many instances of it amongst the churches of France. One striking example is the church of St. Etienne du Mont at Paris which depicts the Annunciation scene thus on the west façade. There on one side of the big rose-window stands in relief an

³⁰ Cf. E. Mâle, *op. cit.* p. 286.

³¹ The reason why the fountain tradition developed later than the weaving tradition is perhaps to be found in the fact that, though its ultimate source is the *Protevangelium* (cf. n. 24) it was not until it had been given shape and made popular by *Pseudo-Matthew* that it really became an independent tradition. That this tradition further was chiefly popular in the Eastern Church need not cause surprise, for the whole setting of the scene is completely Eastern. In the East these wells, marked by a few large slabs of rough stone about the well's mouth, were the chief meeting-place for the neighbouring inhabitants and this was especially the case in ancient biblical times as described in *Genesis XXIV*, v. 11, ff., to which this tradition ultimately goes back, (cf. n. 24). Thus the setting would naturally appeal to an Eastern mind or anyone acquainted with the customs of the East.

³² Cf. M. Nicolas, *Études sur les Évangiles apocryphes*, p. 313. The Provençal version of the childhood of Jesus alluded to above, (n. 19), also knew this tradition: "Anet querre d'aiga Maria."

³³ Bibl. Nat. manuscrit grec, 47, (Pl. XV), onzième siècle. La Sainte Vierge puise de l'eau à une fontaine dans un vase d'or auquel pend une corde. . . elle se retourne pour voir l'ange qui est en l'air et se dirige vers elle. Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge* I, 91.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 91. La Vierge puise de l'eau à une fontaine et retourne la tête pour voir l'ange qui est encore en l'air et lui adresse la parole.

angel carrying a lily and on the other a fountain with a girl beside it. These figures represent Gabriel and the Virgin Mary.³⁵

That the whole story of the Annunciation as told in the Apocryphal Gospels was immensely popular in the Middle Ages is sufficiently proved by the Romance versions evoked both in prose and verse by the *Protevangelium* and *Pseudo-Matthew* (cf. note 19). This popularity, however, was not confined merely to the later Middle Ages,³⁶ for from the fifth century to the sixteenth the Apocryphal Gospels, alike in the Eastern and the Western Church, were far more widely spread than the canonical Gospels.³⁷ Whilst the latter were unknown even in name to the people as a whole, the *Protevangelium of James* and the *Gospels of Thomas*, *Pseudo-Matthew* and *Nicodemus* were translated into all languages and became the authentic sources of the gospel story.³⁸ The *Protevangelium* especially was known to Western Christians at a very early date and, though it was banned as heretical and spurious by Pope Gelasius in 493, its popularity was no whit diminished.³⁹ Thus there seems no doubt that the Annunciation and especially these two traditions about the circumstances under which it took place seized hold upon the imaginations of men in a most extraordinary way, and by evoking imitation provided inspiration for lyric song—the tradition of the appearance of the angel at the fountain evoking the Fountain Songs, that of the appearance in the temple the Weaving Songs. This will be best illustrated by a successive examination of these two classes of poems.

³⁵ There must be many other churches in France which show similar representations of the Annunciation scene; I only instance St. Etienne du Mont because at one time I used to pass by it every day.

³⁶ Philipp Mousket in his *Reimchronik* 10520-75 shows a knowledge of both the *Protevangelium* and *Pseudo-Matthew*, cf. Gröber, *Grundriss* II, 1, p. 657.

³⁷ M. Nicolas, *Études sur les Évangiles apocryphes*, p. 401.

³⁸ Nicolas, *op. cit.*, pp. 402, 330.

³⁹ R. Reinsch, *Die Pseudo-Evangelien von Jesu und Maria's Kindheit in der romanischen und germanischen Literatur*, p. 1 f.

The great resemblance between the Annunciation story and the Weaving Songs is the fact that the heroine of them, as already mentioned, is invariably represented as weaving when the action of the poem begins, just as Mary was weaving the veil of the temple when the angel suddenly appeared to her. The resemblance in this respect is complete and this setting is all the more significant as it developed into a sort of stereotyped opening for these poems. That nothing is ever mentioned in the poems anterior to the weaving scene is not surprising, seeing that the Annunciation took place while Mary was weaving and that the description of her weaving opens the apocryphal account of the scene. If this resemblance is not based on mere fancy the explanation it provides of these poems has obvious advantages, but if it is wrong we are thrown back once more on the old difficulty of accounting for the description in these poems of a custom that had ceased to exist a century or two before the probable date of the oldest amongst them. It is necessary, as Gröber has pointed out,⁴⁰ to go back to the days of Charlemagne or the generation immediately following to find a time when princesses or the daughters of great lords used to busy themselves weaving with spindle or distaff.⁴¹ If the practice had so completely disappeared from the customs of the age that gave birth to the poems, how had the memory of these times lived on? But if, on the other hand, these poems, or others older than they, were evoked by this account of the Annunciation scene, the difficulty disappears at once, for the poet was carried back to remote times by the text from which he drew his inspiration.

It may be objected here that the heroines of the Weaving Songs are invariably ladies of high rank, frequently indeed princesses, the daughters of kings and emperors, and that, seeing the humble origin of the Virgin Mary, there is little likelihood of the weaving scenes of the poems being imitations or reminiscences of the one in the Annunciation story.

⁴⁰ *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, 1, p. 446.

⁴¹ Einhard, *Vita Caroli*, cap. 19.

The objection is not without weight, for there certainly was a tradition that the Virgin was a shepherdess, and this tradition goes back to very ancient times and enjoyed great popularity.⁴² But there was also another tradition about the Virgin and one supported too by the teaching of the Apocryphal Gospels, according to which Mary was of royal rank by reason of her descent from David. It is quite possible that *Pseudo-Matthew* knew this tradition, for he records that from time immemorial the daughters of kings had been harboured in the temple,⁴³ implying of course that Mary was of similar rank and that from the moment she was dedicated to the Lord and took up her abode in the temple she was enveloped with all the prestige and consideration due to her royal descent. However this may be, the tradition concerning the royal rank of Mary is unquestionable and was undoubtedly widely spread, as it inspired all forms of art right through the Middle Ages.⁴⁴ For the Middle Ages Mary was a Queen⁴⁵ and many pictures and wall paintings represent the Virgin wearing a crown. On the West door of the Cathedral at Chartres and on Saint Anne's door of Notre Dame at Paris Mary is depicted as seated upon a throne in royal state.⁴⁶ This tradition is ancient, for it appears already in the famous hymn to the Virgin: "Salve regina," which dates probably from the eleventh century⁴⁷ and it is especially predominant in such works as the *De laudibus beatae Mariae*, the *Speculum beatae*

⁴² I shall deal more fully with this tradition when I come to study the *Pastourelle*.

⁴³ Ex quo aedificatum est templum hoc a Salomone, fuerant in eo filiae regum virgines, cap. VIII, Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 66.

⁴⁴ It was known by Saint Bernard:—"Quid ergo sidereum micat in generatione Mariae? Plane quod ex regibus orta, quod ex semine Abrahæ, quod generosa ex stirpe David." *Opera Omnia*, ed. Migne, 1862, II, col. 433. Gottfried of Hagenau makes it the starting point of the legends he records of the life of the Virgin, cf. Schmidt, *Gottfried de Hagenau*, p. 19.

⁴⁵ Cf. Mâle, *L'art religieux du treizième siècle*, pp. 277-8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 278.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 278, n. 2.

*Mariae*⁴⁸ and others written in praise of the Virgin. Thus a poet of the Middle Ages acquainted with this tradition and drawing his inspiration from the apocryphal account of the Annunciation would naturally represent his heroine as being of royal stock. It may be suggested here that what has been considered to be an allusion in these poems to the gynaeceum or women's quarters in a feudal castle,⁴⁹ is possibly the dim recollection of the temple of the apocryphal story or that part of it set apart for the maidens especially dedicated to the service of the Lord and in which Mary was weaving when the angel approached her.

Now if the first authors of Weaving Songs really did draw their inspiration from the Annunciation story it is evident that this attempt to represent the scene in human values is not altogether lacking in coherence. At the same time it is patent to all that the model is fraught with difficulties and complications for anyone attempting to make a secular imitation of it. Just consider a moment the story of Joseph and Mary as recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels. It is so simple on the surface and yet in reality it is full of apparent inconsistencies and contradictions. First of all Joseph is, and is not, the husband of Mary. In a general way he was regarded as the espoused husband of Mary because according to the Jewish custom of those days he had taken Mary

⁴⁸ *Maria Regina propter Regiam Parentelam et generis nobilitatem. Quia regali ex progenie Maria, orta de tribu Juda clara ex stirpe David. Fuit enim de tribu sacerdotali et regia, quia Cristum paritura erat qui est rex et sacerdos, De laudibus beatae Mariae, VI.*

Speculum sancte Marie hunc librum vocate;

Reginam celi in hoc speculo considerate.

Speculum sancte Marie virginis.

In the *Speculum beatae Mariae* Mary is Queen of heaven, earth, and hell. Cf. Mâle, *loc. cit.* p. 277.

⁴⁹ Gaston Paris expressed the opinion that these songs were composed originally "Pour être chantées dans les gynécées par les femmes qui y travaillaient," *Romania* XI, p. 144. M. Jeanroy would seem to be of the same opinion. Cf. *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au moyen âge*, p. 225.

and her attendant maidens into his house for protection.⁵⁰ In the apocryphal account Joseph is represented, doubtless for doctrinal reasons, as being an old man with children of his own and only reluctantly consenting to take charge of Mary when the lot drawn by the high priest falls upon him.⁵¹ In the full sense of the word, however, he was not her husband because the day of the wedding had not arrived. Further, Joseph both was, and was not, guilty of having left Mary with child. As soon as it was noticed that Mary was pregnant the blame for her condition was immediately laid at his door, because she was then living in his house and under his care. On the other hand he was innocent, for Mary's condition was but the fulfilment of the angel's message, though the angel's visit to Mary was at first unknown both to the priests and to the people, just as it was unknown to Joseph himself until the angel appeared to him. Lastly Mary is, and is not, unfaithful to Joseph. In Joseph's opinion there was so little doubt of her guilt that we are told he was minded to put her away privily. In the eyes of the people too Mary had sinned (though in collusion with Joseph) in that she was with child before her wedding day. On the other hand, in point of fact Mary was innocent, neither having sinned with Joseph nor against him, for the appearance of the angel to her with his message exonerates her from any guilt that might otherwise be ascribed to her condition. To sum up then we may say that, though in reality Joseph and Mary were altogether free from blame, in the eyes of the world they had both been unfaithful, for they were not, as in the Canonical Gospels, man and wife.

⁵⁰ Saint Bernard speaking of the betrothal of Joseph and Mary comments on the custom: *Mos siquidem Judaeorum erat, ut a die desponsationis suae, usque ad tempus nuptiarum, sponsis sponsae traderentur custodiendae: quatenus earum ipsi eo sibi pudicitiam curiosius servarent, quo sibi ipsi fideliores existerent.* *Opera omnia*, ed. Migne, 1862, II, col. 67.

⁵¹ A dove, the appointed sign, comes out of Joseph's wand and settles on his head. For the full account see the *Protevangelium* cap. IX (Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 18, f.) and *Pseudo-Matthew*, cap. VIII (ibid. p. 66 f.).

When looked at in this light the situation of the Annunciation story is seen to be full of contradictions and ambiguities. Eliminate the supernatural element and make the story the subject of secular imitation and these ambiguities are bound to increase, for the only thing that explained them, namely the appearance of the angel, has been suppressed. Further, as it would be impossible to depict in any given poem more than one side of the situation it becomes immediately obvious that secular imitation of such a theme would give rise to poems showing considerable divergence of treatment, according as this aspect or that is selected by the poet for imitation. If, therefore, the Annunciation story really lies behind our Weaving Songs we should expect to find certain variations in the handling of the theme.

From this point of view the uncertainties and inconsistencies existing in the poems are most instructive, for in each of the few extant Weaving Songs they would seem to correspond to similar uncertainties in the original story. In the famous *Raynaut* poem (I) the relation of Count Raynaut to Erembors is left uncertain. It is by no means clear whether he is the husband or merely the lover of Erembors. Nowhere in the poem is there anything that can definitely decide the point and it would seem as if the poet had not himself created the uncertainty. Further Erembors, the heroine, is represented by the poet as having been unfaithful to Count Raynaut, her lover:—

“Jal mesfeïstes, fille d’empereor
Autrui amastes, si obliastes nos!” I,16

and yet again also as being innocent, for in the end by taking an oath on holy relics she succeeds in convincing Count Raynaut that his suspicions about her conduct are unfounded:—

“Sire Raynauz, je m’en escondirai:
A cent puceles sor sainz vos jurerai, . . .
C’ouques nul home fors vostre cors n’amai.” I,19

The charge of infidelity is so precise that the impression created is that Count Raynaut’s suspicions are somewhat

too easily allayed, but if the poem is really modelled on the Annunciation story, the slight inconsistency is sufficiently explained. 

Take another poem: the fair Aiglentine (II). In it also the relationship of hero to heroine is not without ambiguity. Count Henri is perhaps the lover of Aiglentine but more probably her betrothed. In any case he is not her husband, as he consents to marry her at the close of the poem. The great uncertainty this time lies in the question whether Count Henri is guilty of having left Aiglentine with child and whether he will marry her. At the beginning of the poem Count Henri is clearly depicted as being to blame for the condition Aiglentine is found in by her mother:—

“Ma douce dame, ne le vos puis noier:
Je ai amé un cortois soudoier,
Le preu Henri, qui tant fet a proisier.” II,19

but when Aiglentine asks him whether he is willing to marry her:—

“Ja vos requiert Aiglentine au vis cler,
Se la prendrez a moullier et a per.” II,40

he readily consents:—

“Oil,” dit Henris, “onc joie n’oi mes tel.” II,42

though from the whole tenor of the poem the only inference to be drawn is that he had definitely abandoned her. What is not clear here is the reason that produces this sudden change of purpose in Count Henri’s behaviour. If, however, the poem were based on the Annunciation story, this inconsistency would not cause surprise, for Joseph acted very similarly with regard to Mary. When Mary was found to be with child he was minded, we are told, to put her away privily, and it was only after he had learnt that Mary’s condition was not her own fault that he was willing to take her back again. The difficulty would not have arisen if the angel’s rôle had not been eliminated, but that was a *sine qua non* of a secular imitation.

If we turn now from the complexities in the theme to study the heroes and heroines of our poems we find them delineated in such a way that Joseph and Mary might well have been their prototypes. We have mentioned above that the heroine is almost invariably a young maiden or unmarried woman and we have seen how the great interest of the poem centres in her passion. We have seen too how she is frequently represented as unfaithful to her lover and sometimes even portrayed as being with child; how she gives an example of unparalleled humility which forms a striking contrast with the comparative indifference shown by her lover. Now all these traits, strange and inexplicable as they are in themselves, cease to cause surprise the moment one considers them as inspired by the apocryphal story of the Annunciation. There too the heroine is an unmarried maiden and there too Mary rather than Joseph is drawn as the central figure, for it is primarily her fate that is the great subject of interest. There too we have the charge of infidelity levelled in the first place against Mary by Joseph but extended also to Joseph by the priests and people when they learn that Mary is with child. Eliminate the visitation of the angel and both in the Annunciation story and our Weaving Songs we have the representation of a young girl already with child, with no very clear indication whether the girl herself is guilty or whether she has been shamefully seduced.⁵² In both too there is the same extraordinary humility and great sense of duty shown by the heroine and the same indifference and lack of interest shown by the lover.

⁵² This is the theme of the young, unmarried girl which M. Jeanroy recognized to be at the very source of the Lyric poetry of the Middle Ages: "Nous avons dit tout à l'heure (p. 150-1) que la forme préférée de la lyrique romane à ses débuts était un monologue de femme; nous pouvons donc ajouter maintenant, de femme non mariée." *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au moyen âge*, p. 158, cf. *ibid.*, p. 180. Gaston Paris was of the same opinion, cf. *Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge*, p. 559, n. 6.

If then Mary is the prototype on whom the heroines of our poems have been modelled it is only natural to find them depicted as being pregnant (II) or having been unfaithful to their lovers (I); and if Mary is the paragon of humility, it follows as a matter of course that they will be submissive and uncomplaining also, (I and II). If, on the other hand, their lovers are the lay counterparts of Joseph, they will be represented as under the same stigma that Joseph was under in the eyes of the people, when it was discovered that Mary was with child. This is the case of Count Henri in the poem of the fair Aiglentine (II). If, further, there is a certain show of indifference or aloofness on the part of the lover (II) it would naturally result from such a prototype, for Joseph was not so much the lover of Mary as her appointed guardian, and the Apocryphal Gospels, as we have seen, represent him as an old man, not only very reluctant to become her betrothed, but also loth to take Mary and her attendant maidens into his charge.⁵³ But the analogy goes even further than this. It will be remembered that it seems to be typical of the lovers of our poems that they abandon their beloved secretly and in some cases charge them with infidelity (vide supra). Now when Joseph returns to his house and finds Mary pregnant he casts himself down and gives himself up to wild grief. On becoming calmer he ponders in his mind what he is to do with Mary, whether to conceal her guilt or to expose her publicly. After due reflection he does not adopt either course, but decides to put her away secretly:—*τί οὖν αὐτὴν ποιήσω; λάθρα αὐτὴν ἀπολύσω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*,⁵⁴ and his first remark to Mary when he sees her is:—*τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας καὶ ἐπελάθου κυρίου τοῦ*

⁵³ When the high priest tells Joseph he has been chosen by God to take charge of Mary he pleads his age and the fact that he has children:—*καὶ ἀντεῖπεν Ἰωσήφ λέγων Τίους ἔχω καὶ πρεσβύτης εἰμι, αὕτη δὲ νεάνις· μή πως περίγελως γένωμαι τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ*. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 18. Cf. *Historia de navitate Mariae* in Thilo, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, p. 361.

⁵⁴ *Protevangelium Jacobi*, Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

θεοῦ σου.⁵⁵ At this Mary bursts into tears protesting that she is innocent and pure and has had no intercourse with any man:—Ἡ δὲ ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς λέγουσα ὅτι καθαρὰ εἰμι ἐγὼ καὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω.⁵⁶ Thus if the heroes of our Weaving Songs adopt the course of abandoning their sweethearts without any apparent reason and then chide them for having forgotten them, it is because such action was prescribed from the birth of the genre by the story of their prototype Joseph. The only slight difference is that Joseph chides Mary, not with having forgotten him, but with having forgotten the Lord her God.

In the light of all these arguments it becomes clearer and clearer that our most ancient Weaving Songs have been modelled trait for trait on the story of Joseph and Mary as told in the Apocryphal Gospels. The dénouement of the Raynaut poem, the oldest of them all, would seem to add yet one more striking resemblance in its allusion to the ancient method of self-justification by means of *Cojuratores* or fellow-swearers, and in the subsequent reconciliation of the two lovers. The situation described by the poem is well known and we have already had occasion to quote it. Erembors, who is unjustly suspected by Count Raynaut of having been unfaithful to him, seeks to justify herself by obtaining a number of witnesses and tells Raynaut that thirty ladies and a hundred maidens are prepared to swear an oath with her on sacred relics that she is innocent and that she has never loved anyone but him:—

“Sire Raynaud, je m’en escondirai:
A cent puceles sor sainz vos jurerai,
A trente dames que avuec moi menrai,
C’onques nul home fors vostre cors n’amai
Prennez l’emmende et je vos baiseraï” I, 19 ff.

and when she had said that she began to weep. Raynaut is satisfied by the proof and recognizes that Erembors has

⁵⁵ Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

cleared her name and the poem ends with the reconciliation of the two lovers:—

“Lors recommencent lor premieres amors.” I, 35

We have in this passage an undoubted allusion⁵⁷ to the ancient Germanic law which allowed the accused to prove his innocence by the testimony on oath of a number of his relations and friends (*cojuratores*).⁵⁸ Sometimes, however, the judge would order the trial by single combat or the trial by water or red-hot iron which was called the judgment of God, (*le jugement de Dieu*). Now, though from the nature of the case there can naturally be no allusion to a Germanic custom in the Apocryphal Gospels, nevertheless there is in them also, just at this point when Joseph and Mary are accused, an allusion to another judgment of God—namely the trial of jealousy of the old Mosaic law, as it is laid down in the Book of Numbers, V, 11 ff. It is not perhaps carried out with all the minutiae of the Mosaic law, but there can be no doubt that the Apocryphal Gospels here describe the same test as that ordained by Moses. When it was discovered that Mary was with child the high priest sent for Joseph and Mary and blamed them for what they had done, but they both protested that they were innocent. Unconvinced, the high priest said that he would put them to the test and make their guilt manifest:—καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς Ποτιῶ ὑμᾶς τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἐλέγξεως κυρίου, καὶ φανερῶσει τὰ ἀμαρτήματα ὑμῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν.⁵⁹ And having taken water he caused Joseph to drink and sent him to the mountains and he returned whole:—Καὶ λαβὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπότισεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἐπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν καὶ ἦλθεν ὁλόκληρος.⁶⁰ Likewise he made Mary drink and sent her also to the mountains

⁵⁷ This allusion was first noticed, I think, by Gaston Paris. Cf. *Mediaeval French Literature*, p. 50.

⁵⁸ For particulars relating to this law of justification by *cojuratores*, see V. Duruy, *Histoire de France*, I, 136.

⁵⁹ *Protangelium Jacobi*, cap. XVI, Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 29.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, cap. XVI, p. 29.

but she came back whole too:—ἐπότισεν δὲ καὶ τὴν Μαριάμ, καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ ἦλθεν ὁλόκληρος.⁶¹ Then the high priest was amazed and said:—"As God has not made your guilt manifest so do I forbear to judge you." καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς Εἰ κύριος ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐφανερώσῃ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ κρίνω ἐμᾶς.⁶² And he absolved them and Joseph took Mary and departed rejoicing to his own house.

The great importance of this passage is that it helps to explain why the author of the Raynaut poem, in clearing Erembors of the charge of infidelity, alludes to the old Germanic practice of justification by means of *cojuratores*. It is not just a chance allusion without significance, but is there because there was a similar justification scene in the poet's model. As he was drawing the inspiration for his secular poem from a religious source he could not follow his model too closely, and as he had transposed all along the religious into the secular, so here too he had to find a counterpart that those who heard his poem would understand and appreciate. It is hardly necessary to add that it would be difficult for a "Franc de France" to find in his day a more natural parallel to the trial scene of the Apocryphal Gospels than the allusion he makes to the Germanic custom, doubtless well-known to himself and to his contemporaries, of justification by *cojuratores*.

It may be well perhaps now, before passing on to an examination of the Fountain Songs, to pause to recall the chief results obtained in the course of our comparison between the Weaving Songs and the story of Joseph and Mary as told in the Apocryphal Gospels. Is it chance that there seems to be a certain correspondence between them or is it design, for in point of fact the resemblance is strong? Both poem and legend represent an unmarried woman accused by her lover of having had secret intercourse with another man and both describe the estrangement which ensues between the lovers when the young girl is found to be with

⁶¹ Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

child; in both the woman weeps and protests her innocence, and in both the incident ends with the reconciliation of the two lovers. In addition to these concordances of theme we have the further similarities of setting and treatment. In the Weaving Songs as in the Apocryphal story there is the very striking weaving scene, which is one of the dominant features of both. In both we find too the same strange conception of love and the same characterization of the protagonists, the same humility and great sense of duty on the part of the heroines and the same indifference or lack of interest on the part of the lovers. Against these resemblances there is, it is true, one great difference. No angel appears in the Weaving Songs to influence the action as happens all through the sacred story, but the absence of the supernatural must be regarded as a necessary condition of a secular imitation. It was hardly possible for a poet to use a religious theme for secular purposes without eliminating the supernatural element, for had he introduced it into his work he would not have written a secular poem. It was much that he ventured to parallel the scene of the trial of jealousy, but herein his choice of the justification by *cojuratores* was exceedingly felicitous and all that could be desired from a secular point of view.

Lastly the great similarity that exists between the relation of hero to heroine in the Weaving Songs and the relation of Joseph to Mary in the Apocryphal Gospels, in a word the similar conception of love, is not only of great significance in itself, but is not without importance also in determining the date of our Weaving Songs. The fact that the poems mention the Frankish king, "*Que Franc de France repairent de roi cort*" is not in itself sufficient to prove Suchier's contention that the Weaving Songs must go back to the first half of the ninth century, to the days of Louis le Pieux, if not of Charlemagne.⁶³ Nor is the fact that the Weaving

⁶³ Suchier und Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, p. 9.

Songs contain an allusion to the trial system of *cojuratores* enough by itself to prove that Gaston Paris was right in assigning them to the eleventh century, to the time of the first Capetian kings.⁶⁴ As a criterion of date, the conception of love we find in the Weaving Songs is perhaps of even greater importance than either the allusion to the *cojuratores* or the mention of the Frankish court. This conception is certainly very old and at least contemporaneous with the first beginnings of Troubadour poetry, more probably older still. If we place the birth of the Weaving Songs in the first years of the twelfth century or in the last decades of the eleventh, it becomes clear why their vogue was so short-lived, for as soon as the elaborate art of the Troubadours, based as it was on conceptions of love so diametrically opposed to those of our Songs, had definitely established itself, this more natural growth was stifled and compelled to give place. It is quite conceivable, though, that some of the oldest poems of all have not come down to us and that we only have, as it were, the aftermath of the original output. What lends some colour to this view is the fact that there are a certain number of poems extant which blend the theme of the unhappily-married girl (*Chansons de mal-mariée*) with the Weaving Song,⁶⁵ and this theme is closely bound up with the other themes of the Troubadours. It is not quite impossible that this transformation was forced upon the genre to enable it to live at all. If that be so, we should have to place the birth of the genre some decades earlier. Whatever may be the exact date of the Weaving Songs, however, the end or middle of the eleventh century is approximately the epoch we should naturally assign them to from our own special point of view, for was it not in the eleventh century that the Apocryphal Gospels attained the apogee of their popularity, were most widely diffused, and their contents most generally known?

⁶⁴ *Esquisse de la littérature française.*

⁶⁵ For instances see note 8.

Everything taken into consideration, therefore, it would seem to be reasonably certain that our Weaving Songs, strange as it may seem, were inspired by the apocryphal story of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, just as the Aalis Songs, as we showed in a previous study⁶⁶ were inspired by the visitation of Saint Anna as recorded in the same Gospels.

Now if the legend that the Annunciation took place in the temple while Mary was sitting weaving gave rise to our Weaving Songs, the other tradition that it took place at the fountain, whither Mary had gone to draw water, would seem to have evoked the Fountain Songs.⁶⁷ These Fountain Songs are perhaps not as old as the Weaving Songs though they are probably considerably older than the extant examples would lead one to suppose. Though no complete Fountain song is extant in old French or old Provençal, there are indications at least that the genre probably existed at an early date, for we have fragments of poems which allude to the visit of a young girl to a fountain, but do not always make it clear what befell her there, beyond the fact that something untoward happened because she tarried there too long. The little poem about Mauberjon is an instance of such a fragment:—

“Mauberjon s'est main levee,
Dioree buer i ving;
A la fontaine est alee:
Or en ai dol.
Diex, Diex! or demeure Mauberjons a l'eve trop.”⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *The Origin of the Aalis Songs*, in *Neophilologus*, V, 289.

⁶⁷ As I have already stated (note 1) I call in this study by the name of *Fountain Songs* the poems which describe the visit of a young girl to a fountain and the meeting with her lover there. They show sufficiently marked characteristics to be treated together as a distinct class. Cf. Jeanroy, *Les Origines*, pp. 199-202.

⁶⁸ Bartsch, *Romanzen und Pastourellen*, II, 118. M. Jeanroy, who mentions a number of these fragments (*op. cit.* p. 199), is also of opinion that this theme existed at an early date.

Other little fragments represent a girl as washing clothes at the fountain:

"Dras i gaoit Perronele"⁶⁹

but in the original theme as in the later versions the girl must almost certainly have gone there to draw water.⁷⁰ If it is permissible to judge from the Mauberjon fragment, the original form of the theme must have been very similar to what it was later, in the sixteenth century, the date of the earliest complete example. According to the latter a young girl goes with her pitcher to a fountain to draw water. On the way or while she is at the fountain she meets with her lover and lingering there with him too long she returns home pregnant. The following poem which is somewhat crude and materialistic and without an effort to glose over a rather indelicate situation is probably the most complete example there is of the theme as it existed at the end of the sixteenth century:

Par un matin la belle s'est levée,
A prins son seau, du lin du lé, du long de l'eau
A prins son seau, à l'eau s'en est allée.
Là son amy si luy a rencontrée;
Deux ou trois fois sur l'herbe l'a jettée
Pucelle estoit, grosse l'a relevée.
—'Hélas! mon Dieu! Que dira ma mère?'
—'Vous lui direz: La fontaine est troublée,
Le rossignol a sa queue mouillée.'
—'Maudit soit-il qui m'a tant abusée,
N'eust esté luy je fusse mariée!'⁷¹

⁶⁹ Bartsch, *op. cit.*, II, 117; cf. Dras i gueoit Elaine, *ibid.*, II, 59, 45.

⁷⁰ In our opinion the famous poem of the two sisters, Gaiete and Oriour (V), is at least indirectly allied to this theme. If, as I have suggested above, (n. 8) this poem goes back to the scene described in *Genesis* XXIV, it is at the same time connected slightly with the fountain songs, for I have also shown (n. 24) that this scene in *Genesis* was borrowed by the author of the *Protevangelium* and became the origin of the tradition that the Annunciation took place while Mary was drawing water at the fountain. It is this tradition, as I hope to prove, which lies behind the theme of the girl at the fountain.

⁷¹ E. Rolland, *Recueil de chansons populaires*, II, 129. The poem is taken from *Chansons nouvelles ou Airs de Jean Plançon et autres musiciens*;

Here the extraordinary excuse the girl makes to her mother, that the fountain was sullied because the nightingale had dipped its tail in it is the most remarkable feature of the poem. It would seem to be of the nature of the innuendoes or figures of speech, which, like those about the rose to be found in the *Cramignons liégeois*, or those about the fountain,⁷² were such a frequent literary device in the later Middle Ages to denote a girl's fall. This metaphor of the nightingale must have been widely popular, for it occurs also in several other poems:

—“Ah! que va dire ma belle mère
D'avoir si longtemps tardé!”
—“Tu lui diras, ma belle brune,
Que la fontaine était troublée
Et que le rossignol sauvage
Était dedans pour s'y baigner.”⁷³

However, it is not always the nightingale that troubles the fountain, in another poem it is the village ducks, but this is obviously a very recent variation, and there is little that is poetical about it.⁷⁴ These curious excuses recall to mind some other songs in which a woman surprised by her husband with her lover makes a whole series of excuses in order to exculpate herself from his accusation. Gaston Paris alludes to these songs under the title of *Chansons de Marion*,⁷⁵ and examples of them are to be found in Catalonia and Italy as well as France. Closely allied with the *Chansons de Marion* is the song of the shepherdess, *La Chanson de la*

following upon *Recueil des chansons amoureuses de divers poètes français non encore imprimées*. Paris, N. et P. Bonfons, in 12, 1597. The same poem, though in such a corrupt form that the sense is not clear, has also been published by Damase Arbaud, *Chants populaires de la Provence*, II, 111. Both forms are quoted by Jeanroy, *Les Origines*, p. 200 f.

⁷² Cf. Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, p. 216, n. 1, and p. 214, n. 1.

⁷³ E. Rolland, *op. cit.*, I, 235.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 130,—“Oh! que me dira ma mère D'y avoir tant demeuré?”
—“Va, tu lui diras, la fille, Que l'eau y était troublée; Que les canards du village Y ont été barbotter.”

⁷⁵ *Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge*, p. 579.

Bergère, a dialogue between a shepherd and a shepherdess, the chief difference being that the title is different. One of these, from the district of Retonféy,⁷⁶ has incorporated the theme of our Fountain songs, though the nightingale in the girl's excuses has been changed to "the horses of the queen." The shepherd asks the shepherdess where she has been all day as he did not find her at home and the latter replies:

"Hélas! mon bel ami
J'ai z'été à la fontaine
Chercher de l'eau pour la s'maine,
Mon Dieu
Chercher de l'eau pour la s'maine.

Le Berger:

Ventre bleu! Marion
Te fallait-il un' journée
Pour aller a la fontaine?
Morbleu
Pour aller a la fontaine.

La Bergère:

Hélas! mon bel ami
Les ch'vaux d'la reine y avaient passé
L'eau y était troublée,
Mon Dieu
L'eau y était troublée."⁷⁷

But whether the excuse is the nightingale, the ducks, or the horses of the queen, the object of it is always the same—to hide the meeting between the girl and her lover—as is made absolutely clear by a Gascon poem. In this poem it is not

⁷⁶ This poem might most appropriately have been called, *Chanson de Marion*.

⁷⁷ De Puymaigne, *Chants populaires recueillis dans le pays messin*, I, 265. It may not be advisable to draw any inference from the presence of the fountain theme in the shepherdess song as to the origin of the latter, but the impression received is that both it and the *Chansons de Marion* may like the Fountain songs have possibly originated somehow out of the Annunciation.

one but several girls who go to the fountain but their mothers see through their ruse at once:

"Ah! jeunes filles! jeunes filles!
Ce canard sauvage, . . .
C'est bien, nous le savons,
Quelque jeune compagnon."⁷⁸

This same theme of the visit of a young girl to a fountain is also to be found in other literatures, in Italian for instance,⁷⁹ and especially in Portuguese literature where it presents some pretty variations of the French versions. There also the meeting-place of the lovers is the fountain—the fountain where the stags of the mountains come down to drink: .

"La font'u os cervos vam beber"⁸⁰

Thus in these Portuguese poems the girl's excuse to her mother for having lingered so long at the fountain is that the mountain stags have muddied the water:

—"Digades, filha, mha filha louçana,
Porque tardastes na fria fontana?
Os amores ey!"
—"Tardei, mha madre, na fontana fria,
Cervos do monte a augua volviã;
Os amores ey!"⁸¹

But the mother is by no means taken in by the answer, for she knows the girl has been with her lover:

—"Mentis, mha filha, mentis por amigo,
Nunca vi cervo que volvesse rio."⁸²

If the French poems are more explicit with regard to the results of the meeting of the lovers at the fountain, the

⁷⁸ Cénac-Moncaut, *Littérature populaire de la Gascogne*, p. 325, quoted by Jeanroy, *Les Origines*, p. 202.

⁷⁹ The Italian versions diverge considerably from the original theme. For references and further details, cf. Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, p. 202, n. 2.

⁸⁰ Th. Braga, *Cancioneiro português da Vaticana*, no. 790, and 789. Cf. "Hirey, mha madre, a la fonte Hu van os cervos do monte," no. 795.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, no. 797. Instanced by Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

⁸² *Ibid.*

Portuguese poems despite their greater reticence obviously imply the same issue. The essential trait of the theme in both is that the girl becomes pregnant as a result of her visit to the fountain. This was probably the original theme, the excuses about the nightingale or the stag stirring up the water being probably added later. The Provençal folk-song about the beautiful Margoutoun would seem to bear this out. Though this poem shows many variations from the Fountain songs proper it has preserved traits which obviously belong to them, as for instance the one about the water being sullied, which, generally used as the girl's excuse, here serves no purpose at all. The poem begins just like the Fountain song quoted above:

"La belo Margoutoun
Bouen matin s'es levado, . . .
A pres soun broc d'argent
A l'aigo n'es anado."⁸³

While Margoutoun is at the fountain it is not her lover who meets her, as is generally the case in these poems, but three armed knights come up and cast eyes at her.⁸⁴ Margoutoun's husband, who is in hiding near, overhears what they say and although she apparently has not been unfaithful to him in any way he beats his wife so unmercifully that she is ill for more than six months:

Que Goutoun n'a restat
Mai de siei mes chagrino.⁸⁵

These last lines, seemingly incoherent in their context, contain in reality an unmistakable allusion to the real issue of the meeting at the fountain.

There seems, then, to be little doubt as to the nature of these Fountain songs. Whatever divergences time and local variations may have introduced, the fundamental theme they all illustrate is how a young girl sets out with her

⁸³ Arbaud, *Chants populaires de la Provence*, II, 108.

⁸⁴ The three knights appear also in another poem mentioned by Jeanroy, *Les Origines*, p. 202, n. 2.

⁸⁵ Arbaud, *Chants populaires de la Provence*, II, 110.

pitcher to fetch water from the fountain, meets her lover there, and is left by him with child. If the theme were only this, the resemblance between the Fountain songs and the apocryphal story of the Annunciation, the origin suggested above, would be most striking indeed. Mary also went with her pitcher to draw water at the fountain and it was there, as we have seen, that she was found by the angel who announced to her the divine will and left her with child. The only change is that the identity of the persons has been obscured; but for the fact, that a girl and her lover have been substituted for Mary and the angel, the concordance is complete. The theme, however, is not thus restricted and although the Apocryphal Gospels make no mention of any excuse being made by Mary when she is found to be with child we have by the end of the sixteenth century the girl in the Fountain songs making the excuse that the nightingale was to blame for the state in which she found herself. The problem resolves itself therefore into this question: is this trait just a poet's wild fancy which pleased and attained vogue for a time, or is it possible it too has some connection with the Virgin and the circumstances of the Annunciation?

As far as we are aware no rational interpretation of this extraordinary trait has ever been suggested,⁸⁶ though, if such a solution exists, it must obviously be sought for in the bird-lore of the Middle Ages. There seems no doubt that certain symbolical significations were attached to certain birds and the nightingale especially had many attributes. It was associated with many mystic rites and played a most extensive rôle in the literature of the Middle Ages. Not only was it by tradition for centuries the herald of the spring, as we learn amongst others from writers so far

⁸⁶ The usual signification attached to this trait is, I suppose, that it is nothing more than a pitiable excuse on the part of the girl or her lover. Cf. Jeanroy, *op. cit.* p. 202.

apart as Venantius Fortunatus,⁸⁷ Fulbert, bishop of Chartres,⁸⁸ and La Fontaine,⁸⁹ but also, as Gaston Paris remarked, it was, as it were, the high-priest of love.⁹⁰ As such it had a regular office to fill and definite duties to discharge;⁹¹ it exhorted all to love,⁹² reproved those who were refractory,⁹³ and even promised paradise to those who were faultless in love.⁹⁴ It was essentially, and still is to a certain extent

⁸⁷ "Ad cantus revocatur aves, quae carmine clauso Pigrior hyberno frigore muta fuit. Hinc philomela suis attemperat organa cannis Fitque repercusso dulcior aura melo." Wackernagel, *Kirchenlied*, p. 65. For other illusions to or songs about the nightingale in Latin, cf. Dümmler, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini* I, 273 f., II, 147, III, 126 ff.; Riese, *Anthologia latina* no. 658; Du Ménil, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge*, p. 210, and further references given by Paul Meyer in his first edition of *Flamenca*, p. 318, n. 1.

⁸⁸ ". . . Flagrat odor cum suavis florida per gramina Hilarescit philomela dulcis sonus conscia, Et extendens modulando gutturi spiramina, Reddit veris et aestivi temporis praeconia," Migne, *Patrol.* t. 141, col. 348. Cf. also, "Philomela praevia temporis amoeni" quoted by Pascal, *Poesia latina medievale*, p. 134.

⁸⁹ "Le héraut du printemps" *Fables*, Bk. IX, 17, 5.

⁹⁰ Referring to songs about spring this is what Gaston Paris says, "Elles ne mettent d'ordinaire en scène, dans un cadre de verdure et de fleurs, que des oiseaux, et notamment le rossignol qui avait pris, sans doute encore à l'occasion des fêtes de mai, une sorte de signification symbolique et mystique" and in a note on that he adds, "Les autres oiseaux aussi, mais à un moindre degré, étaient regardés non seulement comme les chantres, mais en quelque sorte comme les prêtres de l'amour." *Mélanges de lit. fr. du moyen âge*, p. 554.

⁹¹ "Rossignolet, bien faites vostre office Les fins amans bien aprenez a vivre," publ. by Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, p. 487, l. 10.

⁹² Bartsch, *Romanzen und Pastourellen*, I, 71, 28, "Li rousegnols nos dit en son latin: Amant, amés, joie arés a tous dis" or again, *ibid.*, l. 60, "Li rousegnols un sonet li a dit: Pucele, amés, joie arés et delit."

⁹³ So fol sapte de Pascha clusa, El tems que. l rossinols accusa Tot[z] cels que d'amor non an cura, *Flamenca*, l. 2024. Cf. also "Vos ne savés que li loursegnols dit: Il dist c'amours par faus amans perist," Bartsch, *op. cit.*, I, 71, 2; "Vos avés bien le rousegnol oï Se bien n' amés, amors avés traï," *ibid.*, l. 16; and *Die altfranzösischen Motette der Bamberger Handschrift*, ed. Stimming, 16 a, 4.

⁹⁴ Bartsch, *op. cit.*, I, 71, 44, "Buer fu cil nes ki est loiaus amis Li rousegnols l'en pramet paradis." Cf. "Rossignolet, Jhesu de piteus estre, Assié nous tous delez toy a ta destre En ce biau paradis Qui est parez touz dis, La est joie et deliz, Diex, tant i fait bon estre, Li dous Jhesus siet du pere a la destre," ed. Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, p. 488, str. VI.

to-day, the bird of love and not infrequently acted as the messenger of love.⁹⁶ Many of these attributes were doubtless handed down by ancient tradition from antiquity. Thus the rôle of the nightingale as the harbinger of spring is very old indeed. Sophocles calls the bird the messenger of Zeus,⁹⁶ presumably because it announces the spring.⁹⁷ Its duty as the messenger of love must be old too, for it probably dates from the time when, long before the Middle Ages, the nightingale became sacred to Venus, the goddess of love,⁹⁸ and was first invested, as it were, with its priesthood in matters of love.

But the fact that the nightingale was a bird of such importance and preeminently the messenger of love would not warrant the assumption, either that it was the messenger on the occasion of the Annunciation—according to the Apocryphal Gospels it obviously was not, for the angel appeared to Mary in person—, or that it was in any way influential in bringing about Mary's conception. The earliest accounts of course show that this was not so, but with the lapse of time beliefs and traditions about Mary's conception changed and changed again. All through the Middle Ages the keenest speculation was rife as to the

⁹⁶ It is hardly necessary to remark that there are frequent allusions in the literature of the Middle Ages to birds being despatched by lovers with messages of love (cf. Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, p. 133, n. 1). In the well-known poem of Peire d' Alvernhe it is the nightingale that is the messenger: "Rossinhol, el seu repaire Iras ma domna vezer, E diguas li.l meu afaire Et ill digua.t del seu ver," Appel, *Chrestomathie*, p. 97. Cf. "Chanconnete, va t'en tost Au roussignol an cel bois, Di qu'il m'en voist salüer La douce blonde au vis cler Et que je l'aim sanz fausser, Mais certes ne l'os nommer." *Die altfranzösischen Motette der Bamberger Hds.*, ed. Stimming, no. 2 a, also Jeanroy, *op. cit.* p. 467-8, Bartsch, *Deutsche Liederdichter*, XCVIII, 159. Savj-Lopez, *Trovatori e poeti*, p. 158 ff.

⁹⁶ Διὸς ἄγγελος, *Electra*, ed. Jebb, l. 149. Cf. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, II, 1353, n. 1.

⁹⁷ This is the usually accepted meaning of the expression: cf. Jebb's note to l. 149.

⁹⁸ Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, no. 628. Cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.* II, 1353, n. 1.

actual process by which Mary conceived and many and various were the explanations given. One belief was that she conceived by the hearing of her ears when the angel's message was delivered to her.⁹⁹ Another was embodied in the famous metaphor of Gautier de Coinci that the Holy Spirit passed into her while leaving her pure and undefiled just as the sun's ray without causing any flaw passes through a glass window.¹⁰⁰ The orthodox belief, in the later Middle Ages at least, and perhaps the one most widely spread was that the Holy Spirit, the operative power in Mary's conception, descended upon Mary in the shape of a dove and dwelt within her and this tradition has been amply illustrated by early paintings and manuscripts. Now it is my opinion that in the course of time the dove's rôle was actually extended to the nightingale and that by the twelfth or thirteenth century this tradition had established itself, for there is a religious poem of the thirteenth century in honour of the Virgin Mary which devotes a whole stanza to elucidating the problem of Mary's conception and in it the nightingale is unmistakably identified with the Holy

⁹⁹ This belief is mentioned in the Sahidic Fragments of the life of the Virgin, "And the angel departed from her. She conceived moreover by the hearing of the ears, and spent three other months in the house of Joseph, being pregnant with the Son of the living God," *Texts and Studies* ed. Armitage Robinson, IV, 19. Cf. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, II, 1615. Bishop Apa Epiphanius in his discourse on the Holy Virgin, Mary Theotokos, speaks of a cloud of light that is to cause her to conceive. He represents Gabriel as saying to Mary: "Open thy mouth and receive into thee the cloud of light and thou shalt conceive and bear a Son." *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts* ed. Wallis Budge, 1915, p. 712. This is doubtless based on the *lux de caelo* of the account of *Pseudo-Matthew* already quoted, note 23.

¹⁰⁰ The same metaphor occurs in Peire de Corbiac's famous hymn to the Virgin: "Domna, verge pura e fina, Ans que fos l'enfantamens, Et apres tot eissamens, Receup en vos carn humana Jesu Crist, nostre salvaire, Si com ses trencamen faire Intra.l bels rais, quan solelha, Per la fenestra veirina," quoted by Chaytor, *The Troubadours*, p. 93. It is also to be found in Rustebeuf, *La chanson de Nostre Dame*, ed. Kressner, p. 200.

Spirit. This most precious testimony to bygone beliefs runs as follows:—

Mout a en li tres glorious aumaire
 Qui toute fu plainne dou Saint Espir,
 Pour herbergier son saint cors la fist faire
 Diex, qui en li voloit on devenir,
 En li s'asist sanz violer la cage
 Li rossignos qui touz maus assouvaige;
 Entiere au naistre et virge au concevoir
 Enlumina le monde de son hoir.¹⁰¹

Thus, strange as it may appear, the nightingale by the thirteenth century was deemed in popular belief to have been the symbol of the Holy Ghost and consequently the operative power in Mary's conception;¹⁰² but if this is fact, there is no longer anything incongruous in the traits about the nightingale that we have encountered in the Fountain songs and which seemed at first so baffling. They are simply allusions to the popular tradition, current during the later Middle Ages, that Mary conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit dwelling in her, not in the form of a dove, but in that of a nightingale.

If this be so the conclusion is obvious. We have seen already how all the other traits of the Fountain songs concord exactly with the Apocryphal account of the Annunciation and now we find that the only outstanding feature—the girl's excuse about the nightingale—despite the fact that it has no connection with the Apocryphal Gospels, refers also to an old tradition about the Annunciation. This would seem to prove that our Fountain songs are nothing more or less than mundane poems embodying under their secular dress legends and traditions about the Annunciation and Conception of the Virgin Mary. Once again the supernatu-

¹⁰¹ *Recueil de chansons pieuses du treizième siècle*, ed. Edw. Järnström, p. 38, no. IX, str. 3.

¹⁰² If I am not mistaken the nightingale is even identified with Jesus himself in the line: "Rossignolet, Jhesu de piteus estre" quoted above, note 94.

ral or divine has been transmuted to human values. Thus does secular lyric evolve out of sacred story.¹⁰³

If the results that we have arrived at in the course of this study are not merely illusory, a very lurid light is thrown on the literary history of the Middle Ages. One of the great poetic forces through all those centuries, and one which has so long escaped notice, was the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. The simple Gospel story of the appearance of the angel to Mary so filled men's mind with wonder that the thought of centuries was spent inquiring into the outward circumstances and probing the hidden processes of what was held to be a profound mystery. Then later, when the Apocryphal Gospels, which were partly evoked by the spirit of speculative inquiry abroad, and especially when the *Protevangelium of James*¹⁰⁴ became known in the West, the effect was prodigious. There at last were the details of what actually took place at the Annunciation and the enthusiasm for these legends—this pseudo-history—knew no bounds. The Church, however, despite the fact that not a few of its members were carried away by the fascination and seductive nature of these stories, recognized their historical value at once and pronounced them uncanonical. But banned, as they were, as apocryphal and unorthodox, nothing could stop their vogue and passages from them

¹⁰³ It will have been noticed that in this attempt to explain the Fountain songs I have not further investigated the fragments which represent girls washing clothes at the fountain, such as the "Dras i gaoit Perronele" quoted above. But here also the Virgin would appear to have been the prototype, for there was a tradition that she used to go to the fountain close by her house to wash coats, cf. C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge*, I, 67.

¹⁰⁴ Tischendorf is of the opinion that at an early date a Latin translation appeared: "Denique in recentiora tempora ac fere Caroli Magni evangelium latinum de nativitate Mariae et infantia Salvatoris incidit, non modo evangelio Jacobi nixum, fortasse dudum ante in latinum libere translato, sed etiam arabicis ut videtur fabulis usum." *De evangeliorum apocryphorum origine et usu*, p. 79. Though it originated in the East it was known very early in the West, cf. R. Reinsch, *Die Pseudo-Evangelien von Jesu und Maria's Kindheit in der romanischen und germanischen Literatur*, p. 1 ff.

were even read aloud in the churches,¹⁰⁵ or laid under contribution by the preachers of the day.¹⁰⁶ Now, given the immense enthusiasm that prevailed for all stories about the Virgin, it is not to be wondered at that, during those early centuries in which the adoration of the Virgin was steadily growing and playing an ever increasing part in the lives of men, legends about her were singled out for poetic treatment and made the subject of lyric song. When this enthusiasm for the Virgin finally blossomed forth into Mariolatry and assumed the proportions of a definite cult it was still more natural that the glories of Mary should be sung in verse, both religious and profane, and this was actually the case. We know already of the quantity of homilies and sermons, religious poems and verses of all kinds composed in her honour,¹⁰⁷ but what has not been so fully realized is that there was almost as large a bulk of mundane poems about her, though by reason of their secular garb and rapid development the latter very soon lost all trace of their religious origin. These mundane poems are, as we have seen, our Weaving Songs and Fountain Songs and the incident in Mary's life that evoked this great poetic outburst was the story of the Annunciation and Virgin conception.

It is curious to note how the poetic production is almost the exact reflex of the development of the traditions about the Annunciation, the most important versions of the latter being embodied in verse in turn. First the two most ancient traditions—the appearance of the angel to Mary while she is sitting in the temple weaving, which evoked the Weaving Songs, and the appearance of the angel at the fountain whither Mary had gone with her pitcher to draw water, which is the origin of the theme of the Fountain songs. Then in the thirteenth century or earlier, when

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Reinsch, *op. cit.*, p. 75, n. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Bourgain, *La chaire française au douzième siècle*, p. 353.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Bourgain, *op. cit.* pp. 89, 119, 349, and Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au treizième siècle*, p. 373. For innumerable hymns to the Virgin, see Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*.

the dove's rôle in connection with the Annunciation was extended to the nightingale, that tradition too found expression in secular verse, the earliest specimens of which that have come down to us being the Fountain songs of the sixteenth century. Thus that wonderful story of the Annunciation and Virgin conception as it is told in the Apocryphal Gospels evoked poetic treatment from every aspect, and that not merely once but continuously, so intense was the veneration and enthusiasm for these legends about the Virgin and so great their inherent beauty. The most ancient spring of lyric poetry in the Middle Ages is thus religious belief and religious fervour.

CHARLES BERTRAM LEWIS

VII. PARAPHRASING IN THE *LIVRE DE PAIX* OF
CHRISTINE DE PISAN OF THE *PARADISO*,
III-V

Many of us remember Matthew Arnold's recommendation in the *Essay on the Study of Poetry* of the line from Dante's *Paradiso*, (III. 85)

E la sua voluntate è nostra pace

as a touchstone of poetic value. The independent beauty of this line may be questioned by comparison with some lines that follow near it. The words of Beatrice in the fifth canto, from the first verse through the twelfth, for example, seem to have a tonal sweetness, with a richness of ethical content that might somewhat more justly be cited to illustrate Matthew Arnold's point. Few isolated lines, however, really shine out by themselves from any poet. We read or recall them with the mood induced by their setting. Climaxes they may be, but their sovereign value depends on the sequence, as the ear and the mind are addressed together, perhaps.

I am very much aware of this condition in the natural laws of persuasion in even the small examination undertaken here. Citations may illustrate a situation; they can rarely prove it, even within the limits of any probable truth. The evidence is the whole works in question, or considerable portions of them. But as the object of any essay is to incite curiosity as to the whole compositions cited I venture a few observations of which the starting point for myself was the line in question, which so profoundly impressed Matthew Arnold, as he read it along with its context, perhaps more with the eye than the ear. For Romance poetry, and even for the Classics, this was more the English habit than now. Matthew Arnold shared a little this limitation.

It may be that his sensitiveness to the line was affected by his certain familiarity with what seems to be its chief

ultimate source. No one had read in his day more closely the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians,—*Paulus, apostolus Jesu Christi per voluntatem Dei*, in the Vulgate, to the saints at Ephesus, faithful in Jesus Christ. To the Gentiles of Asia Minor, of more or less Hellenistic culture such as he had duly absorbed at Tarsus, Paul applies a combination of very simple ethical precept with a philosophical definition more dogmatic than he offered the Greeks of the mainland; he is groping less for their metaphysics; he knows better their political need. Moreover, he is writing from Rome. The tone is what we recognize under the more or less approximate names of Latin, Puritan, or more accurately, as Hellenistic Hebraic, or simply Hellenistic as the Roman Stoics adopt it. Axiom, aphorism, a somewhat mystical note of authority, is more its method than open persuasion; it seeks, to impose and imposes by sudden flashes of truth. Thus we have the verse, (ii. 14) beginning:

Ipse enim est pax nostra

in the version Dante read, which was probably more immediately in his memory in the *Paradiso* than the comments of the Fathers upon it, though he must have known more than one.

If it is not improbable that the *Paradiso* was written at Ravenna it may not be fantastic to see in its manner, possibly in its very structure, a certain Byzantine Greek effect. We have no reason for supposing Dante more insensible than many modern students and visitors to the tradition of the place, to its architecture, its location and significance. The historical imagination of the Middle Ages has been singularly misunderstood, perhaps out of the very paucity in general of our own. Nothing about them is actually more constant and striking, once we have made the considerable mental effort of realizing that, as the late Professor Schofield reminded his students with much more of eloquence, justice, and application than has found a place in his writing, the mediaeval imagination could act almost

impersonally. The Romantic search for local color to adorn its subjectivity has dulled our conception of the inverse process in any genuine Renaissance moment.

Impersonally when Christine de Pisan wrote her *Livre de Paix* for the Duc de Guienne in 1412 she finds her situation and that of her country the just occasion for analyzing out of her studies as many of the essentials as possible of Greek philosophy,—what Paul cited, and Cicero and Sallust and Seneca and Boëthius knew. Gerson had specially recommended Cicero to her. He was comparatively a novelty in the learned court circle, though well known at Notre Dame. The *De natura deorum*, and the *Disputationes Tusculanae* had not been translated!

Fiat pax in virtute tua she inscribes the work. The literal phrase will not be found, I think, in any of her principal sources, Cicero, Seneca, Quintillian, the Bible, or Dante. What she does, as it seems to me, is to give the new Romance sense of virtue, *vertu*, *virtù*, to the Latin, the psychological interpretation of the Victorine School, to the Will. The Will of God himself, the Holy Spirit, is reflected as the active virtue of man. This intellectualism is the higher mysticism of the Middle Ages, revived with fresh insight and practical application in her day and group.

De la bouche des enfans et alaitans.

Voirement, Notre Seigneur, Roy celeste, tout puissant, qui deffaces et ostes, quant il te plaist, le misere du monde, est ton plaisir d'avoir parfaite louenge, lequel est paix, si comme lors que tu ouvris les enfantines levres de Daniel pour la bonne Susanne, accusée à tort, respitée de mort.

Lake Dante, in his general structure, (and incidentally in much of the structure that marks all the Renaissance moments in the Middle as in other Ages), she goes on from specific to general conditions. She cites Cicero as authority, Cicero by and large, for the main conception that man's justice must open the window,—Cicero's *fenestræ animi* (Tusc. i. 20)—for the Light to come in. The Light,—Cicero's *lux liberalitatis*, (Ligar. iii)—will appear in clemency, truth, accomplishing a vital peace:

Te plaise, aussi, tres digne prince te maintenir entre les tiens en la maniere et selon le dit du philosophe Pitagoras, c'est assavoir unité, bonté et concorde. lesquelz biens sont tousieurs d'un mespris a tort. (MS. Fr. 1182, fol. 127 vo.)

She was remembering no doubt more than one passage from the *De Natura Deorum*, e. g.

Nam Pythagoras, qui censuit animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commeantem, ex quo nostri animi carperentur, non vidit, distractione humanorum animorum discerpi et lacerari deum (I.11).

Deum esse animum per mundum permeantem, ejusque particulas animos nostros ad harmoniam canere mundum statuit. Et ego quaero, unde orationem, unde numeros, unde cantus, nisi vero loqui solem cum luna putamus quum proprius accesserit aut ad harmoniam canere mundum, ut Pythagoras existimat (III. 11).

But she seems to hear more distinctly the lovely further words of Beatrice to her pupil in the heavenly mysteries:

Io veggio ben sì come già risplende
nello intelletto tuo l'Eterna Luce
che, vista sola, sempre amore accende (V.7-9);

in reminding the Duc de Guienne in conclusion that *entre les humaines choses riens n'est trouve plus doulz que amistié*. Christine may or may not have known the similar passages in the *Convivio*. That she did not seem to know the prose works of her Master when she wrote her own earlier poems is no evidence that she did not at the time that she, too, had turned to prose. The studies of Farinelli and the comments of Morf on the subject hardly extend beyond the range of her verse. Probability suggests that she may have owed something of her own shifting form and interest to Dante's example, though I have found no mention of the *Convivio* by name. But Dante was neither a Classic nor a Father; quotations from Romance authors were not always acknowledged in the fifteenth century more than now. Some almost contemporaries may have been perhaps too well known to the very special audience, as sometimes with allusions to-day. Independent logical process is also among the possibilities, where original sources are shared and actual

conditions of life or writing are somewhat analogous. At any rate a certain sequence of thought and emotion appears to extend somewhat strikingly from the Epistle to the Ephesians, through Dante, to the *Livre de Paix*.¹

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¹ MS. Fr. 1182, (Bib. Nat. Paris), probably the original copy presented to the Duc de Guienne, which I have used both directly and by photograph for this study, has certain peculiarities that appear at intervals with other French philosophical writing down to and including Descartes. Besides the quotations from Latin classics, sometimes with exact references, sometimes general ones, there are marginal notes, in what seems to be the same hand as the text. More than one of these, like the summary from the *De Natura Deorum* given in italics on page 185, may be Christine's effort to elucidate her thought in the same language as her sources, and following Gerson's counsel to leave a high philosophical concept in the learned tongue. The Letters and Discourses of Cicero were known, too, in Italy sometime before we find them in the rest of Europe. The summary may be, of course, from some Italian edition she used, rather than of her own composition. On a larger scale, the fourth book of the *De Imitatione Christi*, glossing the French version of the three first books in the *Consolation Internelle*, presents analogies. The subtleties of learned vernacular composition at this period cannot be resolved with dogmatic certainty or established except by comparative and sensitive study.

VIII. DEVELOPMENT OF THE "ENTREMES" BEFORE LOPE DE RUEDA

The *entremes*, or *passo*, for the words were early synonymous, is a short dramatic composition, burlesque or farcical in character,¹ used as a passing-scene for purposes of comic relief. In considering these scenes, especially in the early years of their development before they can be looked upon as forming a well-established literary *genre*, one of the most important considerations is their essentially parasitic character. Scenes that are in every wise *entremeses* may be found frequently in Spanish plays of the first half of the sixteenth century. What must first and above all determine whether a given passage is or is not *entremes* in character, is its intercalation as essentially independent of the plot of the play. Other than this, the delimitations of these scenes are by no means fixed and definite. It must be understood, moreover, that the early writers did not in all probability look upon them as actual *entremeses*. The earliest known uses of the word with reference to a dramatic composition are found in a composition by Horozco² frequently cited, and in the prologue to the *Comedia de Sepúlveda* where the author seems to show a very excellent understanding of their function: "No os puede dar gusto el sujeto ansi desnudo de aquella gracia con que el proceso dél suelen ornar los recitantes y otros muchos entremeses que intervienen por ornamento de la comedia, que no tienen cuerpo en el sujeto della."³ Nevertheless, whether looked upon as such or not, these detached scenes contain in germ the future *entremes*, and

¹ The one case in which allegory enters the field of the early *entremes*, that of Timoneda's *Passo de la Razon y la Fama*, may be looked upon as an exception and treated apart. In two others, *Fama* appears, but it is for comic effect, and not as an allegorical figure.

² *Cancionero de Sebastián de Horozco*, p. 167.

³ *Revista española de literatura, historia y arte*, Vol. I, Madrid, 1901.

cannot be ignored in a consideration of its origin and development.

A search for the earliest traces of what was to become a literary form of considerable importance leads back to Encina. The Carnival Eclogues, published in the *Cancionero* of 1496, and dating back to 1494 for their first presentation, show certain characteristics, at least in subject-matter, that will be common to many *entremeses* of subsequent date, and Kohler has looked upon them as forerunners of the type.⁴ There is, however, one vital objection to counting these eclogues as true prototypes of the *passo*. They can scarcely be considered comic-relief, or passing-scenes: they form individual plays in themselves.

The second *Egloga representada en requesta de unos amores* begins with a passage that serves as an introduction, and the second scene continues the argument of the preceding eclogue. We are told that a year has passed. Here the author seems to have felt the need of dividing his composition. It is at such a point, as between two *jornadas*, that at a later date the insertion of an *entremes* might be expected. The *passo* as such does not yet exist, but Encina inserts a song and dance after Gil has said:

Déjate de sermonar
En esto, que está escusado.
Démonos a gasajado:
A cantar, danzar, bailar.

It would appear, then, that Encina feared a wavering of interest on the part of his audience at this critical point, either from attention too long sustained, or lest his material lacked sufficient dramatic intensity. It is from just this desire to introduce more variety, or sometimes to divide scenes, that the *entremes* takes its rise and develops. In the works of Lucas Fernández, who wrote probably only a few years later than these earlier eclogues of Encina, exactly the same thing occurs. In one of his plays,⁵ after a dialogue between

⁴ Kohler, *Representaciones de Juan del Encina*, p. 11.

⁵ *Comedia hecha por Lucas Fernandez*, ca. 1500.

Bras Gil and Beringuella, they break off the conversation, dance and sing, and then with the appearance of a new personage, the course of the action continues. Still another example is found in the *Égloga Real* of the Bachiller de la Pradilla, played before Charles the First in December, 1517,⁶ where a *villancico* in praise of the king is inserted. Some sort of a break for relief is all the more necessary here in view of the poverty of the action.⁷ While it cannot be called in any sense comic, it is none the less a relief-scene, and shows the general need and tendency that lead to the inception of the *entremes*.

In the *Égloga de tres pastores*,⁸ whose source is the second eclogue of Antonio Tebaldeo,⁹ one scene shows certain relationships to the *entremes*. Fileno loves Cefira. With the impassioned eloquence of a lover, he recounts to Zambardo the woes of his unrequited love. But the latter is a dullard, and as Fileno rises in eloquence, he falls asleep. Fileno arouses him. Again he sleeps, to be reawakened, stupid with drowsiness and babbling nonsense. This so-called "sleeping-scene" forms Encina's only real addition to his Italian original. Neither such a scene nor the character Zambardo appears in the eclogue of Tebaldeo. In the Spanish play, the whole passage bears no relation to the intrigue. In fact, its comic content serves to form a contrast to this first of Spanish tragedies. It seems to have been this variety, later secured by the insertion of a *passo*, that Encina sought to attain,¹⁰ and in so doing he at least approaches the *genre*.

The *Auto del Repelon* which, like the *Égloga de tres pastores*, is included first in the *Cancionero* of 1509, has often

⁶ Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Vol. XXVII, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, p. 158, Dresden, 1911.

⁷ Idem p. 157.

⁸ Kohler thinks it was probably composed between 1507 and 1509. It appears first in the *Cancionero* of 1509. Cf. *Representaciones de Juan del Encina*. Bibl. Romanica. Intro. p. 10.

⁹ Crawford, *Spanish Pastoral Drama*, p. 34.

¹⁰ Crawford, *Spanish Pastoral Drama*, p. 35.

been considered as one of the earliest *entremeses*. It undoubtedly does show many of the characteristics of the *passo*, and might easily have been used as such. The great objection to looking upon it as belonging to the type is, as in the case of the Carnival eclogues already mentioned, that it probably was written, not as a passing-scene for purposes of comic relief, but constitutes a completely individual play with no subordinate function in a larger dramatic form.

When in 1513 Encina gave his *Placida y Vitoriano* at the home of the Cardinal Arborea in Rome,¹¹ he used in three of its scenes material that shows the type of the *entremes*. As compared with the developed form, they are naturally rather crude, and they present no dramatic unity, but the whole purpose of the author seems to have been to break the thread of the plot with relief-scenes, and that as has been seen, is in the last analysis, the chief distinguishing feature of the early type.

The first of these, between Flugencia and the bawd Eritea, shows clearly the influence of the *Celestina*. Both Placida and Vitoriano feel that the love they bear each for the other is unrequited. Suplicio counsels Vitoriano to make love to another as a means of forgetting Placida. He accepts the suggestion and courts Flugencia. All this forms a long series of monologue and dialogue of serious nature. It is abruptly at this point, as a relief-scene and wholly apart from the action of the play, that the passage in question occurs. Its coarse wit furnishes the strongest possible contrast to the main intrigue.

¹¹ Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos doubts the possibility of dating this play from the oft-cited letter of Stazio Gadio: cf. *Revista de filologia española*, V, 1918, pp. 337-366, where she says, "Atendendo às ultimas frases da carta, que todos alegam convictos, a favor da sua hipotesi, julgando que a frase sobre as *forças e acidentes de amor* indica o assunto da comedia, eu acho todavia muito duvidoso, e de maneira nenhuma *indubitavel*, que a representada fosse a de Placida y Vitoriano." (P. 362.)

The second of these scenes forms a contrast between the courtly conception of love and the rough manners of the shepherds, as conceived by Encina, and by no means pictured after nature. Vitoriano and Suplicio are searching for Placida who has disappeared. In their quest, they seek information of the shepherds Gil and Pascual. So far the author seems to have tried to relate the passing-scene to the eclogue. He but serves to accentuate the fact that he is groping; the type is not yet established. The lover and his friend leave, following the directions of the shepherds. Gil expresses sympathy for the unhappy lovers; Pascual retorts impatiently, and then suggests a game of cards. They play, and Gil loses, remarking philosophically over his want of luck,

Mas hágate buen provecho
Que perdiendo he de aprender.

They hear some sounds, and uncertain whence they come, they decide to investigate, but Gil's legs are benumbed, and he cannot walk fast. A *villancico* to *Amor* closes the scene.

The third passage which closely approaches the *entremes* follows the *Vigilia de la enamorada muerta*. Gil and Pascual are gathering flowers for a garland, as Gil says "*A tus amores*," but with at least a connotating remembrance of the dead Placida. The touch seems rather artistic, but undeveloped. Suplicio enters, lamenting her death. The shepherds take him for a thief. After he has explained his mission, they refuse to go with him until they shall have taken a nap, and when Suplicio protests, Pascual cries out,

Velad si quisiérdes vos,
Mas tené la lengua queda.

Suplicio consents to the arrangement. Thereupon the scene changes to the spot where the body of Placida lies.

The comic content of the passage is not great. It recalls the sleeping-scene of the *Égloga de tres pastores*. Here

again shepherds, unable to understand the nature of the sufferings of a courtly lover, sufferings in this case related by a friend, are overcome by sleep. Its chief importance in a study of the *entremes* is that it has no real connection with the eclogue, and the purpose seems to be only for comic relief after the recital of the long *vigilia*.

The *Egloga ynterlocutoria* of Diego de Ávila, a play of early date,¹² has several scenes that show a relation to the *entremes*. The first of these is a sleeping-scene recalling to a considerable extent the one in the *Égloga de tres pastores*. Tenorio, a shepherd, is fast asleep. When Benito, a match-maker, tries to arouse him in order to discuss with him a marriage that he proposes to bring about between Turpina and Tenorio, the latter babbles nonsense and cannot be awakened. The scene is for comic effect, and bears no more relation to the play than did the one cited from Encina.

Another wholly detached scene is that which begins with the stage-direction "aquí comienza a alabar al Gran Capitán," lines 528 to 580. Tenorio brings it to a close with the observation,

Queres saber, padre, qué tengo pensado,
Que entremos a dos tomáis por remedio
D'estaros metiendo palabras en medio,
Porqu'este mi hecho se quede olvidado?

This is not, however, a comic-relief scene, and does not, save for its detachment from the play, belong to the *entremes*.

The scene between Toribuelo and Hontoya, lines 641 to 706, forms a true comic-relief dialogue. Toribuelo enters asking Hontoya, Tenorio's father, for the keys to his wine-cellar on the pretext that his son needs them to get his Sunday clothes. The key secured, Toribuelo takes advantage of his chance to make away with Hontoya's whole stock of wine, and Tenorio enters dressed in his best, showing that Toribuelo's excuse was merely a trick to secure possession of the keys to get access to the wine.

¹² Kohler dates it prior to 1511. Cf. *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, pub. cit. p. 168.

The dramatic works of Lucas Fernandez offer no material for a study of the *passo* except for the single instance that has already been mentioned. Comedy constitutes an inherent part of his plays, either to bring about an explanation of religious doctrines or to contrast courtly manners with the ignorance of the peasants as long-standing aristocratic traditions conceived them. It does not appear in the form of detached passing-scenes. It is to Torres Naharro, who in so many respects anticipated the dramas of the following century, that one must turn in a study of experiments in the new form. The *passo*, in so far as the detached scenes belong to the *genre*, exists in considerable numbers in his plays, and shows a distinct advance over Encina, though still not looked upon as a form complete in itself.

In the *Comedia Serafina*, the trick scene in the fourth *jornada* has no organic connection with the plot of the play, and forms an episode that will compare favorably with some of the *entremeses* of fifty years later. Gomecio and Lenicio, two servants, meet. The former is talking a macaronic Latin. Lenicio tells him that Dorosia had told her mistress that Gomecio was infatuated with her, and later that she had assured him,

Que do quier que la topases,
Ant'el ama la besases.

Gomecio is incredulous, and Lenicio promises to assure his lady's favor by an incantation. He ties the dupe's fingers, and utters the formula composed, as he says, of "ciertas palabras caldeas," in reality a jargon. Then he deserts Gomecio, leaving him tied. In response to the latter's cries, Teodoro, the friar, appears and Gomecio receives at his hands the reward of his credulity while Lenicio gloats over the success of his practical joke.

The second and the fourth *jornadas* of the *Comedia Trofea* are in reality *passos*. Both are quite separated from the intrigue of the play. The first introduces two gardeners and a page. An interesting feature of this scene is that it is divided

into two parts by a song and dance. The scene of the fourth *jornada*, while it has no relation to the play itself, is slightly prepared by the closing lines of the second. In content, it is perhaps scarcely *entremes*, although it plays the part of one. To the two gardeners of the second *jornada* are added two others, Mingo Oveja and Gil Bragado. The four offer gifts to the prince, Don Juan. It includes a typical quarrel arising over the question of whose right it is to speak and a misunderstanding on the part of the four personages as to what disposition court custom requires should be made of the presents. It is but a variation of the misunderstanding of courtly love as a theme in the contrasts of *Placida y Vitoriano*.

In the last *jornada* of the same play, the scene in which Mingo borrows the wings of Fame and comes to grief when he attempts to fly is also really an *entremes* in both material and character. If it may be so regarded, it is probably the earliest example of such a scene used at the close of a play.

In both the *Comedia Soldadesca* and the *Comedia Tinelaria*, it is extremely difficult to determine what scenes may be looked upon as *entremeses*. Many in character and content offer what seem to be passing-scenes, but the very nature of the subjects of these plays affords chance for the introduction of loosely-connected, or even wholly disconnected scenes that have nevertheless their justification and belong to the plot, if plot there is, in that they lend to the picture that the author is presenting. To that extent they become integral parts of the whole, and the fact that they may be separated from the play is in this case scarcely sufficient in itself to justify classing them as *entremeses*. Some of them, however, contain excellent material for the *passo* as that, for instance, in the *Comedia Soldadesca*, in which some soldiers strive to force the landlord to supply their wants.

The *Comedia Calamita* likewise contains abundant material that closely resembles the *entremeses* of a little later date, but so skillfully blended with the action as to make it inseparable from the play. Torcazo, the *simple*; his wife,

and the young student are types that will figure in the *passos* of Lope de Rueda. The trick that Iusquino plays on Torcazo in passing himself off as a relative is such as frequently occurs in the *entremes* in its developed form. On the whole, it would seem not unlikely that both in the matter of types and material these comedies had a certain influence on the development of the form.

One scene in the last-named play seems to have all the elements of the *entremes*. This occurs in the fifth *jornada* while Euticio is waiting for his son to come out so that he can settle with him, the term being understood in the true parental sense. Iusquino persuades Torcazo to feign himself dead. That arranged, the former sets up an outcry. In response to his calls, Libina, Torcazo's wife, and the student enter, and in reply to Libina's lament,

Que haré?
Con quien me consolaré?

the student replies,

Callarte cumple a la fe
Por mi amor;
Muérase, qu'es un traidor
De tu placer enemigo:
Yo me casaré contigo
Y aun te serviré mejor.
D'un asno tienes dolor
Porque muera?

Whereupon Torcazo arises from his pretended swoon, filled with wrath!

Torc. Juriami si vivo fuera
Como me ves muerto y mudo,
Don hideputa cornudo
Que los cascos te hendiera.
Lib. Ay, mal dolor que te hiera
De costado.
Esc. Yo me voy.

Which, under the circumstances, is perhaps not an unwise resolve on his part!

In the *Comedia Aquilana*, the second *jornada* is entirely separable from the play and forms an *entremes* despite the fact that the author seems to have wanted to give it a certain connection by the closing lines in which Dileta delivers a message to Aquilano from her mistress. It is, as has already been shown in one or two cases, not uncommon to find these comic-relief scenes given a semblance of relationship to the play in some such manner as this by the earlier writers. In this passage, the personages, two gardeners, a servant, and a maid-servant, are types that have already been found in similar scenes by the same author. The argument is as follows: two gardeners while at work find footprints in the garden. Galterio fears the loss of his wages because of the damage done by the intruder. The scene is one of the earliest to offer a definite discussion of social conditions. Dandario closes this discussion with the words,

Desos vienen
 Los que mas pompa mantienen
 Y aquellos contino veo,
 Mas tristes por lo que tienen
 Que yo por lo que deseo.

Dileta, the servant, enters asking for Faceto, and the latter part of the *jornada* is a dialogue between the two. While the scene is a *passo* in its separable character and from the types it portrays, the comparative seriousness of its tone seems to remove it somewhat from the *entremes*. It is from this gardener scene, as well as from certain other passages in Torres Naharro, that Jayme de Güete draws the inspiration, if not the actual material, for some of his *passos*.

From this outline of some of the principal passages that may be looked upon as bearing a relation to the *entremes*, it will be seen how extensive is Torres Naharro's contribution to the development of the form. As regards character-types, he has servants, a maid-servant, a friar, a page, gardeners, a *simple* and his wife, a student, and the allegorical personage Fame, the last-named used, however, for comic

effect, and not for the sake of allegory. In the *passos* of Rueda appear the type of lackey to correspond somewhat with the servant, the *fregona* who may correspond more or less closely with the maid-servant of Torres Naharro, the page, the *simple* and his wife, a friar, beside other clerical characters, a gardener, and the allegorical personage, Fame. Just how far Torres Naharro may be considered a creator of types it is not possible to decide, yet the fact remains that in his works are to be found at least a majority of the more important ones that appear in the *entremes* during the next half-century. Nor is his contribution confined to types as a glance at the material of his followers will show.

One of the most important of these, so far as the *entremes* is concerned, is Jayme de Güete. Yet, however he may follow Torres Naharro, he completely misunderstood his master's art. Had he known how to weave his comedy into his plot as so often happens in the *Propaladia*, his development might have been entirely away from the separate scene from which the *entremes* develops.

In the first *jornada* of the *Comedia Tesorina*, the comic scenes between Citeria and her mistress, Lucina, and between Citeria and the foul-mouthed Gilyracho present in their comedy and general aspect many of the elements of the early *entremes*. Moreover, they serve no real purpose in the play unless it be to introduce the characters, hardly a sufficient justification even in view of the undeveloped state of the drama of the time. In the third *jornada*, lines 1106 to 1404, there is an *entremes*, a scene wholly unrelated to the play. Gilyracho, who is the typical *simple*, enters riding a donkey. He lies down to take a nap, but a thousand things torment him. He beats about him, exclaiming,

Malhadades,
que moscas tan endiabladas!
o que negras picazones!
o hy de puta, y que piojadas
que siento en estos ancones!

While thus engaged, he loses his donkey. Perogrillo enters, and Gilyracho in answer to his question says, "mi negro burro he perdido." "Then you have two?" asks Perogrillo. "No," is the reply.

Pero. Pues esse burro en que vienes
Cuyo es? no es de ninguno?

Like the conventional *simple*, he has been looking for that which was not lost.

The scenes that follow this rather long *passo* are crude to an extreme, and the humor lies in the foul language, macaronic Latin, after the manner of Torres Naharro, and a contest in abuse, a common form of comedy in the early Spanish theatre.¹³

In the *Comedia Vidriana*, the structure of which is so loose that it can scarcely be termed a play, no less than five of the scenes show a lack of relationship to the intrigue. This number of comic-relief scenes in one play is probably equalled in only two others, the *Colloquio de Tymbria* of Rueda where five are pointed out, and in the *Farsa Salamantina* of Bartolomé Palau. They are as follows: *jornada* II, lines 604-770; *jornada* III, lines 1276-1505 (This *entremes* might be entitled *La Caza de los piojos!*); *jornada* IV, lines 1965-2003, a very short scene of the kind; lines 2063-2185; *jornada*, V, lines 2465-2705. The first of these introduces a shepherd riding a donkey. Cetina, a servant, enters, and the inevitable quarrel between the two ensues. It is the rough, coarse comedy of the relief-scene. The second is sufficiently described by the title suggested above. The third, a very short scene, is a quarrel between mistress and servant. In the fourth, a chattering, and selfish gardener argues with his master, and when after a hot dispute they quarrel, he threatens to leave. In the last, Gil Lanudo, in a long monologue, imagines himself a soldier, and acts the part much after the manner of the modern small boy playing

¹³ Crawford, "Echase Pullas:—A Popular Form of Tenzzone," *Romanic Rev.* VI, 150-164.

soldier. Perucho enters, a fight ensues, and Gil, worsted, goes off calling for Cetina:

Hyerto vengo como un palo;
Hazme un lecho en la cozina;
abre, que vengo muy malo.

The second *jornada* of the *Comedia Tidea* of Francisco de las Natas contains a comic-relief scene unmistakably influenced by Encina. It extends from line 806 to line 1045 and bears no real relation to the play.¹⁴

Menalcas enters dancing and leaping. His first appeal is to the audience,

Hora andar,
quierome enuenturar
(h)a hablar estos señores,
mas no se por do empeçar
que parescen rugidores.

Such an appeal is common in the prologue of the time, and also recalls somewhat the opening, or *loa*, scene of the *Égloga en requesta de unos amores* of Encina where Mingo is so perturbed, in this case at having to face his patrons, that he says to his companion,

Yo te huro a San Crimente
Que no sé qué me hacer.

But in the *Comedia Tidea*, does the statement mean that the audience had become restless and inattentive, or that the writer was in fear of a wavering of interest with its natural accompaniment of noise and disturbance? If so, an *entremes* at this point would seem all the more justifiable and to be expected.

Damon, who follows Menalcas, tells him of his adventures in the city and of meeting "a thousand students" who,

Ellos juntos
comiençan habrar de puntos,
cercaronme en derredor;
yo miralles sin barruntos
y dezilles: sí, señor.

¹⁴ Romera-Navarro, "Observaciones sobre la Comedia Tidea," *Mod. Phil.* XIX, pp. 187-198. He does not think this scene a *passo* because of a possible, though slight, relationship to the play.

Sin me cato,
dame uno del çapato,
otro punçar la trasera
pelaronme un gran rato
todos juntos la mollera.

This is, of course, the situation of the *Auto del Repelon*, the clash of town and gown, and in the manner of its presentation very close to Encina.

The *Farsa Salamantina* of Bartolomé Palau¹⁵ is one of the most important of the earlier plays for material for a study of the development of the *entremes*. Professor House has called attention to a number of these comic-relief scenes, of which this play contains more examples than any of its predecessors. He inclines to think that they bear considerable relationship to the *passos* of Rueda.¹⁶

The first introduces a Biscayan, Juancho. In a scarcely intelligible jargon, he tells a student and Soriano that, on coming from his country to Castile, and finding himself out of money, he exchanged his arbalest for a guitar. He wants to communicate with his family, but cannot do so. The student offers to write his letter for him, and by so doing, manages to get a little money from him.

The immediately succeeding passage also forms an *entremes*. Anton, who is a typical *bobo*, comes in. He is on an errand for his mother. To remember his commission, he repeats in monotonous refrain,

Sangre para las morzillas
y tripas para el quajar.

The student and Soriano ask him whether the pudding his mother makes is good and whether she will sell them some of it. To both questions he replies in the affirmative, but meanwhile he has forgotten his refrain. They tell him what it was that he was saying, and while he goes his way, they proceed to the home of Mencia, Anton's mother. While

¹⁵ The earliest known edition is dated 1552. Whether this is the *editio princeps* is not certain. Cf. Morel-Fatio, *Bulletin Hispanique*, II, 239.

¹⁶ R. E. House, "Sources of Bartolomé Palau's *Farsa Salamantina*," *Romanic Rev.*, IV, 311-322.

she is getting ready what they have desired to buy of her, they steal a piece of bacon, but Mencia detects them in the act and raises an outcry. Anton returns to force the student to leave bonnet and cape in payment for the theft.

As will be seen, this makes, on the whole, an excellent *entremes* of rather highly developed type, comparable with, if not actually excelling, some of those of the *Deleitoso* and the *Registro de Representantes* of Lope de Rueda.

The opening scenes of *jornadas* two and three are entirely independent of the main action of the play, and form comic interludes. They belong together. The second is simply a continuation of the subject of its predecessor. The action of both is based upon Beltran's passion for Teresa. These scenes form to some extent a burlesque on the courtly idea of love. This is especially true of Beltran's soliloquy, lines 1302-1368. Both passages are coarse and vulgar to an extreme. They form an appeal to the baser instincts of the Salamancan students before whom the play was intended to be given.¹⁷

In *jornada* three, the closing scenes¹⁸ are another example. The *bachiller* Tripero comes to procure the services of Anton. He arouses Mencia who at first denounces him as a disturber for coming at such an unseemly hour and then, learning who it is that calls, receives him graciously as an old acquaintance. Mencia recalls the *Celestina*, and to some extent, Eritea in Encina's *Placida y Vitoriano*. She promises Tripero that he shall have the assistance of her son, but wants to know what he desires of him, to which Tripero replies,

No falta
ado hay fatiga harta,
que han venido por mi en posta.
Voy, comadre, a sancta Maria
a conjurar la langosta.

¹⁷ R. E. House, *Romanic Rev.*, IV, 314, has called attention to the striking resemblance between these scenes and certain passages in the *Tesorina*.

¹⁸ Lines 1584-1789.

Anton enters:

Boto a san,
que parezco sacristan,
y aun casi (casi) clerizon.

Supposed to assist Tripero with the conjuration, he puts the conjuror's book in the caldron, and the rest of the scene is filled in with his stupidity and nonsense. Nevertheless, the whole does not make a bad *entremes*.

In the fourth *jornada* is a short scene¹⁹ of the type. Anton is selling sausages. An *alguacil*, under pretext of doing his duty in examining the wares, frightens him by threatening arrest and imprisonment, and takes possession for himself of the whole contents of the basket.

Allied to this scene, much as the scenes in *jornadas* two and three were connected, is the closing passage of the play which forms another *entremes*, and another case in which a *passo* comes at the close of a play. Mencia wants to send Anton on an errand with a basket of sausages, but he is eating and refuses to be disturbed. Finally, however, after a good deal of coaxing and wrangling, and the promise of a reward in the form of a sausage, he consents, takes the basket, and learns the message he is to repeat on delivering it. But the moment his mother's back is turned, he commences to sample the contents, saying that, if called to account, he will declare that a dog ate it. The *alguacil* enters, pretends that Mencia's sausages are dirty, and over the united protests of Mencia and Anton, makes off with his booty. Mother and son, fearing still further pursuit from the law, hide.

These last two *entremeses* show a certain attempt at satire over the injustices of public officials. Social satire is to play considerable part in the *entremes* as it develops. It is a form that in every way lends itself to such subjects.

Of these passing-scenes in the *Farsa Salamantina* several are exceeding good examples of the newly-developing form,

¹⁹ Lines 1840-1894.

and might well have been written separately as *entremeses*. The change from the crude scenes of an author groping for something without a clear idea of the end to be attained, a condition found in Encina and Jayme de Güefe, is already considerable. It will be but another step to the fixed *genre*.

Badajoz, like Lucas Fernandez, often mingles the humorous and the grotesque with the religious element, using them to explain and develop his doctrinal points. Nevertheless, they are not always interwoven as is the case with his predecessor, and some of his scenes belong to the *entremes*. Only in occasional cases, however, do they show the completeness of form found in some of those of the *Farsa Salamantina*. If Badajoz in reality considerably antedates Palau, this is not surprising; it is all the less so when his traditional literary affiliations are considered. In much he is very far away from the school of Rueda in whom centers and culminates the early *entremes*.

The best-developed scene of the kind that he has is in the *Farsa Teologal*. A negress bearing a tankard enters singing a *villancico* on the birth of Christ. After some dialogue, a shepherd seizes the tankard and makes with it a jack-o'-lantern with which he frightens a boasting soldier into a swoon. When the latter recovers consciousness, he calls for a priest, and then says as an aside, that he will mend his ways and meanwhile feign toothache "por quitar inconvenientes." This statement about the toothache serves as preparation for the second *passo*, pages 112-115, in which the priest enters with a dentist. The scene between the dentist and his patient, the once boastful soldier, who is frightened half to death, is excellent from the standpoint of humor. The dentist, after ordering a glass of wine for his own, not his patient's stimulation, pulls one wrong tooth,—be it remembered that there is really no "right" one, for the soldier is only feigning,—then another, and is prevented from further depredations only by the intervention of the priest.

The former of these two scenes is the best of Badajoz's contribution to the form and one of the best before Rueda.

It is one of the comparatively few early *passos* that offers a definitely, dramatically humorous situation. The great majority depend more upon horse-play and coarseness, sometimes of the lowest sort, than upon a situation that offers a chance for real humor.

In the *Farsa del Colmenero* is a scene that may be looked upon as a very crude *entremes*. It opens with a long, rambling speech of a shepherd. A friar enters, enraged at his chatter. They quarrel, and would come to blows but for the intervention of a peacemaker who brings about an agreement. The content is not great, but it forms a comic passing-scene.

In the *Farsa de Tamar*, there is a scene whose whole purpose is to allow a certain time to elapse before the return of Tamar to the stage. It begins with a soliloquy by a shepherd. Opilio overhears his last words, and thinks that he is talking ill of women. A quarrel ensues, almost childish in its inaneity. A knife-sticking contest follows, and when Tamar at last reappears she thinks they are fighting, and tries to quiet them. This use of the *entremes* to allow a lapse of time required in the play is not unique here. In the *Eufemia* of Rueda, one of the passing-scenes has exactly the same purpose. In this case, it is used to give one of the characters time to go from one city to another.

The theft of the thirty ducats in the *Farsa Militar* can be considered a *passo* in spite of certain connection it might have with the play through the part the money plays in the development of the intrigue, and through certain of the characters. The friar tells a lame man, a one-armed man, and a blind man to take up the ducats from beneath the stone where they are supposed to be hidden,—Mundo has really stolen them again,—and divide them. The friar then departs. Of course they do not find them. The blind man thinks that the others have stolen his share, and attacks them bitterly. The *Diablo* maliciously hits him on the head. The blind man blames his lame comrade, and a fight ensues. The friar reënters and intervenes. When

the lame man again protests vehemently that the ducats were not there, all turn their wrath upon the friar whom they accuse of having deceived them. It will be seen that the whole action turns upon a series of misunderstandings, a situation common enough in the early *passo*.

In the works of Sebastián de Horozco, there is perhaps the earliest extant example of an *entremes* entirely separate and apart from a play. This is the *entremes* written "a ruego de una monja parienta suya." For a long time it was thought that this was the first time that the word occurred as synonymous with *passo* and a number of critics have repeated that statement. As has been seen, there is now known to be another case of the same use, probably earlier than Horozco's. But up to that date, these scenes have all been included in larger dramatic compositions. This *entremes* of Horozco stands as completely separated from a larger dramatic form, as do those of Rueda in the two collections published by Timoneda. The one possible exception, if it is at all to be considered a real example of the form, is the *Auto del Repelon*.

The *entremes* in question is, as regards form and content, of no very special interest. Its attitude is distinctly one of levity, if not of mockery, of religious things, an attitude on the part of the author that reappears in the *bobo* scene of the *Historia de Ruth*.

The structure of the scene is loose and there is no distinct dramatic purpose. By turns, the love-passion of the peasant, the beggar at his trade, a new departure in the *passo*, and one which will be a fruitful source of material, a dishonest friar, and a bun-seller are depicted with more or less skill.

In the *Representacion de la historia evangelica del capitulo nono de Sanct Juan*, Horozco has another *entremes* distinctly so named: "Mientras vuelve el ciego, pasa un *entremes* entre un procurador y un litigante." A lawyer laments his lack of clients. He describes how he plucks those who fall into his hands, and then abandons them. All is grist that

comes to his mill. A client appears, and the lawyer proceeds to apply his system. His greeting is cordial, and he makes use of the Bible to serve his ends,

Ora sus, nombre de Dios,
Quidquid venerit ad nos
non eiciemus foras.

The client gives and gives until at last he exclaims,

Veis ay otro ducado,
aunque del comer lo quito.

Whereupon the lawyer, having bled his client to his last ducat, abandons him.

This *entremes* is interesting for its material. The lawyer's cold-blooded greed, his carelessness of the ultimate interests of his clients, his effusiveness that borders almost on servility while he is wringing money from his victim, his desire to create litigation for his own profit: all these are well depicted for the time at which the passage was written.

In addition to the scenes mentioned, Horozco has a very short one in his *Historia de Ruth* between a major-domo and a laborer, Reventado, that has some of the characteristics of the *entremes*.

The first scene of *jornada* III of the *Comedia Florisea* in which servants and gentlemen alike are terrified at the appearance of *Fortuna* dressed in allegorical character is entirely separable from the plot of the play, and offers an excellent example of the detached scene. In the *Comedia Radiana* and the *Farsa de Lucrecia*, there are likewise comic passing-scenes, but of no great interest in a study of the *entremes*.

The anonymous *Farsa llamada Rosiela* contains two *passos*. The first, lines 215 to 475, opens with Caniuano endeavoring to arouse his worthless son. The latter is the conventional *bobo*. The master enters. A discussion between him and the *bobo*'s father, Caniuano, who is a gardener, over crop and weather conditions can scarcely be called humorous. The comic element is supplied by the forgetfulness and gluttony of Benito, the *bobo* son, who recalls some-

what the shepherds of Encina at least in his gluttony, but still more Anton, the *bobo* of the *Farsa Salamantina*. The second of these scenes, lines 623 to 738, has little point, and as in so many of the early attempts at the *passo*, roughness takes the place of humor. Both scenes, however, continue the already establishing tradition of the new form.

Already, then, many attempts at the new form, a few conscious as in the case of Horozco, many blindly groping, have been made. An abler hand than that of any of these will shortly fix and establish the new *genre*, and that will be the work of Rueda, the first real *entremesista*.

W. SHAFFER JACK

IX. "IN PRINCIPIO"

I.

"For thogh a widwe hadde noght a sho,
So plesaunt was his *In principio*,
Yet wolde he have a ferthing er he wente."

Prologue to Cant. Tales, ll. 253-5.

Exactly what was the Friar's "In principio," and why did he use it when he went to call on barefoot widows?

These questions evidently suggested themselves to Tyrwhitt, who in his epoch-making edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (1775), observes: "This phrase is commonly explained to refer to the Beginning of St. John's Gospel. It may also refer to the Beginning of Genesis. In an old French Romance, *l'histoire des trois Maries*, it seems to signify some passage in the conclusion of the Mass."¹

To this note Furnivall replied in 1868: "Tyrwhitt, in his note on the line, leaves it doubtful whether these words refer to the beginning of St. John's Gospel, the beginning of Genesis, or some passage in the conclusion of the Mass. . . . The following passage from Tyndale sets the question at rest: 'And where he [the priest] should cross himself, to be armed and to make himself strong to bear the cross with Christ, he crosseth himself to drive the cross from him. . . . Such is the limiter's saying of "*In principio erat verbum*" from house to house.' "²

¹ *Opus cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 200-1. Tyrwhitt then quotes these lines:

"Moult aise sui quant *audio*
Le Prestre dire *In principio*,
Car la Messe si est finée."

It is somewhat surprising that neither Tyrwhitt in making this last suggestion nor Furnivall in answering it seems to have consulted the Roman Missal, where they would have found near the end of the Mass "the Beginning of St. John's Gospel," with a rubric directing the Priest to read it. See further discussion of the Mass, below.

² "3 *Tyndale*, pp. 61, 62, in his 'Answer to Sir T. More's Dialogue,' 1530, edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. H. Walter, B. D." Furnivall,

Liddell in 1901, accepting the reference to St. John's Gospel, cites another parallel from "Jack Upland," in Wright's *Political Songs and Poems*, "For ye win more by yeare with *In principio* than with all the rules that ever your patrons made."³

Three more contemporary references, which go to confirm Furnivall's judgment, I have not seen mentioned in this connection. The first is from a Northern prose translation of a Latin tract, *De Spiritu Guidonis*, which purports to give a true account of the laying of a ghost in "the Cite of Alexti," December 28, 1323. "And as þei wente forþ," the tract relates, "þe prior seyde wiþ loud voys *Dominus vobiscum*, and afturward he seyde þe gospel of *In principio erat verbum*."⁴

The second is a metrical paraphrase of the same passage, possibly made by William Nassyngton,⁵ one of the followers of Richard Rolle:

and þan þe prior þus bigan
and said: *dominus vobiscum*,
his breþer answerd all and sum;
And after þan he said onone
þe first godspell of saint Ione,
In principio clerkes it call.⁶

The third is from the play of *Johan the Evangelist*, printed about 1565, but probably composed much earlier,⁷ where Idelnesse says of Saint John:

I trowe than he will come hyther
That layde first *In principio* togyther.⁸

"Temporary Preface" to the *Six-Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, Part I, page 93. The *Genesis*, it will be remembered, begins, "*In principio creavit Deus coelum et terram*."

³ Liddell, M. H., ed., *Prologue to Canterbury Tales, Knightes Tale, and Nonnes Prestes Tale*, p. 146.

⁴ Horstman, ed., *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers* (1896), vol. ii, p. 296, n.

⁵ See Horstman, *op. cit.*, II, 274.

⁶ Horstman, *op. cit.*, II, 296.

⁷ See Greg's introduction to the play in the Malone Society edition (1907).

⁸ *Op. cit.*, II. 538-9.

In each of these three passages the reference to the beginning of St. John's Gospel is unmistakable, and the words apparently relate to a familiar portion of this Gospel, longer than a single phrase or a single verse.

Since Furnivall recorded the Tyndale reference few editors have doubted that Chaucer alludes to *St. John* rather than to *Genesis*. But we still desire to know how much of the Gospel was quoted by the Friar, and also why he should have quoted any of it on visiting his poor parishioners. Editorial explanations of these two points hardly satisfy.

Skeat, for example, says that "the opening words of St. John's Gospel" (a somewhat ambiguous phrase) were "frequently quoted by the Friars and other preachers";⁹ Liddell, that the text was "constantly on the lips of the begging friars";¹⁰ Greenlaw, that "the Friars often quoted *John* i. 1;"¹¹ Pollard annotates "the first two words of St. John's Gospel, the beginning of a Friar's address";¹² Mather declares that the verse was "a text with which Friars commonly began their begging petitions";¹³ Legouis, that "les Frères avaient coutume de saluer ceux qu'ils abordaient avec les premiers mots de l'Evangile de Saint Jean";¹⁴ Manly dismisses it as "St. John i.1, used as a greeting";¹⁵ Emerson adds that "the beginning of the Latin *Gospel of John* . . . was believed to have special efficacy when repeated by a priest,"¹⁶ citing, however, no authority for the statement.

⁹ *The Man of Law's Tale, Nun's Priest's Tale, and Squire's Tale Done into Modern English* (1904), p. 119.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

¹¹ *Selections from Chaucer* (1907), p. 244.

¹² *Globe Chaucer* (1898), p. 4, n. The note as slightly revised in later editions alludes to the "first few verses," and their supposed "magical value."

¹³ *Prologue, Knight's Tale, and Nun's Priest's Tale* (1899, Riverside Literature Series), p. 12, n.

¹⁴ *Geoffroy Chaucer* (1910), p. 223.

¹⁵ *English Prose and Poetry* (1917), p. 62.

¹⁶ *Poems of Chaucer* (1911), p. 173.

But let us assume for the moment that what the Friar pronounced so pleasantly was no mere greeting of one phrase or one text, but the "first godspell of saint Ione." How much would this gospel include? The gospel appointed by the Roman Missal for reading in the third and most important of the Masses on Christmas Day covers what is commonly termed the Proem to St. John's Gospel, namely, verses 1 to 14 of the first chapter: and the same verses serve in the Anglican Church as the gospel for Christmas Day. This passage, again, followed by certain favorite excerpts from the Gospels of *Luke*, *Matthew*, and *Mark*, was frequently given the first place on the pages of the *Horae Beatae Virginis Mariae*, or *Prymers*,¹⁷ books of devotion so popular in Chaucer's age. Finally, since the year 1570, this passage has formed the conclusion of the Mass unless another gospel is set for the day. Evidently during the middle ages unusual significance was attached to these fourteen verses from the first chapter of St. John.

The reason for their popularity may be found in any modern or medieval commentary on the Fourth Gospel. Saint Augustine informs us, on the authority of his friend Simplicius, of a Platonic philosopher who wished the first five verses to be written in letters of gold in every church, and St. Augustine follows the statement almost immediately with part of the famous sentence now forming verse 14:

¹⁷ Together with the other gospels, viz., *Luke* i. 26-33; *Matthew* ii. 1-12, and *Mark* xvi. 14-20, it forms the introduction to a beautifully illuminated French or Flemish *Prymer* of the fifteenth century in the Wrenn Library of the University of Texas. Though I have found only one such gospel mentioned (Part II, p. lxxvi) in the *Prymers* listed by Littlehales in his edition of *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer-Book* (F. E. T. S., Orig. Series, Nos. 105 and 109, 1895-7), I have counted twelve *Prymers* in the "Hand-List" of Hoskins' *Primers: Sarum, York, and Roman* (1901), which contain the "initium sancti evangelii secundum Johannem" either in the beginning or later in the volume, and almost invariably the other "evangelia" named immediately follow. In fact, Littlehales and Hoskins are chiefly concerned with English *Prymers*; but Pollard, in *Bibliographica*, vol. iii, pp. 430-473 (1897), points out that the typical French *Book of Hours* from 1486 to 1500 included precisely the "evangelia" that I have mentioned.

"Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis."¹⁸ This sentence, as a modern Protestant theologian¹⁹ points out, and as any medievalist would have quickly realized, at once combats four formidable heresies: Arian, Apollinarian, Eutychian, and Nestorian. All fourteen verses taken together constitute one of the strongest Biblical arguments in support of the doctrine of the Trinity. The phrase with which this discussion began is regularly quoted in the *Gloria Patri* and was inserted there, an authority on Catholic liturgy states, as a protest against the Arian heresy. He gives the original meaning of *Sicut erat in principio*, "as He [the Son] was in the beginning," thus interpreting this phrase as "a clear allusion to the first words of the Fourth Gospel."²⁰

One more quotation from the same authority in his history of the Mass will bring into clearer perspective the attitude of Chaucer's contemporaries to this "gospel;" "The beginning of St. John's gospel (i. 1-14) was the object," says Fortescue, "of special devotion from the time of the Fathers. . . . In the middle ages there were all manner of curious, often superstitious, practices connected with it. People wrote it on amulets and wore it as a charm. It was sometimes said at the baptism of children and at extreme unction. Then as a favourite devotion, it was said (among the thanksgiving prayers) by priests after Mass. This was its state throughout the middle ages."²¹

¹⁸ *De Civitate Dei*, lib. x, cap. 29, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* XLI, 309.

¹⁹ Arrowsmith. See Ryle, J. C., *Expository Thoughts on the Gospels* (1879), vol. i, p. 6.

²⁰ Fortescue, A., in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1909), vol. v, p. 150.

²¹ *The Mass* (1912), pp. 393-4. For this reference I am indebted to my friend, Dr. F. A. Litz, now of Johns Hopkins University. Professor F. N. Robinson has recently called my attention to two other references to the "god-spelle" in question: an article by John Jenkins in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1919-20, pp. 109 ff., which I have not yet seen; and *The Lay Folk's Mass Book*, ed. Simmons, E. E. T. S., No. 71, p. 146. The latter passage Simmons annotates, *op. cit.*, p. 383: "In principio are the two first words of the Gospel according to St. John, here used for the gospel written in the first fourteen verses of the first chapter, which from the earliest times has been the gospel for Christmas-day throughout the West."

If the reasoning of this paper be correct, then, we may draw two conclusions:

(1) To Chaucer and his contemporaries *In principio* meant, not *S. John* i. 1, but *S. John* i. 1-14, just as *Paternoster* signified all the Lord's Prayer, *Beatus vir*, all the First Psalm, and so on with numerous other passages from the Vulgate.

(2) The Friar used this, not as a greeting to all whom he chanced to meet, nor as the beginning of an address, but probably as a "favorite devotion" after he entered the widow's house. His pleasing enunciation of this well known passage had on the widow the same effect as did the Pardoner's merry and loud rendition of the offertory on his congregation.

II.

Once more Chaucer uses the phrase "In principio" in one of the most familiar lines of *The Nun's Priest's Tale*:

For al so siker as *In principio*,
Mulier est hominis confusio. Ll. 343-4.

Concerning the meaning of the introductory phrase in question editors are not at one. Pollard, for example, seems to take these words as a part of the Latin proverb, and comments in the *Globe Chaucer* (1898): "The real meaning of the Latin is: In the beginning, woman is man's destruction."²² This note is practically copied in Greenlaw's *Selections from Chaucer*,²³ and in the Newcomer-Andrews *Twelve Centuries of English Prose and Poetry*.²⁴ Perhaps Dryden in his day held the same view. For in his paraphrase of Chaucer's tale, *The Cock and the Fox*, the passage runs, "For true it is, as *in principio*, *Mulier est hominis confusio*."²⁵ But Scott in editing Dryden took a different view, stating, probably after Tyrwhitt, "*In principio* refers to the beginning of St. John's Gospel." Scott was in turn corrected by Saintsbury, who, ascribing the reference to *Genesis* i.1, added to Scott's note: "Surely rather to the

²² *Opus cit.*, p. 136, n.

²³ Page 273.

²⁴ *Opus cit.* (1910), p. 57, n.

²⁵ Ll. 417-8; ed. Christie (1893), p. 573.

beginning of the human race, and a certain apple?"²⁶ Root leans alternately toward each side in his cautious statement: "The phrase . . . begins the book of Genesis and the Gospel of St. John, in the Vulgate. 'It is as true as the Bible that woman is man's confusion.'"²⁷ Skeat in his translation retains all the Latin words, but his note makes clear that he ascribes the quotation to *St. John*.²⁸ Tatlock and Mackaye render the lines, "For as true as the Gospel, *Mulier est hominis confusio*."²⁹

Those commentators, however, who join the words *In principio* with the Latin proverb which follows, thus making Chaucer allude to Eve's responsibility for the Fall, appear to overlook the fact, pointed out long ago by Tyrwhitt,³⁰ that the definition of woman which Chaucer is here quoting is to be met with in Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, and that of this definition the phrase *In principio* forms no part. In the *Spec. Hist.* (X. 71) Tyrwhitt found the following sentence: "Quid est mulier? Hominis confusio, insaturabilis bestia."³¹ Ever since Tyrwhitt the majority of Chaucer editors have assumed that the poet's source for the definition of *mulier* was the *Speculum Historiale*. But Miss Petersen, in her monograph on the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, observes: "The particular sentence which the cock quotes—'Mulier est hominis confusio,'—was almost proverbial in the Middle Ages, and it is hard to say where Chaucer had met it last."³²

²⁶ *Scott-Saintsbury Dryden* (1885), vol. xi, p. 353, n.

²⁷ *The Poetry of Chaucer* (1906), p. 216, n.

²⁸ *The Man of Law's Tale*, etc., *Done into Modern English* (1904), p. 119.

Cf. *idem*, *Complete Works of Chaucer* (1900), vol. v, p. 255.

²⁹ *The Modern Reader's Chaucer* (1906), p. 135.

³⁰ Tyrwhitt, *Cant. Tales*, III. 290-1.

³¹ Professor Lowes, who kindly examined for me in February, 1920, both the 1494 and 1624 editions of the *Spec. Hist.*, confirmed the quotation as given by Tyrwhitt.

³² Kate O. Petersen, *On the Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale*, 1898, p. 96, n. Recently Professor Carleton Brown (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXV. 479 ff.) has traced the history of this definition of *Mulier* from the Philosopher Secundus, and has shown that it circulated widely as a floating bit of monastic wisdom.

One may thus query MacCracken's right to join the two together and translate, "Woman, from the beginning, has been man's ruin." But when Professor MacCracken goes on to attribute the full sentence, including *In principio*, to "Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, X. 71,"³³ one must express more than a mild surprise. For here is a statement contradicting not only Tyrwhitt, but also Miss Petersen, who commented at some length on Vincent's language as late as 1898.³⁴ MacCracken's ascription is erroneous.

In principio, then, seems plainly to be Chaucer's own expression, and to be used as a noun. If this be granted, the conclusions reached in the first section of this paper make virtually certain a reference to the "first godspell of St. Ione." I should translate it, "As true as Gospel."

ROBERT ADGER LAW

³³ *The College Chaucer*, 1913, p. 653. This is taken from the Glossary, which was done "in collaboration with Thomas Goddard Wright."

³⁴ I have cited MacCracken as a shining mark, yet he is not alone in making this slip. For Lillian Winstanley's edition of *The Nonnè Prestes Tale* (Cambridge, Eng., 1914) reads, p. 36: "*In principio Mulier est hominis confusio*. This is a sentence from Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* (X, 71)."

X. NICHOLAS GRIMALD, THE JUDAS OF THE REFORMATION

Many a man of letters who has been accounted great in his own time and whose work has had no little influence on the world's literature has ceased to be a person of any interest in later years, and his works are no longer read. Few such men have left so little record of themselves, or have inspired in these latter days of research so little interest, so little desire to make inquiry into their lives and personalities as has Nicholas Grimald. Nevertheless, John Bale,¹ the first writer of English literary history, tells how renowned he was in that day, and calls him the foremost alumnus of Cambridge and not the least glory of his time. Indeed, he might well be regarded as such. Next to Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, he was the principal contributor to the first anthology of English poetry, then known as *Songes and Sonnettes*, now known as *Tottel's Miscellany*, a book which enjoyed astonishing popularity. A second edition of it appeared within a month of the first, and eight editions appeared within twenty years. His name is here joined to those of two men who are still remembered. Another reason for the interest of posterity is that two of Grimald's poems in this volume, "The Death of Zoroas," and "Marcus Tullius Ciceroes Death," were the first compositions in blank verse to be published in the English language. The credit, to be sure, is commonly given to Surrey for having written the first blank verse, for although the translation in that poetic form which he made of the second and the fourth book of the *Aeneid* was published June 21, 1557, a little over two weeks later than *Songes and Sonnettes*, it must have been written at least ten years before, as Surrey died in 1547. Nevertheless, it is not

¹ *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae, . . . Catalogus* by John Bale, ed. Basle 1557, p. 701.

improbable that Grimald's compositions in blank verse were done even before Surrey's, for in 1547 he was appointed lecturer in rhetoric at Christ Church, Oxford. Warton suggests that Grimald's verses were "prolusions or illustrative practical specimens for our author's course of lectures in rhetoric."² But he had previously been engaged in literary work for some years. His poetic drama, *Christus Redivivus*, which was published in 1543, was written about 1539, when, as he says in its dedicatory epistle, he was about twenty. In 1548, he published his *Archipropheta*, which shows him to be a master of a variety of verse forms.

As a dramatist, Grimald's work was also of no little consequence; his *Archipropheta*, a Latin play based on the life of John the Baptist, is the first tragedy known to have been written by an Englishman; again, the influence of his tragi-comedy, *Christus Redivivus*, can scarcely be ignored, since it is one of the plays on which the original Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau was based.

Grimald was also widely known as a commentator and translator—his translation of Cicero's *De Officiis* alone had ten editions and he enjoyed an enviable reputation in his generation as a teacher and apostle of humanism.

Why is it, then, one asks, that the memory of the man has passed away, and that even his name was removed from the second edition of *Songes and Sonnettes*, which appeared less than two months after the first editions? What makes the case still more peculiar, of the forty poems by Grimald which appeared in the first edition, thirty-one—those in which the personal element was prominent—were suppressed, and the nine which were retained appear with merely the initials "N. G." The answer may perhaps be found in the questionable character of the man.

There is no cloud upon Grimald's reputation, however, in the testimony by his contemporary, John Bale, who pays him the following tribute: "Moreover, truly applying his mind to Christianity as much in his writing as in his speak-

² T. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1840, III, 69.

ing, he fervently showed and taught that salvation was alone in Jesus the Saviour, and that he was intent not on his own but on divine Glory." During the critical period of Grimald's life, however, Bale, through his appointment as Bishop of Ossory, was absent from England. And on the accession of Mary, when Roman Catholic opposition to him became too strong, he fled to the Continent, so that the absence of unflattering comment is probably due to his ignorance of the real character of his friend, which was brought out during the Reformation. At this time Grimald was nothing more than a time-server, shifting from the Roman Catholic faith, and then back again, recanting secretly and betraying his friends as was necessary to save his life.

In the MS. of Duke Humphrey³ in the Bodleian Library, are the following anonymous verses, never before published, ironically called *Carmina in laudem Grimmoaldi*, which portray him as a self-seeker, and a toady:

Carmen in laudem Grimmoaldi

Omnibus occurris per compita templa theatra,
 Ut laudem captes o Grimmoalde brevem.
 Laudasti paucos sed multos labe notasti,
 Ut laudem captes o Grimmoalde brevem.
 Quos modo vituperas nunc illos pro fidem laudas,
 Ut laudem captes o Grimmoalde brevem.
 Grammaticus rethor detractor praeco poeta,
 Ut laudem captes o Grimmoalde brevem.
 Omnia cum facias periturae laudis amore.
 Dij tibi dent laudem sed Grimmoalde brevem.

Finis.

That Grimald may have been suspected and disliked to the extent that he was *persona non grata* alike to both Roman Catholics and to Protestants, and, in consequence, was so ignored by both that the memory of the man and of his admirable work passed away, may be readily seen from the following series of letters which reveal the baseness of his character, and furnish almost positive evidence that he was

³ Bodl. MS. Duke Humphrey b. 1., f. 186.

the betrayer of the martyrs of the Reformation,—Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley.

These letters, which are here assembled for the first time, have not attracted the attention of students of either literary, political or ecclesiastical history. The complete text of all but one of these letters is accessible in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Strype's works, or the Parker Society's publications; accordingly from these only excerpts which refer to Grimald are here reprinted. The first letter, however, which exists only in the manuscript collection of the British Museum,⁴ is here printed in full.

This letter, which is from Grimald to Sir William Cecil, presents Grimald as an ardent champion of the Reformation. It bears the address: "To the Ryght worshipfull and his especyall good maister M. Cicell at Savoy be thys D D." Another hand has added the endorsement: "From Mr. Grymold the xiiij of May 1549. Upon Sir Wm. Cecyls desire to know how y^e Students of Christs Church and others at Oxon were disposed as to the reformed Religion Hee relates y^t a great part were idle & and another part were such as had livings abroad, and lived at their ease there."

The attitude of the members of the Universities toward the Reformation was at that time regarded as a matter of the utmost importance. In order "that such statutes and ordinances as maintained Papistry, superstition, blindness and ignorance might be abolished, and that such might be established as would further God's word and good learning," a commission for the visitation of Cambridge and Oxford was issued⁵ to John, Earl of Warwick, Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, and others on May 8, 1549, about the time that this letter was probably written.

Sir William Cecil then held the office of "Master of the Court of Requests" under Edward Seymour, Duke of Somers-

⁴ Lansdowne MS. 2., Art. 31.

⁵ Calendar of State Papers 1547-1580, p. 15.

set, an office which the Lord Protector had created in order to escape the worry of looking over the too numerous petitions presented to him. At that time Somerset had but recently been released from the Tower, and had only in part recovered his former standing. Cecil, although apprehended at the same time as his master, was confined for a much shorter period. His star, however, was not in the descendant, as was his master's, for the following year, while Somerset was again sent to the Tower and then to the block, Cecil became Secretary of State.

At the time the letter was written, Grimald, avowedly the bitter enemy of the Papacy, was a lecturer on rhetoric at Christ Church, Oxford. In this letter we have the first indication of the poet's duplicity, for we find him serving as a spy for Sir William Cecil upon the Roman Catholic students of Oxford, and furnishing him a list of the names of those who would not conform to the Protestant religion:—

A Letter from Nicholas Grimald to Sir William Cecil concerning the Students at Oxford

Utinam penes me esset tuae (clarissime atque optime vir) benignitati aut gratiis agendis, aut praestandis officiis, aut ulla omnino ratione pro meo voto respondere. Effectum est enim tua et gratia, et humanitate, et opera id quod ego mihi vehementer gratulor: ut cum studiis meis non esset impetrata quies, in loco tum optatiss. tum literariae progressioni accommodatissimo collocari possem. Fuit hoc liberalis profecto naturae, nullo ut meo merito provocatus, sed tu apte sponte faceres. Fuit raræ cuiusdam facilitatis, ut primo quoque tempore aditum ad te dari permetteres. Fuit affabilitatis eximiae, quod caussam meam omnem audire sustinueris. Fuit ingenii in bonarum artium studia propensissimi, quam primum mihi commodare et prodesse velle. Breviter quod tua de bonitate fama praedicat, quod utriusque nostrum animi affirmaverant, quod ipse habebam in spe & expectatione, quod erat hominis summa et elegantiss. doctrina informati & exulti: id omne sum expertus a te meam in gratiam atque utilitatem cum libenter, tum etiam diligenter esse perfectum. Me igitur non solum tanti beneficii memorem, tam salutaria tua monita observantem, gratum erga te talem patronum, tui denique amantissimum praestabo: sed praeterea etiam cupidissimum doctrinae, studiosissimum piorum, acerrimum contra Papatum, impigerimum in in expromendo talento, paratissimum ad amplificandam & ornandam rem publicam Christianam esse promitto & spondeo. Eorum nomina (quem ad modum requirebas in discessu meo)

qui nondum expuerunt imbibitam animo malam opinionem de divinis rebus collegi, collecta in tabellam hanc, quam una tibi cum hisce literis mitto, retuli. Sunt autem a me silentio praetermissi; qui, vel parum aut nihil possunt, sed tanquam ignavum pecus inane tempus apud nos terunt, vel pastorum munia & concionatorum functiones alibi nacti feriantur hic, *secumque* (ut dicitur) *vivunt*. Nam & ex illo genere non paucos & ex hoc vix credas quos multos fuisset in promptu recensere: qui nisi utrique profligentur, & hii (quod ist aequissimum) ad suos greges, illi (pro eo ac postulat cuiusque indoles) ad opus faciendum relegentur: bonis & studiosiss. adolescentibus nec honestae quietis aut otii, nec iustii praemii aut emolumentum ulla aliquando spes affulgebit. Equidem nullius cuiusquam vel mediocre ingenium damno, dummodo quam debet diligentiam adhibeat: de inertibus loquor ad hoc tantum utilibus, ut consumant fruges, & praestantium loca virorum, freti amicorum vi occupent. De illis autem alteris, qui, quid agant miseri homines quorum ex operis & impensis vicitant adeo nihil pensi habent, ut ab iis procul secure degant, non possum non vehementer animo angi: tum quia nostros autoritate premunt, ludificantur dolis, persuasione decipiunt, quibus demum cumque rationibus queunt aut exagitant aut corrumpunt: tum quia suos quorum in se curam susceperunt, quos tueri, consolari, instituere deberent, pro quibus denique vitam cum morte commutare oporteret, neglectos, desertos, & fame propemodum enecatos esse patiuntur. Cave putes (prudentiss. Vir) hoc esse meum solius iudicium, sed commune omnium eorum, qui (quoniam syncerae castaeque pietati propagandae sedulo student) & hodie sentiunt & iamdiu senserunt istas pestes propter eam unam rem omnes crescentium ingeniorum bonorum conatus nimium (pro! dolor) nimium infestantes. Et quidem cum de caeteris utriusque sectae hominibus nominatim a me facta mentio sit: de hiis quoque tot numero, improbitate tantis in universum dicere necesse videbatur. Tibi vero (humaniss. & opt. vir) libere & audacter in eius modi rebus animi sententiam exponere quid est quod dubitem? Ubi enim eloquar? Quem implorem? Cuius in sinum publicas querelas fundam, nisi eius qui & autoritate valet & verae ac purae religioni unice favet? Imo si non tu, D. Cicelle, tuique similes in id omni animo atque voluntate incumbatis, omnique studio & contentione in eo perficiendo elaboretis, ut honos alat artifices probos, ut cum dedecore arceantur a praeseptibus fuci, ut otiosi & securi & verbo tenus pastores ab aulis revocentur ad caulas i. a collegiis nostris ad suam quisque provinciam: profecto non video quanam studiosiss. alacritas adferri, quae honesta aetati tenerae proponi exempla, qui literarum fructus ad vulgus hominum pervenire possit: aut quibus tandem modis provideri & prospici queat, ne barbariem posteris, indiligentiae nostrae testem relinquamus, & unacum barbarie perturbationem vitae & summam confusionem quasi manu tradamus. Sed sane facere te quidem hac in parte quod tali viro dignum est & una voce testantur omnes quibuscumque notus es, & ipse tum ope mihi praestita, tum aliis nonnullis argumentis

exploratum habeo ac penitus perspectum. Perge per Deum ita ut coepisti, pergentem iuvabit omnium adiumentatorum author. Ego, quod mearum est partium, precibus apud eundem agam, ut ex incommoda valetudine nunc demum emergens ad rei totius publicae utilitatem confirmato corpore prodire in publicum possis. Vale vir eruditiss. & intigerrime.

Oxonia. Ex aede Christi. 4 Idus Maij.

Nicolaus Grimoaldus tuus.

The first of the following excerpts is from a letter under date of Nov. 18, 1552, by the Protestant martyr, Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London. It tells of Ridley's desire to have the chantership of St. Paul's cathedral conferred upon any one of four men, whom he praises highly. Grimald, who had only the year previous received his license to preach, was fortunate enough to get the appointment, and he became chaplain to Bishop Ridley, and his trusted friend as well.

. . . If ye would know, unto whom I would this dignity of our church, called the chantership, should be given, surely unto any one of these, either unto Mr. Bradford, whom in my conscience I judge more worthy to be a Bishop, than many a one of us that be Bishops already, to be a parish priest; or unto Mr. Sampson, a preacher; or unto Mr. Harvey, a divine and preacher; or unto Mr. Grimbold, a preacher.*

During the two years that elapsed between the writing of this letter and the one which follows, Edward VI died, Mary came to the throne, and the Roman Church was re-established. Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley, were arrested, thrown into prison in London, and afterwards removed to a jail in Oxford called the Bocardo. It was from the latter place that Ridley wrote the letter, from which the following excerpt is given, to Austin Bernhere, a devoted servant and clerk of Latimer, who attended Latimer when imprisoned in the Tower of London, and who waited on him and the other bishops, Ridley and Latimer, when all three were confined together in Oxford.

. . . But that at your last being here you cast cold water upon mine affection towards Grimbold, else methinks I could appoint wherein he might

* *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, Parker Society Publications, ed. 1843, Cambridge, p. 337.

occupy himself to his own profit in learning which he liketh, and to no small profit which might ensue afterward to the Church of Christ in England: as, if he would take in hand and interpretate Laurentius Valla (which, as he knoweth, is a man of singular eloquence), I say, his book, which he made and wrote against that false feigned fable, forged of Constantinus Magnus, and his donation and glorious exaltation of the see of Rome: and, when he hath done that, let him translate a work of Aeneas Sylvius, *De gestis Basilienſis Concilii*. In the which although there be many things that savoureth of the pan, and also he himself was afterward a bishop of Rome, yet I dare say, the papists would glory but a little to see such books go forth in English.⁷

From this letter it is evident that Bernhere had some suspicions of Grimald's loyalty to the Protestant cause, and that Ridley, too, was perhaps becoming a bit doubtful of his integrity.

After a time, Ridley was removed from the Bocardo, and imprisoned elsewhere in Oxford. From his place of confinement, he wrote late in December 1554 to Latimer and Cranmer in regard to the arrest and imprisonment of his brother-in-law, George Shipton, who had been sending copies of Ridley's writings, which had been done in prison, to Grimald, upon Grimald's request. This was discovered, and Shipton apprehended. Suspicion that Grimald was playing false was not lacking, but Ridley was loath to believe that Grimald could be unfaithful.

The cause of my brother's imprisonment is this, so far as I can perceive. There is a young man called Mr. Grimbold, which was my chaplain, a preacher, and a man of much eloquence both in the English and also in the Latin. To this man, being desirous of all things which I had written and done since the beginning of mine imprisonment, my brother (as is said) hath sent copies, no more but of all things that I have done. First, a little treatise which Mr. Latimer and I wrote in the Tower; where there is before my sayings, N. R. and before Mr. Latimer, H. L. Also another draught which I drew out of the Evangelists and of St. Paul, that the words of the Lord's Supper are figuratively to be understood; alleging out of the doctors only six, three of the Greek Church, which are Origen, Chrysost. ad Cesa. monachum, and Theodoret; and three of the Latin church, Tertullian,

⁷ *The Writings of John Bradford, M. A.*, Parker Society Publications, ed. 1853, Cambridge, p. 158.

Augustine, and Gelasius. He had of my brother also a copy of my *Three Positions to the Three Questions* here propounded to us at Oxford. Then also a copy of my disputation in the Schools, as I wrote it myself after the disputation. Item the letter, *Ad fratres in diversis carceribus*. All these things they have gotten of Grimbold, as my brother doth suppose; not that Grimbold hath betrayed him, but (as is supposed) one which my brother trusted to carry his letters unto Grimbold; for it will not sink into my head to think that Grimbold would ever play me such a Judas's part.⁸

The following excerpt is from an unsigned letter which is attributed to Bishop Ridley, and is thought to have been written to John Bradford who later suffered martyrdom. It doubtless refers to the arrest of Ridley's brother-in-law, George Shipside, for conveying the writings of Ridley to Grimald, and to the rumor of Grimald's treachery.

If I dared to send anything to my brother, who is now I think dragging out a wearisome existence in solitary confinement, I would indeed desire that he too should transcribe somewhat; but I greatly fear lest they should again surprise him in some incautious moment, and thence to take occasion to exercise still greater severities upon him. I pray you, bid him be of good courage, for there is nothing whatever for him to fear. If the rumor which they are now circulating concerning Grimbald be true, I grieve much for Grimbald's sake; for the rest, I know that it matters not one jot to the cause of my brother.⁹

Grimald himself, however false he may have been to the Protestant cause, did not escape suspicion on the part of some of the Roman Catholics, for he, too, was arrested. From the letter of Ridley to John Bradford, written in Oxford about Jan. 18, 1555, we learn of Grimald's arrest and imprisonment in the Bocardo in Oxford, and of his subsequent release.

I have heard that Master Grimbold hath gotten his liberty; if without blemish of Christ's glory, I am right glad thereof. My brother-in-law is where he was, that is in Bocardo, the common gaol of the town.¹⁰

⁸ *The Works of Bishop Ridley, D.D., The Letters of Bishop Ridley*, Parker Society Publications, ed. 1843, Cambridge, p. 361.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 537.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 371.

Ridley wrote to John Bradford of the rumor current that Grimald had been sentenced to death and afterwards released:

With us it is said that Master Grimbold was adjudged to be hanged, drawn and quartered; of whom we hear now, that he is at liberty.¹¹

Grimald was possibly removed from the Bocardo in Oxford to the Marshalsea prison in London before he was released, for in the latter part of May, 1555, Ridley wrote to Edmund Grindall, who was in exile in Frankfurt:

Many (as we hear) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, yea, not for the fear or pains of death. . . . Grimbold was caught by the heel and cast into the Marshalsea but now is at liberty again; but I fear he escaped not without some becking and bowing (alas) of his knee unto Baal.¹²

Laurence Saunders, one of the Protestant martyrs, in writing from the Marshalsea prison to a friend, who had inquired as to what the Roman Catholic prelate, Doctor Weston, had accomplished in his visits to the Protestants in the prison, gave the following brief reply, in which one detects some misgivings in regard to Grimald's steadfastness:

Master Weston came to confer with Master Grimoald. What he hath concluded I know not: I wish it may be to God's glory, Amen, Amen.¹³

It was this visit, in all probability, that brought about Grimald's complete turning from Protestantism to Catholicism, his "becking and bowing the knee to Baal," for John Bradford, giving an account of a visit which Doctor Weston paid him in prison, informs us that Weston endeavored to persuade him to recant by telling him how Grimald had secretly apostatized and so saved his life:

And so when he [Master Weston] had overly read my arguments, and here and there spake little to the purpose for avoiding of them, (and therefore

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 379.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 388.

¹³ "The Story of Laurence Saunders, Martyr" in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1838, London, VI, 618.

I eftsoons prayed him to give me in writing his answers;) he began to tell me how and what he had done for Grimbold, and how that I needed not to fear any reproach or slander I should sustain, belike meaning to have me secretly to have come to them, as Grimbold did; for he subscribed.¹⁴

In the following extracts from "The Story of Laurence Saunders, Martyr,"¹⁵ in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* we have two scenes presented which show something of the undaunted courage of the martyrs, and the inconstancy, the self-acknowledged guilt of the tricky Grimald, who betrayed the martyrs to their deaths.

The first of these pictures, which are highly suggestive of the dramatic events of the times, describes the coming of Bishop Bonner, the Roman Catholic Bishop of London, to the Marshalsea prison for the ceremony of unfrocking Laurence Saunders who had been imprisoned there for over year at the order of Bonner because of his preaching against the Roman Church; and we see the courage of Saunders in facing Bonner who sought his death.

On the day following, a dramatic scene occurred at St. Albans, where the party conveying Saunders to Coventry to be burned stopped for the night. There Saunders received a visit from Grimald whom he rebuked for his infidelity. Taking a cup in his hand, he asked Grimald if he would take a pledge to drain the cup of martyrdom that he himself was about to drink. Whereupon, Grimald, more anxious to save his life than his own soul, refused the cup, though he was willing enough to drink to the health of the man who was to suffer martyrdom on the morrow.

The 4th day of February [1555] the bishop of London did come to the prison, where he [Laurence Saunders] was, to degrade him; which when he had done, Laurence Saunders said to him, "I thank God, I am none of your church." The day following in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they came to St. Alban's, where Master Grimoald (a man who had more store of good

¹⁴ *The Writings of John Bradford, M. A.*, Parker Society Publications, p. 548.

gifts than of great constancy) did speak with him. After master Saunders had given him a lesson meet for his lightness, he took a cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimoald, by his shrugging and shrinking showing what he was, said, "Of that cup which is in your hand, I will pledge you: but of that other which you mean, I will not promise you." "Well," said master Saunders, "my dear Lord Jesus Christ hath begun to me of a more bitter cup than mine shall be; and shall I not pledge my most sweet Saviour? Yes, I hope."¹⁵

John Strype in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials* gives us his impression of Grimald's treacherous character, and an account of his betrayal of his friends, that he might escape being burned alive as they were.

As they had these true friends, so they had false ones too, treacherous Judas's, that betrayed them; discovering to their enemies who their benefactors were, the relief they received, the letters they wrote, and such like. Of this sort was Grimbald; who this year being in the Marshalsea for religion, was persuaded to recant; and confessed and revealed everything he knew concerning the professors. Many writings of Ridley he got, and secretly put them into the hands of Popish superiors. But this recantation of his was kept secret from the prisoners, and they were not to know it, though they suspected him: and so remaining among them, he served as a spy upon them.¹⁶

L. R. MERRILL

¹⁵ Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1841, p. 627.

¹⁶ John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ed. 1822, Oxford, p. 229.

XI. HAMLET IN FRANCE IN 1663

Few problems of literary history have tempted the scrutiny of historians more than the earliest influence of Shakespeare in seventeenth century France. In the works of two or three French playwrights of the period, they have caught a few dubious traces of possible inspiration from the great English dramatist; but the similitudes they cite are so vague and general that recent criticism has denied them any significance. Cyrano de Bergerac's *Agrippine*, for example, contains some philosophical reflexions that are reminiscent of *Hamlet* and of the *Merchant of Venice*.¹ Recently, however, M. Jusserand has proved that the similarity between a few expressions in these plays is due to mere verbal coincidence, derived from their common ultimate source, Seneca.² On the other hand, as against M. Jusserand's views, the probability of an influence of Shakespeare upon de Schélandre's *Tyr et Sidon* (1628) has been defended by M. Hankiss. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXVI, p. 464.)

More or less close resemblances in single thoughts and single lines between Shakespeare and some French playwrights of the seventeenth-century are not likely to betray a direct influence. The parallelism of thought and expression is easily explained by the fact that they were part and parcel of the classical tradition, from which authors in various countries drew inspiration. An imposing number of maxims and stereotyped expressions, the common heritage of ancient literature, became current all over Europe in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, and it is inevitable that such common-places will appear in almost any author

¹ Lacroix, *L'influence de Shakespeare en France*, 1856.—Karl Elze. *Hamlet in Frankreich*. Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft. 1865.

² Cf. J. Darmesteter, *Essais de Littérature Anglaise*, p. 43; Jusserand, *Revue d' Histoire littéraire*, 1899, p. 343.

of the time. Besides, superficial resemblances of epithets and of similes may frequently be due also to the spontaneous duplication of many thoughts and forms of phrase in various countries and in different periods. Indeed, the compass of Shakespeare's thought is so wide and so inclusive that ideas similar to his must be found scattered not only through the works of French dramatists of the seventeenth century, but through the world literature. In short, a theory of influence built on a few unconnected maxims of uncertain Shakespearean origin will always prove debatable and inconclusive.

But the appearance in French literature of the plot of a Shakespearean play will offer more plausible evidence as to the possibility of Shakespearean influence in France. Whereas the source of a philosophical reflexion may be well-nigh impossible to determine among the great number of similar reflexions in pre-Shakespearean literature, the sources of a plot are usually few in number; and the more positive facts of plot-construction permit a more definite answer to the question: Was such a Shakespearean plot derived from Shakespeare himself, or independently, from Shakespeare's sources?

Such a Shakespearean plot is found in a French play of 1663, *Trasibule*,³ a tragi-comedy by the younger Montfleury, which treats of the Hamlet theme after a classical fashion. A résumé of the play will show at a glance how closely it is related to the Hamlet story and how much beauty and significant detail of Shakespeare's version the rules of neo-classical decorum have precluded:

Montfleury's *Trasibule* is not set in Denmark, but in Syracuse at some indefinite Greek Period. Classical names are bestowed upon the characters: Hamlet is rebaptized as *Trasibule*; King Claudius as *Diomède*; Gertrude, the queen, as *Elpidie*; Ophelia⁷ as *Aristide*; ⁸Horatio⁹ as ¹⁰Thébalde; while

³ For a discussion of the date of *Trasibule* see W. Rohr.—*Leben und dramatische Werke des älteren und des jüngeren Montfleury*.—Leipzig. 1911.

the rôle of Polonius is taken, in part, by a character called Sosthesnes, who, although stabbed behind the hangings by Trasibule (Hamlet), does not appear on the scene. The French Hamlet is exclusively a man of action, who hardly indulges in philosophical soliloquies, but who, untroubled by eternal problems, simply aims at driving the usurper from the throne at the point of his sword. How far the jingle of monotonous alexandrines in Montfleury's play falls short of the glowing passion, the white hot hatred of the real Hamlet's discourse: "Oh! That this too, too solid flesh would melt!" Montfleury's Hamlet has indeed become courtly and gallant, mannered and diplomatic. He is not the man who would soil his lips with a "Get thee to a nunnery!"; or, pitilessly, lay bare his mother's guilt! Yet, under all the disguises and transpositions of *Trasibule*, the essential traits of *Hamlet* remain plainly recognizable:

Dimas, king of Syracuse, has been killed in a revolt of soldiers under the leadership of Diomède, who becomes tyrant of the country. The rightful heir of the crown, Prince Trasibule, feigns madness to escape death and is sent into exile for two years to the kingdom of Agrigente. His friends persuade the usurper to call him back to court under the pretext that it would be easier there to observe his actions, but, in reality, to put him at the head of a conspiracy against Diomède's life. Prince Trasibule loves Aristide, the daughter of a courtier. Her father, Thébalde, is the trusted counsellor of the usurper, but, in reality, he is devoted to Prince Trasibule and helps him to plot against the tyrant. Elpidie, the widow of the murdered king, is loved by the murderer of her husband, but she refuses to marry him and incites her son, Trasibule, to open revolt. After his return from Agrigente Prince Trasibule continues to play the role of a madman, and gives only cryptic answers to his mother and his beloved. But Sosthesnes, the brother of the tyrant, doubts the reality of his madness. On the counsel of the tyrant Diomède, he hides behind the tapestry in the house of Aristide, while Trasibule converses with his beloved. Prince Trasibule, however, has perceived him. He simulates an attack of madness and stabs the spy. In the meantime, the tyrant, by threatening to have her son executed, has almost obliged the widow of the murdered king to marry him. When she is ready to consent she learns that it is too late: the brother of the tyrant, stabbed by Trasibule, has died, and Diomède, who has always nursed secretly the desire to kill Trasibule, has resolved to take revenge. Trasibule is arrested. In this extremity Thébalde invents a stratagem to save the

Prince and to kill the tyrant. He arranges that Marcelin, captain of a fortress, shall arrest him, shall send a letter to the tyrant, revealing the truth about the pretended madness of the Prince. The tyrant, without perceiving that he falls into a trap, now brings the imprisoned Prince Trasibule to the fortress to confront him with his accomplice, Thébalde. Once there, he himself is arrested and beheaded on the spot, whereupon Prince Trasibule takes possession of the throne and marries Aristide.

The only suggestion offered by W. Rohr in his work on the dramatic productions of both the elder and younger Montfleury,⁴ as to the source of *Trasibule* is that we may have in this play, a trace of the Merope theme, especially as treated by Pomponio Torelli (*Merope*, 1589) and Gabriel Gilbert (*Téléphonte*, tragi-comedy, 1642).⁵ But the only resemblance of Montfleury's work to either of these plays consists exclusively in situations common to all usurpers and revenge tragedies: a prince, having lost his throne through the murder of his father by an usurper, reconquers it and takes revenge by killing the tyrant. Gilbert's *Téléphonte*, for instance, is constructed upon the following plot: Hermocrate, murderer of King Cresphonte, has become tyrant of Messene, and has forced Mérope, the wife of his victim, to marry him. He openly persecutes her son, Téléphonte, the rightful heir to the throne, and promises a sum of money to anyone who shall kill him. The Prince, helped by his mother, flees to Etolie. A few years later, a stranger arrives at the Court of the usurper, boasts that he has slain Téléphonte, and claims the money promised. Mérope decides to take revenge for her son and to stab the stranger, but, when she is ready to do so, she suddenly recognizes Téléphonte, who, under a disguise, is pretending to be his own murderer. At the end of the play, the usurper Hermocrate is killed by the disguised Prince, who thus wins back his throne.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 147.

⁵ This play was reprinted as *Philoclée et Téléphonte* in *Théâtre François*, VII, 1737.—Cf. Frères Parfaict, VI, p. 221.

For a treatment of stage adaptations of the Merope theme, see Gottfried Hartmann—*Merope im Italienischen und Französischen Drama*. 1892.

It is obvious that *Trasibule* is more definitely allied with the Hamlet than with the Merope theme. The Merope-Telephonte plays do not contain the assumed madness of the son of the murdered king, nor the killing of the spy behind the arras, nor the love of the hero for a faithful and virtuous young girl of the Ophelia-type. Since these situations are found in Montfleury's *Trasibule*, the conclusion is justified that his play was inspired either by the Hamlet sources or by *Hamlet*, for the supposition that Montfleury would have evolved independently these characters and situations for reasons of dramatic effectiveness, is hardly probable: one would be forced to conclude that Montfleury invented these scenes and situations similar to the Hamlet story, with no other guidance than the general theme of revenge for a murdered father. Besides, in *Trasibule* as in *Hamlet*, the assumed madness of the hero is the pivot on which the whole story hinges; and the chances of an independent duplication of a scene as the one in which the spy is stabbed behind the hangings, are so remote that one cannot ascribe its appearance in *Trasibule* solely to accident.

Montfleury could have derived the Hamlet-plot of his *Trasibule* from various sources. Among the pre-Shakespearean Hamlet versions it is possible to discard, *a priori*, the two German versions: Hans Sachs⁶ and the *Bestrafte Brudermord*, for Montfleury did not know German, and, besides, the latter play remained in manuscript until 1780.⁷ Krantz's two page version in his *Chronica regnorum Aquilonarium, Suetiae, Norvegiae* (1546) is too succinct and lacks exactly those details of action and character which occur in both *Trasibule* and the other Hamlet versions. Montfleury's play, therefore, does not seem to have been derived from his brief résumé. Unless we adopt the hypothesis of an unknown Hamlet version, a search for *Trasibule's* probable source is limited,

⁶ *Fengo, ein Fürst in Itlandt, erwürget sein Bruder Horwendillum*. 1558.

⁷ The booklet *History of Hamlet* had too limited a circulation to be a probable source for this French play.

on one hand, to the well known *Gesta Danorum*⁸ and its translation by Belleforest, in his *Histoires tragiques*, and, on the other, to Kyd's and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.⁹

Now, in certain situations and scenes more similarities are to be noted between Kyd-Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Trasibule* than between the pre-Shakespearean prose sources and *Trasibule*:

1.—The appearance of the Ophelia character in *Trasibule*. In Saxo and in Belleforest this character is not developed, for the "courtisane," sent into the woods to tempt alike Hamlet's sanity and virtue only faintly resembles Ophelia. In *Trasibule*, Aristide shows the same feminine qualities as Ophelia in *Hamlet*. She possesses something of the same yielding character. Even as Ophelia she thinks not of herself, but of Hamlet (*Trasibule*) when she perceives in his utterances the incoherence of insanity: "O, help him, ye sweet heavens!"

Trasibule: Quoi vous versez des pleurs? Souffrez que je m'étonne. . . .

Aristide: Ah! C' est à vos malheurs, Prince, que je les donne;

Puis-je ne voir en vous, en ce funeste jour,

Qu' un Prince que les dieux ont trahi tour à tour?

Dont le coeur insensible à l' ennui qui l' accable,

Est de ses sens troublés la preuve indubitable,

Seigneur, & m' empêcher, dans ce triste embarras,

De plaindre les malheurs de qui ne les plaint pas? (Act II, Sc. VI)

2.—Even as Ophelia's the character of Polonius is developed in Montfleury's play. Whereas in Saxo and in Belleforest no father of the "courtisane" appears, in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* an important and diplomatic rôle is given to Ophelia's father. In *Trasibule* Aristide's (Ophelia's) father is Thébalde, a shrewd courtier, the trusted counselor of the usurper. He differs, however, from Shakespeare's Polonius in that he is secretly devoted to Prince *Trasibule* and engineers the

⁸ Books II and IV. Written about 1185. Printed 1514, 1534, 1576.

⁹ The resemblance between Montfleury's *Trasibule* and the *Hamlet* play is not of such a nature as to warrant an inquiry into the problem: Does it resemble more the *Ur-Hamlet* than Shakespeare's play, or is the opposite the case?

conspiracy against the King. On the other hand some of Polonius' traits are bestowed upon Sosthesnes, the brother of the usurper, who uses Aristide to test the reality of Trasibule's madness, just as Polonius uses Ophelia, and is finally stabbed behind the arras. But it is noteworthy that the character of Polonius appears in the French play although it is divided between two persons, whereas in the pre-Shakespearean prose-sources Polonius is practically non-existent.

3.—Another similarity between *Trasibule* and the Shakespearean *Hamlet* is the well-known scene in which Polonius is killed behind the arras. Belleforest's narration here follows Saxo:

. . . Comme il (Hamlet) estoit fin et cauteleux, si tost qui fut dedans la chambre, se douta de quelque trahison et surprinse, et que s'il parloit à sa mere de quelque cas serieux, il ne fust entendu; continuant en ses façons de faire folles et niaises, se prist à chanter tout ainsi qu' un coq, et batant tout ainsi des bras, comme cest oyseau fait des aisles, sauta sur ce loudier, ou sentant qu' il y avoit dessous quelque cas caché, ne faillit aussi tost d' y donner dedans à tout son glaive, puis tirant le galant à demy mort, l' acheva d' occir (Belleforest-*Le cinquieme Livre des Histoires Tragiques*. p. 219—1586).

Both Saxo and Belleforest state explicitly that the spy is killed under the quilt of the bed: *Stramentum*, according to Saxo; *Loudier*, according to Belleforest. In Shakespeare and in the booklet *History of Hamlet* Polonius, who acts the spy during Hamlet's interview with his mother, is killed behind the tapestry. Now, in Montfleury's play, Sosthesnes hides also behind the tapestry¹⁰ and is stabbed there by Trasibule, who simulates an attack of madness and pretends to be fighting the usurper's army.

4.—Finally, the whole conception of Hamlet's conduct in Montfleury's play resembles Shakespeare's rather than Saxo's and Belleforest's. With Shakespeare and Montfleury it is Hamlet who attacks and the King who defends himself; whereas in the prose sources the rôles are reversed: the

¹⁰ Act III, Sc. III. Sosthesnes "Se couvre d'un des pans de la tapisserie."

King attacks Hamlet, who, in the main, but parries until the final hour of revenge.

On the other hand, the differences between Montfleury's *Trasibule* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* are not less important: The most striking scenes of Shakespeare, the passages pregnant with intellectual depth and tragic power, the anguish of mental struggle, have no counterpart in the French play. There is no appearance of a ghost, no churchyard scene, no sword-fight, no slaughter at the end, no play within the play, no rôle of Leartes, no poison poured in the King's ear, no suicide of Ophelia. But, remarkable enough! in the parts where the French play differs from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, it does not come any nearer to Saxo's or Belleforest's narration, whereas the differences between *Trasibule* and *Hamlet* can be reasonably accounted for by the influence of the Unities.

Whereas in Saxo and in Belleforest the King is slain at a banquet,¹¹ in Kyd and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* the device of poison poured in the ear is resorted to. But in *Trasibule* the King is murdered in an uprising of soldiers. Or, in the pre-Shakespearean sources and in Shakespeare the Prince's mother is married to the murderer of her former husband, whereas in *Trasibule* she resists his wooing. And again, whereas, in the Shakespearean play and in the preceding versions of the story, Hamlet finally kills the King, in *Trasibule*, the King is beheaded by the conspirators. The fact that in Montfleury's play no ghost, no churchyard scene, or no play within the play appear, does not necessarily ally it with the pre-Shakespearean sources, where these scenes are not found, for they were forbidden by French classical convention which Montfleury obeyed.

Now, on the supposition that Montfleury adapted his *Trasibule* from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, could both the simi-

¹¹ Cf. M. Blakemore Evans. *Der bestrafte Brudermord, sein Verhältnis zu Shakespeare's Hamlet*. Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen. 1903. With a reprint of Belleforest's version of the Hamlet story.

larities and the differences I just pointed out be explained by his audience to the rules of the classical stage?

For the classicist, Shakespeare played the rôle of the drunken Ilot of the Greeks: he was a frightful example of the downfall of genius when not guided the saving rules of Aristotle, Scaliger and d' Aubignac. Even for Voltaire *Hamlet* was a confused dream of a genial primitive, a chaos illumined by sudden flashes of insight, a barbarous assemblage of the best and the worst. It was unavoidable that, when a French playwright transformed an English play, he should think it his duty as a conscious artist to rewrite the whole chaotic work and then to submit it to the homogeneous recipe of La Mesnardière or d'Aubignac. However much he might be forced to admire the robust vigor and the freshness of the English work—as compared with the French classical productions—he remained intractable about the sacred rules; and his outstanding preoccupation would naturally be to reduce the play to a tame consistency, to erase all episodes that could be interpreted as irrelevant to the dominant central action; in a word, to condense what he considered its over-luxuriant and unwieldy complication until it fitted neatly into the triangle of the three Unities.

If, in his *Trasibule*, Montfleury had adapted Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to the French classical stage, it would have been natural for him to change the setting from Denmark to Syracuse, and from a comparatively modern period to ancient times; for classical Tragedy derived added dignity from staging themes in antiquity, or from disguising modern incidents in ancient togas. The violent episodes of *Hamlet* seemed to violate less the "convenances," when acted in the perspective of a half-legendary past. The earliest known adaptation of an English play to the French stage is of exactly this sort: When, in 1698, La Fosse adapted Otway's *Venice Preserved*, he transported the subject to ancient and nobler times, disguised the Venetians as Romans, and, in this way, produced his tragedy *Manlius Capitolinus*.

Hamlet's philosophical soliloquies seemed to the French classicists little more than crude ravings quite incompatible with the "dignity" of Tragedy. However full of cosmic despair and brooding about the eternal riddle of existence, they seemed digressive and, indeed, an unjustified excursion into the realm of the abstract, too loosely joined to the action. No ghost, of course, appears in the French play to incite the Prince to vengeance, for the Rules did not tolerate a real apparition on the stage: ghosts were replaced by a dream or were altogether suppressed.

In order that the Unity of place might be observed, the graveyard scene had to disappear entirely. The gravediggers, moreover, were low-class people, whose indecorous ribaldry was considered ill-placed in a tragi-comedy dealing with the adventures of distinguished personages. Even in the 19th century this scene seemed still the most eccentric, the most "romantic," and the least suited to the cultivated French taste. The march of Fortinbras' army and his return to speak the praise of the dead hero, and the play within the play, could not be tolerated by the rigorous interpretation of the Unity of action prevailing in the France of 1663, only five years before Racine's *Andromaque*. Finally, Montfleury's tragi-comedy, which observes Unity of time, opens soon after the return of Prince Trasibule from Agrigente, where he has stayed for two years; it depicts only the final stage of the long struggle, the single eventful day of revenge.

Of great importance from the classical point of view was the fact that Prince Trasibule's madness is only assumed. Pretended madness was considered to be a subject suited only for a tragi-comedy, with a happy ending. It was too "undignified" to serve as motive for a real tragedy. Therefore, Trasibule could not be killed. Besides, Montfleury applied here the principle of Aristotle that each tragedy must have a turning-point, consisting of a change of fortune of the hero, from "good to bad" in tragedies and, according to seventeenth century interpretation from bad to good in

tragi-comedy.¹² Hamlet is a tragedy of blood and had to be converted into a less dramatic play with a happy conclusion. Therefore the number of characters was diminished from twenty-eight to seven and the number of violent deaths from eight to the only two that could be justified by poetic justice: the death of the tyrant and of his treacherous brother Sosthesnes. For all these reasons the ending of the play had to be changed absolutely, and Montfleury—as seen in the résumé of the play—adopted one which is not unworthy of the complication of Corneille's later works. In short, French classical rules and the seventeenth century conventions rigourously applied to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* would bring about exactly such a reconstruction as is found in Montfleury's *Trasibule*.

The same can be said of Montfleury's characterization. It was indeed an act of daring to make assumed madness the principal theme of his tragi-comedy, for a character only pretending to be mad was said to lack the power of creating real dramatic emotion and interest. Montfleury's Hamlet is thoroughly dignified. His type of madness is almost solemn and stately. His answers, if cryptic and full of hidden meaning, never become grotesque, as in the pre-Shakespearean sources or fanciful as when he describes the aspects of the clouds in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Nowhere is he shown like in Saxo, Belleforest and Shakespeare:

. . . with his doublet all unbraced;
No hat upon his head; his stockings foul'd,
Ungarter'd, and down-gyved to his ancle; . . .

He, indeed, is only mad north-north west. In the scene where he kills Sosthesnes, the brother of the tyrant, his form of madness is not Shakespearean but in absolute conformity with the classical tradition of mad scenes, which, coming from Seneca, were so common in French plays of the beginning of the seventeenth century: He pretends to see an army of ghosts, which he has to fight, in no other way than

¹² Aristotle, *Poetics*, VII, X, XII.

Éraste in Corneille's *Mélite*, or Alcméon in Hardy's play of that name.¹³

How deeply this idea that assumed madness was not dignified enough for Tragedy was rooted in the classical mind can be exemplified by the fact that in the well-known adaptation of *Hamlet* to the French stage by Ducis, in 1769, Hamlet was not mad at all and did not pretend to be, any more than Ophelia. He was only melancholy and ambitious.

Trasibule (Hamlet) in Montfleury's play is far from being weak of will and vacillating; he is proud-spirited. He does not lie, any more than Shakespeare's Hamlet. His answers are equally cryptic and open to a double interpretation. He openly told the unveiled truth about his projects and simply acquainted the tyrant with his intention of killing him that very day. Such a sincerity was, of course, considered as a sure sign of supreme madness:

Et je veux, assurant mon trône et ma vengeance,
Pour cacher mes desseins les mettre en évidence,
Parler avec transport, oublier tout respect,
Prévenir les soupçons de peur d' être suspect.
L' aveu que fait mon coeur d' une illustre entreprise,
Fait que, sans s' alarmer, le tyran me méprise,
Et qu' il croit que mon coeur qui lui tend cet appas,
Si c' étoit son dessein ne s' en vanteroit pas (Act II, sc. VIII).

We learn nothing about the character of the murdered king Dimas, Trasibule's father. The circumstances of his death differ as much from the story as told by either Saxo or Belleforest as it differs from Shakespeare's interpretation. In both the prose versions the rightful king is slain at a banquet by his brother. In the Shakespearean play the change is made to the well-known scene in the garden where Claudius

¹³ Yet, with all his submission to custom, Montfleury did not find any sympathy for the pretended madness of Trasibule with classical critics. The abbé de la Porte concluded, in 1776, a résumé of his play as follows: "Cette tragédie, si c'en est une, est foible de style et d' invention. Il est certain d' ailleurs que la folie supposée de Trasibule déroge à la dignité du tragique" (*Dict. dramatique*, III, Trasibule).

kills the king by pouring poison in his ear while he was asleep. Now, the French classicist considered poison poured in the ear as an undignified and even a ridiculous way of killing a king. Besides, his falling asleep in a garden was conduct altogether too strange for a king under the rule of Louis XIV. If Montfleury adapted Shakespeare's *Hamlet* he found a solution which was quite natural in the setting he adopted: The king was killed in an insurrection of soldiers, an habitual historical fact in old Greece and Rome. As an illustration of the abhorrence of the French classicist for any scene like the one where poison is poured into the ear of a sleeper, it is worthy of notice that when J. F. Ducis adapted *Hamlet* to the French taste, he had the King drink a poisoned cup of wine.

The tyrant in the French play is not the brother of his victim, for in that case his love for his widow would have been incestuous, which was deemed inadvisable by strict classicists. For like reasons, Elpidie, Trasibule's mother, does not marry the murderer of her husband. How the classicist regarded similar situations on the stage can be understood from the following criticism by the legislator of Parnassus before Boileau, the Abbé d' Aubignac. He finds fault with Corneille's *Théodore*: "Parce que tout le théâtre tourne sur la prostitution de Théodore, le sujet n'en a pu plaire. Ce n' est pas que les choses ne soient expliquées par des manières de parler fort modestes et des adresses fort délicates; mais il faut avoir tant de fois dans l' imagination cette fâcheuse aventure . . . qu' enfin les idées n' y peuvent être sans degoût."¹⁴ In the adaptation by Ducis, King Claudius is likewise not the brother of the king but only the "first prince of the blood."

Montfleury's usurper is distinguished from Shakespeare's in that he does not feel any pangs of conscience and is, in the main, less tricky. He corresponds more to the traditional tyrant of the French stage: cruel, suspicious, sensitive to

¹⁴ *La Pratique du Théâtre*, p. 230.

flattery he is, and boisterous and sweetly gallant, but he never behaves as a man burdened with a hidden crime. His guilt, his rôle in the murder of the former king is common knowledge, as in Saxo and Belleforest. The right of the strongest is his right to the throne. He fears to disturb the people by severity against Hamlet, but nevertheless like Claudius, he has the intention of having him killed secretly:

Diomède: J'ai voulu qu' en ces lieux il respirât le jour;
 Non que pour le sauver je souffre son retour,
 Mais pour m' en assurer; je veux que l' apparence
 Ne puisse m'accuser d' aucune violence. . . .
 Cependant qu' en secret pour le faire périr. . . .
 Thébalde: Ah! Gardez-vous, Seigneur de le faire mourir,
 Le peuple de son trouble ayant eu peu de marques,
 Croiroit avoir perdu le plus grands des Monarques. . . (Act I, sc.
 II).

Montfleury's *Aristide* does not elicit the same pity as Ophelia for undeserved distraction of mind through love and grief. She is much less a symbol of crushed innocence and her final triumph and marriage with the hero robs her from all tragic significance.

In view of the similitudes of *Trasibule* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* just collated; and in view of the fact that the differences between the two plays can be explained by Montfleury's adherence to classical rule, could *Trasibule* be considered to be the earliest adaptation in French of a Shakespearean play? If so, Montfleury's tragi-comedy presents the earliest instance of an English play known to have been adapted to the French stage, if not the earliest sign of Shakespeare's influence in France. The earliest reference to Shakespeare is found in a manuscript note from the catalogue of the library of Louis XIV, which was begun by Nicolas Clément in 1675 and finished in 1684.¹⁵ In print, Shakespeare's name appears for the first time, without comment, in Baillet's *Jugement des Savants*, printed in 1685. At the very end of the century his name appears again in the *Oeuvres Mêlées* of Sir W. Temple,

¹⁵ Jusserand. *Shakespeare in France*, p. 170-173.

published in French at Utrecht in 1693¹⁶; the *Journal des Savants* of 1708 contains the earliest critical appreciation in print.

Two reasons militate against the belief that *Trasibule* was a direct adaptation from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: As I have just pointed out, there is no positive evidence that Shakespeare was known in France before 1675. And, although Montfleury was renowned as a linguist, it is not proven that he knew English, whereas he was very familiar with Spanish and Italian. The editor of the 1739 edition of his works states in his *Introduction*: "Il avoit beaucoup de littérature. Il savoit et parloit si parfaitement l'Espagnol que la Reine, dont il avoit l'honneur d'être connu, disoit que ceux mêmes du pays ne le parloient pas si bien que lui; aussi a-t-il pris dans leurs auteurs quelques uns des sujets qu'il a traités." A few of his plays betray Spanish and Italian influence, although his indebtedness to Spain is not as extensive as was formerly believed.¹⁷ However, it is possible that there exists a Spanish or an Italian source for *Trasibule*. But, in such case, this source must contain characters, scenes and certain changes of detail which are not in the pre-Shakespearean prose sources, but which are found in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Therefore such source, either must have inspired Kyd and Shakespeare, or, in its turn, it is based on Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

But this constitutes nothing more than a tempting hypothesis. Unless we are contented to credit the similarities between Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Montfleury's *Trasibule* to theatrical necessity or to a mysterious coincidence, it seems necessary to conclude that *Trasibule* is based, either directly or indirectly, on Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK

¹⁶ Cf. an article of J. Texte. *Revue d'Hist. litt.* I, 463.

¹⁷ His *Les Bestes raisonnables* is based on G. B. Gelli's *La Circe*, and his *La Femme Juge et Partie* on *La Dama Corregidor* by Zabaleta and Villavicioso. For the extent of his borrowing see Rohr, *Leben und dramatische Werke des älteren und des jüngeren Montfleury*. Leipzig. 1911. Puibusque's *Histoire comparée de la litt. fr. et esp.* is unreliable.

XII. STROLLING PLAYERS AND PROVINCIAL DRAMA AFTER SHAKSPERE

Elsewhere I have written of the actors who travelled "softly on the hoof" through the length and breadth of Shakspeare's England,¹ and I propose here to deal with their successors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They make part—perhaps a more important part than is generally understood—of the history of the drama and theatre in a period that is full of life and interest even though the greater glory had departed. To the student of Elizabethan times the ways and means of these "weather-beaten weary travellers"² are significant because the strollers were, and are, the most conservative of all players. They continued the ancient and honorable traditions of the Elizabethans long after the patent theatres, the new scenes out of France, the new comedy of manners, and, finally, the new sentimentalism, had crowded the very memory of the days of the Globe and the Blackfriars and stamped the customs and devices of those great times as subjects for mockery.³ But the later strollers are worthy of study in and for themselves, or at least in the light of their practical contribution to the stage history of their time. To be sure, their predecessors at Stratford-on-Avon who gave Shakspeare his first glimpse of the puppets dallying, came at a more opportune moment; but those who followed made the most of their opportunities. Bright-plumed "birds of passage" were they,⁴ and wheresoever they passed most men were glad of their coming. They left long trails of debt behind them, and played more than one rather scurvy trick upon their hosts, but they brought the old

¹ Cf. *Modern Philology*, XVII, pp. 121, ff.

² See below, n. 92.

³ Illustrative documents and further discussion of this subject appear in the writer's recent book on the theatres from *Shakspeare to Sheridan*.

⁴ See below, n. 123.

plays and the new away from the cramped quarters of London's theatrical monopoly into the furthest corner of the provinces. They kept England merry England still, besides crossing the ocean and establishing the theatre in the colonies—including America.⁵

From start to finish their rewards were poor and their life was a hard one. Elizabethan jibes at the strollers are legion, and later commentators were as uncharitable as ever. In Thomas Nabbes's *Covent Garden*,⁶ a play printed shortly before the closing of the theatres in 1642, there is the usual girding at "the ragged fellows . . . that borrowed the red blanket off my bed to make their mayor a gown," and no detail of their "progress with the anatomy of a sumpter horse, laden with the sweepings of Long Lane in a dead Vacation, and purchased at the exchange of their owne whole wardrobe," is omitted. And Wright's *Historia Histrionica*,⁷ the document which best bridges the gap between the closing of the theatres and early Restoration times, at once re-emphasizes "the ill character of vagrant Players, or, as they are now called, Strolers."

But ill character or no, the generality of men were glad to have the strollers come to town. At Oxford, for instance, the students received them with open arms almost as soon as King Charles had come back to England, and Anthony Wood saw them give sixteen plays, "wherein women acted," in nine days.⁸ And Wood was but one of a multitude of students who had long been waiting for the return of the players. Tradition has it that the career of young Thomas Otway at Christ Church came to an untimely end because the lure of the footlights proved too strong; it is said that he and Elkanah Settle, who was then at Trinity College, "ran away from Oxford together with a company of strolling

⁵ See below, n. 129, and cf. O. S. Coad, *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, XIX, pp. 201, ff.

⁶ Pr. 1638; Bullen's *Nabbes*, I, pp. 8-9.

⁷ Cf. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, XV, p. 430.

⁸ *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. A. Clark, I, p. 405.

players.”⁹ And some of the students of the other great university were scarcely less enthusiastic. According to one authority,¹⁰ Jo Hayns—later the inimitable epiloguist of the King’s Men—“takes his M. A. at Cambridge, which scarce had he performed, when down comes certain strowling Players . . . induce him to become [their] fellow Companion . . . and no sooner proposed but Hayns embraces.” The great Macklin, too, ran away from Trinity College, Dublin, to turn stroller. In short, young gentlemen runaways from school and college to the open road and the stroller’s barn seem to have been plentiful,¹¹ but the strollers won recruits from all classes and professions. The famous Anthony Aston, of whom we shall hear more anon, left the law to “strain forth a comedy” and try his fortune in the provinces; and Richard Estcourt, one of the best of the later Restoration players and author of several good acting plays, “stole from his father’s House with a country company . . . in the fifteenth year of his age.”¹² And so did many of the actors and not a few of the playwrights who won fame in their time. Among the writers who learned something of their business in this way there were, besides Otway and Farquhar, such others as Mrs. Inchbald and Thomas Holcroft, Allan Cunningham, Shield (the composer), Samuel Foote, Tom Davies, and, later, Thomas Dibdin and Sheridan Knowles.¹³ As for the players, there were comparatively few of any con-

⁹ See Cooke’s *Memoirs of Samuel Foote*, II, pp. 137-38; cf. F. C. Brown, *Elkanah Settle*, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Life of Jo Hayns*, London, 1701, p. 4: Doran, *Their Majesties’ Servants*, II, pp. 185-86.

¹¹ Cf. John O’Keeffe’s *Beggar on Horseback* (1785), Act I: *Scout* (to *Horace*)—Sir, I guessed what would come of your last scamper from Oxford. Your uncle has heard of all our frolics.

Horace—The Devil!

Scout—All out, Sir,— your excursion to Abingdon and acting Captain Plume in the barn. . . .

¹² Chetwood, *General History of the Stage*, pp. 87-90, 140.

¹³ Holcroft’s *Memoirs*, I, pp. 246-258; Waldron’s *Miscellany*, London, 1802, p. 47; Cooke, *op. cit.*; Doran, *op. cit.*, II, 382.

sequence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who did not begin their careers in that best of all "nurseries" for great actors, the hard training school of the road. Estcourt, Jo Hayns, and Tom Dogget, Macklin, Quin, Garrick, Mrs. Siddons, Henderson, and Edmund Kean,—all tried themselves in the country before they conquered London.¹⁴ A few there were who, like Colley Cibber, managed to work their way up painfully from the ranks in London, but they also took to the road sooner or later in their careers.

Before considering what they did and how they fared, we must observe that in Post-Restoration times as well as during the Elizabethan period there were greater and lesser strollers. The "great players from the city," duly licensed and sometimes strongly recommended to the kind consideration of the provinces by kings and potentates in London, continued to go on tour when sickness of body, purse, or state, diminished their city audiences too severely. The poorer strollers, unlicensed vagabonds in the eyes of the law, subject to prosecution, impressment, and hunger, and many of them without hope of ever making their bow on "the statelie cittie stages," are the more picturesque and interesting for all their obscurity, and it is they who best illustrate the survival of Elizabethan traditions. But their more opulent brethren from the city in some respects also did much what Shakspeare and the King's Men had done before them, and so they are worthy of a preliminary glance.

In Shakspeare's time and later, players great and little often met with decided opposition from puritanic town councils,¹⁵ but the well established companies under the patronage of the royal family were properly fortified against this sort of thing. They came properly accredited and were able to show the town authorities that they "had the king's hand for playing"; indeed they frequently brought royal orders requesting the provincial authorities to "affourd

¹⁴ Cf. Genest, X, p. 307; Watts, *Theatrical Bristol*, pp. 65, 83; Cibber's *Apology*, ed. Lowe, II, p. 318; Doran, II, pp. 185, 242, 381, etc.

¹⁵ See notes 1, 56, 113, and text.

them your Townehalls" or other convenient quarters, that they might be in "better readiness" for the royal service.¹⁶ At Cambridge between 1592 and 1604, first the university authorities and then the town fathers had objected strenuously because the players had "set vp their bills" on the very gates of the colleges and generally brought about a corruption of manners "in the younger sort." But the players continued to come to Cambridge and Oxford during the last decades before the closing of the theatres—and to play, possibly at the universities themselves, certainly within the town limits, where students could find them without trying too desperately.¹⁷ We have seen how assiduously Anthony Wood worshipped the dramatic muses when the players came to Oxford in 1661, and it is worth while to notice, with Mr. W. J. Lawrence,¹⁸ that when the Duke's Men came from Lincoln's Inn Fields to Oxford eight years later, their Guild Hall performances brought them £1,500, the students pawning "books, blankets, and bedding" to raise the wherewithall to see them. Lawrence has called attention to still other Oxford visits,—by the King's Men in 1674, and by Irish companies in 1667 and 1677, in which year they are said to have netted six or seven hundred pounds.¹⁹ So far as I know, however, two very interesting documents which have a decided bearing upon this matter of the dramatic activity at the universities in Restoration times, have never been noticed at all. They are the more significant because they show that Charles II, like his father and grandfather before him, did what he could for his players when they went on tour, even to the extent of safeguarding them against competition.²⁰ The documents in

¹⁶ See n. 1.

¹⁷ See n. 1. Professor F. S. Boas (*Fortn. Rev.*, August, 1913, and May 1920) holds that the plays were given in the towns but not within the universities. Mr. W. J. Lawrence (*Fortn. Rev.*, August, 1919) takes the contrary view.

¹⁸ *Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, p. 192; cf. Anthony Wood, II, p. 165.

¹⁹ II, p. 195.

²⁰ See n. 3.

question are two letters under date of May 15, and June 5, 1680, respectively, written by Arlington, the Lord Chamberlain, to the Reverend Timothy Haughton, Vice Chancellor of Oxford. They appear in the manuscript records of the Lord Chamberlain for 1680:²¹

[May 15, 1680]

Reverend S^r

His Ma^{tia} Comoedians having obteyned His leave to go and aire themselves in the Country now wee have no need of their Attendance at Court and beleiving no aire better than that of Oxford, having likewise prevailed with His Ma^{tie} to command mee to recomend them to yo^r protection, That they may represent some of their good Playes, for some convenient time before the Universitie: I do heartily do it, assuring myselfe that for the Character and Priviledge they have of being his Ma^{ties} sworne Servants, and for being men of letters, you will be pleased to afford them all the favour that shall be necessary towards their security whilst they are there, which they promise they shall not abuse in any degree. I am with much truth

Reverend S^r,

Yo^r most affectionate and humble Servant

ARLINGTON

[June 5, 1680]

Reverend S^r

I wrote to you on May the 15th recommending to yo^r favour and protection His Ma^{tia}. Comoedians, who haveing since complained to him that there is another Company of the same profession, whose admittance in the Universitie will frustrate them of the proffitt they promised themselves under His Ma^{ties} name, His Ma^{tie} hath comanded mee to lett you know His pleasure that Hee would have his owne Comoedians onely gratified with this favour they needing such an Extraordinary Encouragement to repaire them for some misfortunes lately befallen them, and perswadeing himselfe they can singly afford the university as much divertisement as their vacancie from their studies will admitt off I am

S^r

Y^r most Affectionate humble Servant

ARLINGTON

The Stuarts, it would seem, believed in monopoly even on the high road. Doubtless many companies besides the King's Players came to Oxford none the less, but that company continued to enjoy great prestige and profit there for

²¹ London Public Record Office, L. C. 7/1, f. 9; (cf. n. 3).

many decades to come,—particularly on the occasion of the “public Acts.” These “academical jubilees,” were, according to Colley Cibber,²² “look’d upon as a kind of congratulatory compliment to the Accession of every new Prince to the throne.” Students and visitors crowded in upon the actors on such occasions: two plays a day were the rule, the actors drew double pay, and their managers earned substantial profits.

As for the Stuart family, its own “vacancie” from its studies admitted of sufficient leisure to engage the service of more than one travelling company, particularly when the king or princes were away from London. James I and Charles I had on several occasions employed actors to beguile the *taedium vitae* during a progress of the court,²³ and just so did their two successors. In 1670, for example, Charles II took the Duke’s Men with him to play for the court at Dover,²⁴ and in 1684 he paid a round sum to certain French players “for attending his Majestie at Windsor and Winchester and returning to London.”²⁵ It is reported, further, that the Merry Monarch’s tristful queen once sent for a company of comedians when life at Tunbridge Wells grew too dull to be endured.²⁶ Other royal ladies followed the precedent. Thus we read that in 1728 the Princess Amelia, “attended by the Dutchess of Marlborough . . . and many other Persons of Quality” (including the poet Gay) were “agreeably entertained” at Bath by a company of comedians who played *The Beggar’s Opera* first for them and later in the private houses of other “persons of quality.”²⁷ And at Bath, somewhat later, the Princess of Wales saw Rowe’s *Tamerlane*.²⁸ We must not leave Charles II, however,

²² *Apology*, II, p. 134, n.

²³ Cf. the writer’s article on “The Players at Court,” *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, January, 1920.

²⁴ Downes, *Roscus Anglicanus*, ed. Knight, p. 29.

²⁵ Lawrence, I, p. 151.

²⁶ Cf. *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, 1713 (ed. 1792, p. 259).

²⁷ *The Gloucester Journal*, June 18, 1728.

²⁸ Penley, *The Bath Stage*, pp. 23-26.

without noting that his brother, James II, also encouraged the players to venture forth from London,—even so far north as Edinburgh.

The records of that city are silent as regards dramatic performances from 1633 to 1663, in which year certain royal officials were entertained with a play given by a company of gentlemen, while some professionals were allowed to build a stage for public exhibitions, "they acting no obscene thing."²⁹ By 1668 a professional company under the management of one Thomas Sydserf had more or less established itself in the favor of Edinburgh's lovers of the drama. Its recurring visits, or those of other companies, must have enjoyed at least a fair amount of patronage; else it would be difficult to account for the fact that within five years the crown had appointed a Master of the Revels³⁰ for Scotland. The town council of Edinburgh protested vigorously against this official recognition of plays and players, but to no effect. The King of England and Scotland had slight sympathy with them, and his brother, then Duke of York, showed his position in the matter unequivocally. When he came to hold his court at Edinburgh in 1679 the Duke brought with him a company of players from London, and two years later he and his Duchess welcomed another company from Dublin. At the same time, also, the Princess Anne and other great ladies and gentlemen of the Duke's court staged private performances of their own, with the aid and advice of the professionals. It was well for the latter that the court smiled upon them, for the town authorities maintained their uncompromising opposition to all theatrical activity throughout the reign of Charles II, and it was only the support of the court and nobility that gave the players the necessary encouragement to journey northward from time to time.

In other parts of the country, meanwhile, conditions were somewhat more favorable, though the humble, unlicensed

²⁹ This and the material immediately following is based upon Dibdin's *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*, pp. 26, ff.; cf. also Doran, *op. cit.*, I, 412.

³⁰ Or rather, two joint Masters, Edward and James Fountanes.

strollers were always in danger from the constable and the beadle. For the moment our concern is not with them, but rather with the provincial activities of the stronger companies, who left London only on occasion and for their own purposes. Still, I may note here that from time to time the King appears to have given his hand and seal also to certain harum-scarum travellers, who had no headquarters in London, nor anywhere else, for that matter. It was with just such a company of jolly "rascals" that Jo Hayns is said to have associated himself when he first forsook Cambridge in favor of the itinerant sock and buskin. In singing of their adventures later, he explains that on reaching Greenwich,—

Then up they all march'd to the Sign of the Bull
Where asking for Lodging, says the Folks 'we are full
But we'll see for some for ye,' and so, with that wheedle
Exit the Landlord and Enters the Beadle.
With that the Chief Actor begins for to Bristle,—
'Pish . . . ' quoth he, 'let the Beadle go whistle,
For I can' (and he did too) 'produce strait a Patent
That has the King's Hand, and his seal, and all that in't.'³¹

And so this "rub of fortune" was smoothed out. It will appear presently that the Greenwich Strollers and others of their ilk, did not always fare so well; but we must stop for a moment longer with their more fortunate colleagues of the city. Three points are to be noted in this connection. In the first place, the companies from Drury Lane and Covent Garden continued to go into the country from time to time when for one reason or another conditions in London were unpromising—or less promising than in some of the flourishing towns near the capital. In the *London Daily Courant* of October 4, 1703, for instance, we read that "Her Majesty's Servants of the Theatre Royal, *being returned from the Bath*, will open Drury Lane on the 6th with the Comedy of *Love*

³¹ Hayns's "Lampoon on the Greenwich Strowlers,"—*Covent Garden Drollery*, Malone Collection, Bodley.

Makes a Man," and this is but one of many notices³² which testify to the fact that this fashionable watering place³³ had strong attractions for the metropolitan actors. Secondly, it is worth observing that other towns, preferably, again, those very close to London, were often favored by *week-end visits*. Thus, the *London Journal* of June 20, 1724, hears that "a select Company of Comedians from the Theatre Royal design to perform Saturdays and Mondays at Mr. Penkethman's Theatre in Richmond. They begin on Monday next, with a play of Sir John Vanbrugh's called *The False Friend*, with a Choice Band of Musick, and Entertainments of Dancing." Even more important to the country towns—and more profitable to the actors—were the longer tours often undertaken by star performers from London³⁴ during the summer months, when the city theatres were, as a rule,³⁵ closed. It must be said that some of these summer excursions scarcely paid for themselves. In the late summer of 1779, for example, a company headed by Mr. and Mrs. Lewis of Covent Garden dismissed an audience at Wakefield because "there were but thirty shillings in the house";³⁶ and some twenty-five years earlier John Lee, of Drury Lane and Edinburgh, had lost £500 in a summer's travelling.³⁷ But these cases were exceptional. The Lewises had bad luck at Wakefield, but they were "liberally rewarded" at

³² Others, from *Heracitus Ridens*, August 24-25, 1703, etc., are cited in Smith's *MS. Collection towards an History of the English Stage* (British Museum).

³³ But such towns as Birmingham and Bristol were also on the London actors' visiting list. (See *Shakespeareana*, 10 ser. XI, 30, etc.)

³⁴ Or, later, from Edinburgh and Dublin, when the theatre had become well established there.

³⁵ Genest (IV, p. 616) notes that in 1761 Foote and Murphy in partnership rented Drury Lane from Garrick for the summer season "at a moderate price." Murphy wrote several new pieces, and with Foote acting some of the best of his old parts, the partners had an eminently successful season, "each man clearing over £300."

³⁶ Genest, VI, p. 119.

³⁷ Dibdin, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, ff.

Birmingham, York, and Liverpool; and better known performers won golden rewards as well as opinions wherever their summer tours led them. Thus, Victor³⁸ tells us that Woodward, "having obtained Leave from the managers of Drury Lane" in the summer of 1755, gave nine performances in Dublin and "cleared something more than £200 by the expedition." Garrick likewise earned huge applause and handsome profits at Dublin, though he was less responsive to the lure of the road than most great actors, and refused flattering invitations to play before certain great monarchs of continental Europe.³⁹ Dublin, moreover, opened wide its portals to Mrs. Siddons (who made a thousand pounds there on a summer trip in 1782)—and so did such cities as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Reading, and Bath. Mrs. Siddons, above all the great players of her time, had the will and ability to travel far and fast. "In four days," says Doran,⁴⁰ she "achieved the (then) incredible task of acting in three theatres so wide apart as London, Reading, and Bath." The important thing to note here, however, is not merely that these trips were profitable, but rather that they brought home to the whole country the great actors and the new plays. And we shall see shortly that the provinces saw the new plays, such as they were, almost as soon as did London.

The third and last point to be made concerning the extramural activities of the great players has to do with their appearances at the fairs. Bartholomew Fair, of course, had been a joyously uproarious show-place in Ben Jonson's day, and a document of the year 1641⁴¹ states that in that critical time there were still "more motions in a day to be seene" there "then are in a terme in Westminster Hall to be

³⁸ *History of the Theatres of London and Dublin*, 1761, I, p. 206.

³⁹ The Czarina Catherine offered him 2,000 guineas for four performances. Cf. Doran, *op. cit.*, II, p. 85.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 251.

⁴¹ *Bartholomew Faire, or Variety of Fancies*. (Douce Collection, Bodley). Extracts printed in Henry Morley's *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, pp. 144-147.

heard." Tricksters, hucksters, and puppet-showmen ruled the Fair as Jonson knew it, but later times brought more ambitious entertainers and entertainments. In 1689 Tom Dogget, later Colley Cibber's fellow-patentee at Drury Lane, played at Bartholomew Fair,⁴² and at Bartholomew and Southwark Fairs the best and the worst of the players disported themselves now and again for fifty years to come. Bullock and Penkethman, Anthony Aston, Booth, Quin, the Spillers, Mrs. Cibber and Mrs. Pritchard, Shuter, Yates, Ryan, Mills, Hippisley, and Theophilus Cibber,—these are but a few of the names one meets in the checkered pages that tell the story of the great fairs. Churchill, in *The Rosciad* (1761) laughed at the city comedians in the fair booths. Shuter, he says,

Keeps open house at Southwark Fair
And hopes the friends of humour will be there;
In Smithfield Yates prepares the rival treat
For those who laughter love instead of meat.

But it is not difficult to understand why they chose to play there. During the closing decades of the seventeenth century the younger players of the two patent houses repeatedly tried to get the town to come to their theatres during the summer months,—but, as James Ralph wrote in 1731,⁴³ "at that dead Time of year . . . Business and Diversions in London sink under the weight of a long Vacation. . . . Trade lies dead and Pleasure languishes." At the fair, however, things were different. Town and country flocked thither, and the players were not slow to follow the main chance. Edward Ward, in the *London Spy* of August, 1699,⁴⁴ comments forcefully upon what he saw and heard when he and a friend went to Drury Lane:

We steer'd our Course into Bridges-Street, with intention to see a Play. But when we came to the House found (upon enquiry) that all the Wiser part of the Family of Tom Fools has Translated themselves to Bartholomew

⁴² Cf. T. A. Cook, *Tom Dogget, Deceased*, and Morley, pp. 268, 283.

⁴³ In *The Taste of the Town*, pp. 230-231.

⁴⁴ 2nd ed., pp. 235-36. Cf. Morley, pp. 264, 281 ff., 329.

Fair. After struggling with a long See-Saw, between Pride and Profit; and having Prudently consider'd the weighty difference between the Honourable Title of one of her Majesties Servants and that of a Bartholomew Fair Player, a Vagabond by the Statute, did at last with much difficulty conclude that it was equally Reputable to Play the Fool in the Fair for Fifteen or Twenty Shillings a Day as 'twas to Please Fools in the Play-House at so much per Week. And indeed, I think they make a very commendable Result for I think there's no more distinction between a Queen's-House-Player and a Country Stroler than there is between a Bull-Dog Bred up in Clare-Market and another educated in her Majesties Bear Garden, and he is the most valuable Dog that runs furthest and fairest. . . .

Elkanah Settle, poet laureate, would not have stooped to adapt Drury Lane plays for presentation in the theatrical booths of Bartholomew Fair if his necessities had not forced him to earn his bread as best he might; but he might have taken comfort had he lived till 1722, when Royalty honored Southwark Fair with its presence.⁴⁵ By this time Mayfair had been demolished and "Bartholomew's wings close-clipp'd," according to James Ralph,—but that writer lived to see Southwark Fair equal the glories of its predecessors. He has left a vivid picture of the fair, its visitors, and its stages: "There," he says,⁴⁶

Scepter'd Kings and long-tailed Queens fill the capacious Stage to awe with their tinsel Grandeur the admiring Populace. There Love-sick Heroes and sighing Princesses, too, in friendly Murmurs break the Hearts of amorous Prentices and draw Floods of Tears from good-natur'd Chamber-maids. There the humorous Clowns and cunning sharpers display their Talents of Joke and Trick, till tickell'd Cockneys stretch their Sides with immoderate Laughter. There the Beaus and Belles (who have only breath'd the dusty air of Hide Park all summer) may find themselves lost in the Middle of the Fair, and not discover where they are, or what they have been about, till the Mist is clear'd from their Eyes and the agreeable Vision vanish'd.

Victor⁴⁷ admits that Southwark Fair was "much frequented by persons of all distinctions," but holds that it lasted but

⁴⁵ Cf. T. A. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 13; F. C. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Morley pp. 264, 277. The *Daily Journal* of September 15, 1722, states that "On Thursday their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess, honored with their Presence Southwark Fair."

⁴⁶ *The Taste of the Town*, pp. 230-231.

⁴⁷ II, p. 74.

two weeks. It would seem, however, that this time limit was sometimes exceeded. At all events, certain newspaper advertisements of those days show that the comedians of the fair were sometimes bold enough to keep right on playing after the patent houses had opened. Thus, it is interesting to find side by side (in the *Daily Post* of September 10, 1724) first, an advertisement of Drury Lane Theatre, and then, among others, two which describe the entertainment at "Penkethman's Great Booth, Southwark Fair,—by the Company of Comedians from both Theatres" and at "Lee's and Harper's Great Theatrical Booth,—Comedians from both theatres." Between the strollers come to town, the many novices anxious for a trial, and the steady supply of experienced but disgruntled actors from the patent houses which those troubled days afforded, the fairs found plenty of players. Not infrequently, indeed, the several booths between them boasted as fine an array of talent as any that Old Drury or Covent Garden had to offer. In the summer of 1717, for instance, one booth at Southwark Fair enlisted the services of Bullock, Leigh, and their company, while Penkethman and his elephant, not to mention Quin, Spiller, Mrs. Spiller, Ryan, and others, were drolling it at another.⁴⁸ In 1733, again, there were four great booths, with Hippisley, Lee, Mills, and Theophilus Cibber, respectively, in charge,—and *Alexander the Great*, *Tamerlane*, *Jane Shore*, and other popular plays on the bills.⁴⁹ One does not wonder that those most concerned protested vigorously a couple of years later when Parliament was considering a bill to suppress all theatricals in and about London except the enterprises of the patent houses. At that time a certain Mrs. Lee told Parliament that she had successfully carried on her business at Southwark Fair for thirty years, that her companies had been "the nurseries of the greatest performers, particularly Mrs. Boutell and Mr. Booth, as well as a great number of the players of Drury Lane and Covent Garden," and that she

⁴⁸ Genest, II, pp. 603-604.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 401.

had "erected annually two booths," at a cost for "scenes, decoration, and erection" of £2,000.⁵⁰

Another quotation from James Ralph,⁵¹ whose report of the lively activities at the fairs I have just laid under contribution, will serve to show that the humbler strollers had not risen in public esteem with the coming of the eighteenth century. His kind words for them are few and far between:

To form a true Idea of these itinerant Players and undeceive that Part of the World which may expect mighty Matters from them, I am inclinable to think that most of them were got under Hedges, born in Barns, and brought up in Houses of Correction: nor should they ever dare to shew their faces in any Place but a wooden Booth.

For undoubtedly, the buskin'd Ragamuffins that Thespis first carted about the World, must have been Demi-gods and Heroes, to these Pedlars in Poetry and Gipsies of the Stage.

It is impossible to enter into a regular Criticism either on their Action of Drama; to get thro' such Heaps of Rubbish would require more than Herculean Help: the Confusion of such Nonsensical Scenes cannot be view'd forwards, they will not bear the least Light; nor have they the Merit even of a Witch's Prayer to be read backwards.

The unpleasantest aspect of all this is that Ralph—like Dekker, who had said harsh things of earlier strollers—⁵² was befouling his own nest. But Ralph was nothing if not scurrilous, and the humbler members of his own profession were not the only persons he maligned. We have already seen that he did the strollers something less than justice, but there is no denying the fact that their official status, or rather their lack of official status, left them open to general contempt and often added untold difficulties to a profession already sufficiently precarious in and by itself. The Elizabethan statute⁵³ by which unlicensed players were threatened with branding as "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," was mitigated but slightly or not at all during the next two

⁵⁰ Quoted from Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102.

⁵¹ p. 223.

⁵² See n. 1. Ralph was a second-rate playwright at one time associated with Fielding, and a voluminous pamphleteer.

⁵³ Of the year 1572. (Cf. n. 1.)

centuries. In Queen Anne's time an act of the year 1713 declared anew that "all Fencers, Bear-wards, common players of interludes," etc., were punishable as "rogues and vagabonds," and twenty years later an attempt was made to enforce the act even against popular metropolitan actors who were in revolt against the managers,—this in the capital itself, where by this time the old puritan opposition to the stage and the renewed assault of Jeremy Collier had spent themselves.⁵⁴ Of course, the act was not universally enforced, for the simple reason that most country towns counted on the players to help make life enjoyable. The Country Mayoress, in Fielding's *Pasquin* (1736) bemoans the fact that she "has been confined these twelve months in the country, where we have no entertainment but a set of hideous strollers"; but "the townspeople," says a late eighteenth century writer who graduated from the ranks of the strollers,⁵⁵ "constantly were railing against them, yet are exceedingly unhappy if they fail to return at the appointed time." For a long time, however, certain places were closed to them. In Betterton's day, for example, Newbury and Reading would tolerate no actors,⁵⁶ and so late as 1730 a "Citizen of London" urged in a printed *Letter to the Lord Mayor of London* "how fatal it must be to the Nation if such Places as Norwich, Coventry, Leeds, etc., whose Labour and Industry are so beneficial, should be debauched and corrupted by Stage-Players and their constant Attendants, lewd Strumpets." Let it be noted here that certain other attendants of the strollers continued to travel with them. The recruiting officer and the press-gang had preyed upon them in Shakspeare's time, and "text-bills" had then to be "turned to iron-bills" on more occasions than one.⁵⁷ This old affinity between player and press-gang held good for genera-

⁵⁴ Victor, I, p. 22; Colley Cibber, *Apology*, I, p. 229.

⁵⁵ Holcroft, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 228-31. *Pasquin*, ii, 1.

⁵⁶ Doran, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.

⁵⁷ See n. 1.

tions, and Doran⁵⁸ reports that Edmund Kean, who was a very young stroller when the eighteenth century came to a close, used to good effect his excellent ability as a swimmer,—“particularly when a press-gang was near.”

The strollers had still other difficulties to overcome—of which more anon. It is time to glance at their business organization and methods, and to observe from the outset how closely these approximated those of the Elizabethans. In Shakspeare's time practically the whole business of the theatre,—acting, play-writing, producing, and the general business of management,—was in the hands of the players. In that highly democratic age of the theatre each actor, except the mere beginners or “supers,” drew his remuneration from his share of the daily takings, and as a member of a shareholding company he had a full voice in the election of the officers who looked after the business management.⁵⁹ This was the system of the great London companies as well as of the strollers, and this system, with certain modifications, was kept alive by succeeding strollers for the better part of the next three centuries, though in London itself the theatrical monopoly from the very beginning of the Restoration deprived the actors of their ancient liberties and made them merely the paid employees of managers who enjoyed absolute power by virtue of royal authority. In the provinces, too, the manager became more and more powerful, but the old sharing system held over. It was the established order before the Commonwealth put a virtual end to playing in city and country, and it had come into its own once more in early Restoration times,—for we know from Anthony Aston that Tom Dogget, early in his career, managed a company of sharing strollers, Aston among them.⁶⁰ The anonymous author of the *Memoirs of the Countess of Derby* (1797), describes the situation soon after 1700, when Farren, the

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 381.

⁵⁹ Cf. the writer's article on “The Elizabethan Dramatic Companies,” *P. M. L. A.*, March, 1920.

⁶⁰ Antony Aston's Brief Supplement to Cibber's *Apology*, II, p. 318.

father of the Countess and former actress, was a stroller. "The companies out of London," says the biographer, "were what are called sharing companies, every Performer partaking equally of the profits. There are generally in each of them, including the manager, sixteen persons.⁶¹ The profits are divided into twenty shares, of which the manager, for Scenery, Wardrobe, &c., takes four, and one as a performer; of the remaining Fifteen Shares, each member takes one; and it is to be observed that every Actor takes an equal share, whether he performs first, second, or third-rate parts. Thus Macbeth and the Murderer, Hamlet and the Sentinel, Lear and one of his knights, all take an equal division of the spoils."⁶²

This account of things is confirmed by Thomas Holcroft, author of *The Road to Ruin* (1792), and *A Tale of Mystery* (1802), who began life as an itinerant shoemaker's son and worked his way up from stable boy and strolling player to success as a dramatist. In his *Memoirs*⁶³ Holcroft set down much information that has its bearing upon our study. Thus, he noted—apropos of the company managed by the elder Kemble, Mrs. Siddons's father, about 1765—that

A company of travelling comedians is a small kingdom, of which the manager is the monarch. Their code of laws seems to have existed with few material variations since the days of Shakespeare, who is, with great reason, the god of their idolatry. The person who is rich enough to furnish a wardrobe and scenes, commences manager and has his privileges accordingly . . . four 'dead shares' in payment for the use of his dresses and scenes. . . .

besides the one to which he was "entitled as a performer." The younger Dibdin, a contemporary of Holcroft's, also won his way to London and successful authorship through a stroller's apprenticeship. He began his career with the Dover company in 1789, and it appears that the manager of

⁶¹ I. e., just about as many as the Elizabethan companies carried. (See n. 1.)

⁶² A direct survival from Elizabethan times. (Cf. n. 59.)

⁶³ Ed. Hazlitt, I, pp. 228-33.

that company had even a better bargain of it than most. "The manager," writes Dibdin,⁶⁴

took six portions for his trouble and the use of his scenery and wardrobe, and every other member of the corps took one. The prompter had something additional, and, if any actor had interest or address to procure a night's patronage from any family of rank, he claimed an additional share for what was a very important service.

Genest⁶⁵ states that country actors continued to "play on shares" in the nineteenth century, but it is clear that long before then certain individual players, and sometimes entire companies, were on a salary basis. Holcroft himself,⁶⁶ soon after he became a stroller, had an offer of set wages of a pound a week,—which he foolishly refused, only to fare worse thereafter. Dibdin,⁶⁷ too, mentions a company which enjoyed much popularity in Canterbury, Rochester, Tunbridge Wells, and other Kentish towns in the 1780's, and which, "being on a salary establishment and not a joint-stock concern, ranked considerably above the Dover association." Fixed salaries may have had their advantages, but the strollers who enjoyed them did not necessarily roll in wealth by that token. "*For salary* of my famous Harlequin," Mist, the country impressario in Frederick Reynolds's comedy of *Management* (1799)⁶⁸ paid "only twelve shillings a week and fare of slow waggon." I shall present a little later certain additional figures covering the receipts and earnings of some of the sharing strollers, but the reader will be glad to have me anticipate the evidence here long enough to say that some of them at times had better luck than Mist's harlequin.

Meanwhile, we must not leave the country managers without another word. Towards the close of the eighteenth

⁶⁴ Thomas Dibdin, *Reminiscences*, (1827) I, pp. 80-81.

⁶⁵ I, 8.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 183.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, 91-92.

⁶⁸ Act I.

century, when a number of provincial towns began to boast playhouses of their own, and the players' barn gradually fell out of favor, there arose certain astute managers who controlled entire theatrical circuits of their own. Such an one was Mrs. Baker, the lady who managed the successful Kentish company just referred to and owned the several little theatres in which it played. Perhaps it was she to whom John O'Keeffe referred in his *Beggar on Horseback* (1785),⁶⁹ as "Mrs. Mummery, a great manageress of three or four country playhouses . . . and a special good customer she is!" With substantial provincial managers of this sort the London managers seem to have maintained more or less amiable relations,—at least to the extent of ridding themselves of unseasoned aspirants for fame on the boards by recommending them to the country at large. One of the characters in the play just mentioned⁷⁰ puts it this way:

Waited above half an hour before this King of shreds and patches wou'd condescend to grant me an audience; then, after asking me to favour him with a speech—he stops me before I've got three lines, told me I had a fine voice—was a good figure—therefore, Sir, says he, I'd advise you to go into the country for a few summers—hey—oh—Cumberland or Birmingham, or stay, I'll give you a line to the manager of Coventry.

Some of the earlier country managers who had no playhouses of their own were none the less enterprising and resourceful. There was Booth, for example, with whose company Holcroft⁷¹ strolled for several years. The first thing this manager did when he came to any town, we hear, was to wait on the magistrate, to ask leave for his company to play, or, if this was refused, that he might have the honor of painting his picture. If his scenes and dresses were lying idle, he was the more busy with his pencil: and that tempting bait hung out at the shop-windows, *Likenesses taken in this manner for half a guinea*, seldom failed to fill his pockets while his company were starving.

When the company was acting, this manager—and other managers—got the lion's share of the takings: not merely

⁶⁹ ii, 4.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ I, pp. 255-58.

the four or five "dead shares" but sometimes half a dozen living ones in addition. Anthony Aston's company, Farren's, Kemble's,—in fact most of them—⁷² counted among their players the numerous sons and daughters of their managers, and the head of the family duly collected their shares. Thus it was that in one of the companies in which Holcroft served, "near half the profits" went into the manager's pocket every night. This, says Holcroft,⁷³ was

a continual subject for discontent to the rest of the actors, who are all, to a man, disaffected to the higher powers. They are, however, most of them in debt to the manager, and of course chained to his galley, a circumstance which he does not fail to remind them of, whenever they are refractory.

In justice to the managers, however, it should be said that their task was not an easy one, and that most of them probably earned what they got. Theirs, after all, was the initial outlay; theirs also the difficult problem of preserving order and discipline,⁷⁴ of training their players, and of keeping them together. These problems were difficult of solution in the first place because the strollers were always a more or less happy but irresponsible lot; again, when a country manager had discovered or developed a really first-class performer there was always the theatrical scout from the capital to entice him away,—or, indeed, to call in country actors by the wholesale when the regular city players revolted against their managers: a situation which arose more than once while the patent monopoly held sway in London.⁷⁵ The provincial managers, in short, had their

⁷² Cf. Chetwood, pp. 87-90; *Memoirs of the Countess of Derby*; and next note.

⁷³ I, pp. 228-31.

⁷⁴ "First call, new pantomime," says Mist in Reynolds's *Management*, "and not an actor come to rehearsal" (Act IV). This piece alludes also to the fact that certain players were notoriously fond of strong drink. (For further material, cf. n. 3.)

⁷⁵ When Cibber, Wilks, and others, revolted from Drury Lane in 1709, Christopher Rich, "to compleat his company bethought himself of calling in the most eminent of strollers from all parts of the kingdom." (Cibber's *Apology*, II, p. 77.)

troubles as well as their profits. Before we draw the curtain upon them and their companies we must look into certain additional details of their methods and procedure,—their advertising, their circuits, the plays they used, their costumes and properties, and last, but perhaps not least interesting, the pleasant tricks they played upon their audiences and the world at large when the pinch of adverse circumstances was upon them, and only stout hearts and the indomitable will to keep smiling were between them and absolute destitution.

Students of the Elizabethan theatre will recall the familiar picture of Richard Tarlton in which that great clown is shown merrily beating his drum.⁷⁶ The picture, I take it, either harks back to an early stage in Tarlton's career as a player, or else it shows him burlesquing one of the functions of the young "hireling" actors when he himself had become a public favorite. Certain it is that the Elizabethan players literally and energetically drummed up trade,—sometimes in London itself, but particularly when they travelled into the provinces, whose less sophisticated inhabitants dearly enjoyed the drums and trumpets and such other pomp and circumstance as the players' circus processions afforded when they came to town.⁷⁷ Many an actor then, as Shakspeare put it, "led the drum before the English tragedians"⁷⁸ in order to advertise their wares, and many another did the same thing during the next two centuries. In Shakspeare's time, too, the strollers had supplemented the work of their drummers and trumpeters by sending advance agents ahead "to set vp their bills." This additional publicity work, of course, was likewise continued later on. Miss Farren's biographer⁷⁹ says his say on both these advertising devices as employed in the eighteenth century. With the strollers, he observes, "Prudence compels strictest economy"; hence,

⁷⁶ Cf. Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theater*, p. 374.

⁷⁷ See n. 1.

⁷⁸ *All's Well*, iv, 3, 300.

⁷⁹ *Memoirs of the Countess of Derby*, pp. 12-13.

a very small number of Bills are made to answer the purpose of announcing the intended Representations . . . To make amends for this defect . . . they distribute their Bills by beat of Drum, in order that their arrival and intentions may be known to every inhabitant. A Drum, on this account, always makes a part of the Property of a Country Company.

He adds that "some companies which wish to appear very respectable add at the bottom of their printed Bills, 'N. B., The Company does not use a Drum'," and this statement is supported by other evidence, for it appears that in the year 1751 a company of "His Majesties Servants from the Theatres Royal in London" announced on its arrival at Birmingham that it "hoped the public would excuse the ceremony of the drum as beneath the dignity of a London company."⁸⁰ Other good companies, however, did not consider the ceremony beneath their dignity,—as witness the flourishing strollers in O'Keeffe's *Wild Oats* (1791), who, as one of them remarks,⁸¹ "trumpeted" the fame of their plays and players "ten miles round the country." Trap, the treasurer of this company, personally wrote the playbills, and the chances are that he was none too modest in doing it. James Ralph⁸² gives the following mock extract from the strollers' playbills as he knew them:

This evening *Argentina will represent a particular Fatigue call'd the Hobgoblin; with a Prologue by all the Devils in Hell: a Comedy of that Variety of Incidents, that she personates all Nations upon Earth, with Singing and Dancing in all their different Manners.*

For once Ralph did not shoot far beyond the mark, for one can almost match this effusion by advertisements which may still be read in the newspapers of the period. Anthony Aston, for instance, when he came to London on April 20, 1724, boldly advertised in the papers, side by side with the offerings of the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's Inn Fields, as follows:⁸³

⁸⁰ Cf. Maurice Jonas, *Shakespeare and the Stage*, p. 234, and *Shakespeareana*, 10 Ser., XI, p. 30.

⁸¹ Act II.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

⁸³ *London Daily Post*, April 20, 1724.

TONY ASTON

In Hell, alias the Exchequer Eating-House in the Palace Yard, Westminster. This present Monday the 20th of April, performs his Medley, viz. Lorenzo, Gomez, and Elvira in the Spanish Friar, Saune, Petrushio, and Peg, in the Taming of the Shrew. Belmour, Fondlewife, and Laetitia in the Old Batchelor, Woodcock, Hillaria, and Squib, in the Yeomen of Kent, Roger and Aesop, Sir Toby and Philosophers, in Love's Contrivance. With comical Songs, Prologue and Epilogue. Beginning at seven o'clock.

N. B. We perform on Thursday next at the Three Tuns Tavern in the Borough, all New.

At Bath, again, he humbly gave Notice to "the Quality and Gentry" of certain added attractions, which remind one of the extra forces sometimes carried by the Elizabethan players when they went on tour with "hocus pocus" or Travi-tanto Tudesco, or some other notable trickster:⁸⁴

He hath brought to Town from Wales an admirable Curiosity, Viz. a Mock Voice. . . . He imitates with his Voice Domestic Animals as Cocks, Hens, Ducks, Turkey-Cocks, and Turkey-Hens, Swine, Horses, Dogs, also Ravens, Lap-Wings, Sea-fowl, Sheep, Lambs, Bulls, Cows, Cats, &c: and that too after a Comical Manner, following them through their different Passions: as Surprise, Fear, Anger &c: in their Eating, Walking, Converse, &c. . . . Any Person of Quality, or others, may Command him to their House &c by sending word. . . . Note, Tony Aston's Medley, consisting of select parts of Comedies, new Songs, Prologues, Epilogues &c. Mr. Purcell's and other comical English Dialogues is performed every Monday, Wednesday and Friday . . . beginning at 6 o'clock. Pit 1 s. 6 d. Being new each night.⁸⁵

Doubtless Aston wrote his own bills. In other companies, also, the writing and even the printing of playbills was part of the day's work for one of the regular actors. Thus, in the Dover company with which Dibdin made his début, there was one "little Jerrold," who was "both actor and printer, and prepared fresh play-bills at least every so often, by no means too modest in their announcements."⁸⁶ It is worth noting, in passing, that this multiplication of functions was not an exceptional aspect of the interior economy of

⁸⁴ See n. 1.

⁸⁵ Reproduced from a clipping in Smith's *Collection* (B. M.)

⁸⁶ Dibdin, *Reminiscences*, I, pp. 70, 85.

strolling companies. Their resources, in man power and otherwise, were never very great, and each player in his time had perforce to act many parts. When they had time to prepare, and no accidents, doubling or tripling of parts solved the problem after a fashion; but in emergencies they were sometimes sadly put to it. "I have seen a Play acted in the country by Strollers," says a writer of the year 1748,⁸⁷ "where, from a Scarcity of Players, one of the Dramatis Personae has been oblig'd to act his own Part, and read the other concern'd with him in the same scene." Equally exacting, perhaps, but surely less embarrassing, were the labors of the functionary (appropriately named Stopgap) in one of Reynolds's comedies,⁸⁸ who combined the offices of "Prompter, treasurer, box-book-keeper, and deputy manager,"—but as a matter of fact plenty of actors worked even harder than he. We learn from Dibdin,⁸⁹ once more, that Gardner, the stage manager of the company with which Dibdin first took the road, "played all the heroes, Falstaff, and the violoncello, set accompaniments for the orchestra, taught the singers, and sometimes copied the parts." And Holcroft's *Memoirs*,⁹⁰ provide us with a sketch of the activities of a player whose hours were even more crowded, if possible, than those of Gardner. When Holcroft joined Booth's travelling company in 1774, he engaged to perform all the old men and principal low comedy characters; he was to be *the music*, that is, literally the sole accompaniment to all songs, &c. on his fiddle in the orchestra; he undertook to instruct the younger performers in singing and music, and to write out the different casts or parts in every new comedy.

Finally, he was to furnish the company

with several new pieces never published . . . and for all these services, various and important as they were, he stipulated that he should be entitled to a share and a half of the profits.

⁸⁷ *D-ry L-ne P-yh-se Broke Open*. A Letter to Mr. Garrick, London, 1748, p. 21.

⁸⁸ *Management*, Act I.

⁸⁹ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 108.

⁹⁰ I, pp. 241-42.

These profits, says the editor of the *Memoirs*, "generally amounted to between four and five pounds a night" whenever they played,—“that is, three times a week.” The proposed salary, therefore, “could not have amounted to more than seventeen or eighteen shillings weekly.”

I have already suggested that the strollers’ resources were not limited as regards man power alone. Certainly most of the provincial companies were none too well supplied with those rather essential tools of their trade,—costumes and properties. The Greenwich Strollers, for example, acted in a tumble-down barn, with but a few modern conveniences. As Jo Hayns put it,—⁹¹

I confess *they had never a Scene* at all,
They wanted no copy, they had th’ original,
For the windowes being down, and most part of the roof,
How could they want Scenes, when they had prospect enough?

So, too, the “Prologue for Wandering Players” printed in the 1680 quarto of an obscure play called *Love Lost in the Dark*, or *The Drunken Couple*,⁹² pictures their costumes and other impedimenta as of the thinnest and humblest:

Our habits and our Acting such appears
Like weather-beaten weary Travellers
Who have endured more than may here be told
From Eastern blasts and sharper Northern cold. . .

Yet the strollers were doubtless well aware of the fact that good scenes and costumes counted for much with the play-going public,—and that particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the London theatres made up for the comparative inferiority of their new plays by brilliant acting and by an unheard-of lavishness and splendor in all the fittings and trimmings of their productions. In Spence’s *Anecdotes*⁹³ there appears a “Prologue for the Blandford

⁹¹ See n. 31.

⁹² Malone Collection, Bodley.

⁹³ Ed. 1858, p. 294.

Strollers" in which those gentlemen lament their lack of such equipment:

To aggravate the case we have not one
Of all the new Refinements of the Town.
No moving Statue, no lewd harlequins,
No pasteboard play'rs, no Actors in machines,
No rosin to make lightning; ('twould exhaust us
To buy a Devil and a Doctor Faustus);
No millers, Windmills, Dragons, Conjurers,
To exercise your eyes and spare your ears,
No witches to descend, no stage to rise,—
Scarce *one* for us, the actors. We can set
Nothing before you but mere sense and wit.

We may be reasonably sure, however, that no company of them all would have hesitated to supplement sense and wit with expensive costumes and properties—if it could have afforded to do so. Indeed, if an allusion of O'Keeffe's may be trusted, certain provincial managers emulated Drury Lane and Covent Garden to good effect. "You must know," says Mrs. Mummary, in the second act of *A Beggar on Horseback*, "our gentlefolks down in the country have got mad after camels, birds, horses, musical hares, balloons, and such things; and so in compliance with these new fancies my business . . . in London was to engage the dancing dogs for them." And the lady goes on to say that she has all her stage properties "made in London by Mr. Combes of Covent Garden, a very ingenious man, and I even have my scenes painted by Mr. Hodgins.—Here's a cargo of crowns, scepters, daggers, bowls, and truncheons."

But the earlier strollers rarely enjoyed such opulence. Holcroft,⁹⁴ for instance, tells of an early Scotch company which when it started played nothing but Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*,—and this, he says, "they continued to do for several years, *without either scenery or music*." At first there were no actors except the immediate members of the manager's family, and not until time, marriage, and

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 246-51.

persistence, had brought new actors and some capital into the company did it undertake to enlarge its programs and acquire a supply of stage fittings. Allan Ramsay's good friend Anthony Aston also began his managerial career in a very small way, and he too at first employed only his wife and children to assist him. He prospered in time, and Ramsay reports that in 1727 Aston had "paid out above £200 for fine clothes and other things proper for his business,"—but that was only because he had worked very hard and thus laid up some store of worldly goods. It is pleasant to read, by the way, the excellent character Ramsay gives this stroller of the strollers. "Mr. Aston and his family," he wrote,⁹⁶ "live . . . to my certain knowledge with sobriety, justice and discretion, he pays his debts without being dunn'd, is of a charitable disposition, and avoids the intoxicating bottle." We shall see presently that other writers did not altogether share Ramsay's views as to the sobriety and general trustworthiness of Aston and his comrades of the road. For the moment it is in order to repeat that most of them had but little superfluous equipment. Dr. Doran⁹⁶ tells of an Irish company which, on its arrival at Edinburgh in 1681, managed to get a royal exemption for the duty they would otherwise have had to pay upon "the gold and silver lace of their wardrobe." Most strollers, whatever their troubles, would have had no such embar-

⁹⁶ For the document see Dibdin, *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*, p. 37; cf. Doran, I, 413.—Sometime after this article was completed, Mr. Watson Nicholson's interesting little volume entitled *Anthony Aston, Stroller and Adventurer* (1920), was published. The Aston notices quoted above (cf. notes 83 and 85) do not duplicate Nicholson's, whose chief contribution is a new and interesting document, *A Sketch of the Life &c. of Mr. Anthony Aston*, written by himself and found by Nicholson. The *Sketch*, however, does not mention, and Nicholson seems not to have been aware of, the details of Aston's career in Scotland, nor of his association with Ramsay, for Nicholson writes that beyond Aston's "bald statement . . . in the *Sketch* that Ireland and Scotland were included in his itinerary . . . we know little or nothing of the details of his life for some years following his adventure in London," i. e., roughly, from 1717 to 1735 (Nicholson, pp. 33-34, 36).

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 412.

rassment, for the simple reason that few had any wardrobe to speak of other than that which they carried on their backs.

As regards plays they were much better off. To be sure, not a few companies must have started with a repertory scarcely larger than that of the Scotchmen who played *The Gentle Shepherd* and nothing else for several years. But those who stuck to a few old plays did so because this procedure required little study or scenic equipment, for new plays were neither expensive nor difficult to obtain. To say that no copyright nor acting right was sacred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is to put the case mildly; the fact is that pirating was boldly and openly practiced: was, in short, the established order of the time. So well established it was that so late as 1795 the London managers could win no redress in the courts when they sued certain provincial managers for stealing their plays.⁹⁷ Again, as regards pirated prints of plays, there is an unbroken line of protests from the playwrights—from Thomas Heywood's time and Dryden's through John O'Keeffe's.⁹⁸ Under the circumstances the meanest strollers were almost as free to use the latest London successes as were the great city players when they went on tour. The provinces surely were the gainers, whatever may be thought of the point of equity involved.

This situation, at all events, accounts for the fact that one strolling company brought to Edinburgh *Sir Salomon* or *The Cautious Coxcomb*—one of the very successful productions of the Duke's Men in the London season of 1671—⁹⁹ in less than a year after its first appearance on the boards; and for the same reason both Edinburgh and Bath saw *The Beggar's*

⁹⁷ The younger Colman sued the manager of the Richmond company in 1795, for appropriating O'Keeffe's *Son-in-Law*, but got no satisfaction at all. (O'Keeffe, *Recollections*, II, pp. 312-15.)

⁹⁸ Cf. Neilson and Thorndike, *The Facts about Shakespeare*, pp. 132, ff. Scott-Saintsbury, *Dryden*, V, p. 112; O'Keeffe, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 2, 305-37.

⁹⁹ Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 29; Dibdin, *Annals*, p. 27.

Opera within a few months after its first triumph at Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹⁰⁰ Sometimes such "borrowings" were made even more rapidly, for it is recorded that *Pamela* (a dramatization, of course, of Richardson's novel) was put on at Edinburgh in December, 1741,—one month after Garrick had made his first appearance in that play at Goodman's Fields Theatre in London.¹⁰¹ Ordinarily the provinces had to wait more than a month, but the records show specifically that the strollers brought them the plays of Dryden, Southerne, Rowe, Congreve, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, Addison, Steele, Colley Cibber, and Fielding, as well as the then popular revivals of Elizabethan plays, very soon after London saw them.¹⁰² One of my earlier quotations from Holcroft,¹⁰³ moreover, indicates that certain new plays first saw the light in the strollers' barn or the little country theatres of later days. Frederick Reynolds¹⁰⁴ explains, in a measure, how this came to be: having had one or two of his early plays rejected by the London managers, he was able to find at Bath a company enterprising enough to risk producing them for the sake of the novelty. But slight importance attaches to such provincial first performances "on any stage" of insignificant pieces by young playwrights; on the other hand, if one is to understand the real growth and appeal of the later drama it is essential to bear in mind the fact—scarcely noted hitherto—that the strollers brought to the remotest corner of England practically all the plays that counted in London.

One or two further details and we have done. Reference has been made repeatedly in this paper to the immediate physical background of the provincial drama. The word "barnstorming," be it noted, had a much more literal

¹⁰⁰ Dibdin, *Annals*, p. 42; cf. n. 27.

¹⁰¹ Dibdin, *Annals*, p. 53; Genest, IV, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰² Dibdin, *Annals*, pp. 38-41; Penley, *Bath Stage*, pp. 23-26; Dibdin, *Reminiscences*, I, p. 57.

¹⁰³ Cf. n. 90.

¹⁰⁴ *Life and Times of Frederick Reynolds*, I, pp. 302-05.

significance a hundred years ago than it has now, and for two centuries after Shakspeare most provincial players were true barnstormers in every sense of the word. "The ring-leader of the shew-folks" in O'Keeffe's *Strolling Gentlemen*¹⁰⁵ comes ahead from Andover to find them "a barn to play in," and a substantial farmer hastens to accept a deposit, lest "they should engage the great room at the inn,"—for the inns also, as of old, served the players when no barn was handy. Some of the barns, it may be hoped, were less tumble-down than the one which Jo Hayns described,¹⁰⁶ but even the best of them were dangerous, and not a few accidents occurred. In September, 1727, for example, "a most dismal fire broke out in a barn in which a great number of people were met together to see a puppet-show,"—of whom seventy-eight lost their lives in the fire and subsequent panic.¹⁰⁷ In the year 1576 the town of Bristol had had to appropriate certain funds from its treasury to repair its guildhall door and to make good other damage caused "by the press of people" who had come to see the Lord Chamberlain's Men act before the mayor and council.¹⁰⁸ Some one hundred and fifty years later, according to a newspaper clipping of July 12, 1733,¹⁰⁹ much more serious damage was done when "a company of comedians were performing a Comedy . . . at the County Hall" of Nottingham. This "melancholy accident" was caused by the fact that "the upper Gallery, being much crowded, fell down upon those below," whereby one spectator was killed and many were badly injured. In Leicester as in Nottingham the townhall served as the players' headquarters at least so late as 1736, when "Mr. Herbert's Company of Players" acted there,

¹⁰⁵ *Wild Oats, or The Strolling Gentlemen* (1791), Act. II.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. n. 91.

¹⁰⁷ A servant had set a candle and lantern near a heap of straw in the barn.—I quote from a newspaper clipping—which I have been unable to trace further—in Smith's *Collection*, vol. IV (B. M.).

¹⁰⁸ See n. 1.

¹⁰⁹ In Smith's *Collection*, vol. IV.

after paying five pounds for the use of the poor.¹¹⁰ The ever-ready barn, however, was much more generally used, since it could be had without appeal to the public authorities. Long before the last decade of the eighteenth century, the provincial drama had entered upon a new phase: with the establishment of a number of duly licensed "theatres royal" in certain of the larger towns it had begun to acquire something like a local habitation and a name. But the strollers' barn still held its own. Dibdin¹¹¹ informs us that when his company played at Eastbourne in 1789, "the theatre was formed in a very large barn and adjoining stables."

The story of the long fight for the establishment of duly licensed provincial theatres is not one that can be told in detail here. The facts are set forth in the many books that sketch the history of the drama in such cities as Edinburgh, Bath, Bristol, Leicester, and Norwich;¹¹² and only a few outstanding points can be noted here. It is clear, in the first place, that the efforts of the enterprising showmen who undertook to build playhouses in the provinces, met with threefold difficulties. There was determined opposition from the London patentees, who felt that the extension of the royal license and authority to the country at large would mean a loss of prestige and profit to themselves. Further, there were equally strong objections from certain town councils,—like that of Bristol, for instance, which declared in 1704 that the recognition of the "public stage" would "eclipse the good order and government of the city, corrupt and debauch our youth, and utterly ruin many Apprentices and Servants already . . . Unruly and Licentious . . . and with great difficulty kept under any reasonable order."¹¹³ And these two difficulties were in part responsible for the third,—that of finding the money for playhouse building, a

¹¹⁰ William Kelly, *Notices of the Drama at Leicester*, p. 273.

¹¹¹ *Reminiscences*, I, p. 74.

¹¹² Cf. notes immediately above and following.

¹¹³ Cf. Watts, *Theatrical Bristol*, pp. 17, ff.

problem made more difficult still by the keen competition between rival entrepreneurs and companies.¹¹⁴ Even so, inexpensive "theatrical booths" were built in a number of towns during the first two or three decades after the Restoration, and small playhouses made their appearances soon after 1700, though none was "patented" by the crown for another half century. Thus, the first Bath theatre was built in 1705, at a cost of £1,300,¹¹⁵ while Edinburgh patronized two or three little makeshift houses successively during the next two decades.¹¹⁶ By 1729 Bristol, in spite of its city fathers, had a rather pretentious theatre which is said to have cost £5,400;¹¹⁷ and Leicester opened its first regular playhouse in 1750.¹¹⁸ A few years later the first royal patents for provincial theatres were issued. Bath still disputes with Edinburgh the honor of having been the first to win the king's hand and seal for its stage and players, and, whichever scored first, it is clear that both cities secured patents in the year 1767-1768.¹¹⁹ Liverpool secured its patent three years later, Bristol followed in 1778—and thereafter the gates were thrown open to all the rest.¹²⁰

But while the new temples were rising the strollers still worshipped in their barns, and before we leave them we must observe how they managed their tours and circuits from one to another. The Lord Chamberlain's Men complained in 1592 that their company was very "greate . . . and thereby our chardge intollerable in travellinge the countrie."¹²¹ This item of travelling charges remained a grievous one in later times. Since it frequently happened that company funds were "so low as not to furnish the

¹¹⁴ Cf. Penley, *Bath Stage*, p. 31.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹⁶ Dibdin, *Annals*, pp. 37, ff.

¹¹⁷ Watts, pp. 65-83; *London Weekly Journal*, June 28, 1729.

¹¹⁸ Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-98.

¹¹⁹ Penley, pp. 31-32; Dibdin, *Annals*, pp. 132, 145-48. Doran (II, p. 222) reports that the Edinburgh Theatre Royal cost £7,000.

¹²⁰ Genest, V, p. 338; Watts, pp. 65-83.

¹²¹ Cf. n. 1.

necessary funds for the hire of any kind of vehicle to convey their live and dead stock from town to town," the actors had sometimes to do the next best thing: each player "took a portion of the scenery or wardrobe on his back, and trudged on to where they next intended to establish themselves."¹²² Under the circumstances long trips were, as a rule, quite out of the question. We have already seen that there were exceptions to the rule,—that great players like Garrick and Mrs. Siddons, and especially favored companies such as the King's Men from London, sometimes travelled as far as Edinburgh or Dublin, while Irish companies occasionally returned the compliment. But these were distinctly exceptional cases. So late as 1759, if we may believe Tate Wilkinson,¹²³ "birds of passage from London to Scotland were experiments unknown, for it was judged impossible for a London theatrical sunflower to survive the chillness of such a barbarous northern clime." In the year 1683 no less a company than the King's Men found itself stranded on the road between Edinburgh and London, and had to raise a forced loan of twenty pounds to get home.¹²⁴ Naturally, therefore, they preferred, in general, to limit their travels to such comparatively safe and accessible points as Bath—and the travels of the lesser strollers were, of course, even more circumscribed. They established themselves, accordingly, in reasonably small districts such as that of the Kentish company already mentioned,—whereby they saved travelling expenses, and, by returning frequently to fixed points, built up a clientele that knew them and welcomed their visits. By the middle of the eighteenth century, moreover, the companies who made their headquarters in the several provincial theatres then growing up, made periodical trips to other towns near them, the Bath players, for example, appearing regularly also at Bristol, the Dublin companies,

¹²² *Memoirs of the Countess of Derby*, p. 12.

¹²³ *Memoirs*, II, p. 72.

¹²⁴ Lord Chamberlain's Books, 7/1, f. 10, London Public Record Office. (Cf. n. 3.)

similarly, at Cork and Limerick, and those of Edinburgh, at Glasgow, Newcastle, Scarborough, and other points.¹²⁵ Their visits, of course, varied in length; they stayed from three days to two weeks, and played sometimes every night, sometimes only on alternate evenings.¹²⁶

In this matter of finding their orbit and avoiding collisions with other wandering stars of small magnitude, the humbler strollers again had the worst time of it. Once more, however, their experiences were not the least interesting of all. Chetwood says of Anthony Aston that he

pretended a Right to every Town he entered; and if a Company came to any Place where he exhibited his Compositions, he would use all his Art to evacuate the Place of these Interlopers, as he called them. . . . His general Conditions of Peace were that they should act a Play for his Benefit, that he might leave the Siege and march with his small Troop to some other Place. And as he was a Person of Humour, and of a proper Assurance, he generally, like a Cat, skimm'd off the fat Cream, and left the lean Milk to those that stay'd behind. . . . He is as well known in every Town as the Post Horse that carries the Mail.¹²⁷

Dekker¹²⁸ observed long ago that it was the stroller's lot to "trauel upon ye hard hoof from village to village for chees and buttermilk," and the evidence goes to show that even Anthony Aston did not get more fat than his system could properly assimilate. At any rate, one sympathizes with him and those of his fellows who were clever enough to enrich their diet occasionally. There are, to be sure, stories which ascribe fabulous earnings to certain strollers, particularly to those who brought the drama to India and other colonies.¹²⁹ Again, a Drury Lane play written soon after the close of the

¹²⁵ Penley, p. 40; Genest, X, p. 481; Dibdin, *Annals*, p. 72.

¹²⁶ Dibdin, *Reminiscences*, I, pp. 86, 57; Holcroft, *Memoirs*, I, pp. 241-42. (See n. 90, and text above.)

¹²⁷ *History of the Stage*, pp. 87-90.

¹²⁸ Grosart's *Dekker*, III, p. 81. (Cf. n. 1.)

¹²⁹ An English company is said to have cleared £1,500 at a single benefit in Bengal in 1782, and others are reported to have earned huge sums in Jamaica. (Cf. Chetwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41; *Percy Anecdotes*, XVII, p. 145.)

eighteenth century,¹³⁰ suggests that a stroller might sometimes attain to the solid fortunes of a "squire" or a "bank director." But there were not many such, for the golden showers fell but seldom. Mist's chief stroller, in Reynolds's play,¹³¹ boasts benefit profits of "four pounds over expences," but he was lucky. "The mightiest Kings and Queens we keep in pay," said the Blandford Strollers,¹³² "support their pomp on eighteenpence a day." And even this irreducible minimum was frequently but an ideal to strive for. Since even the King's Men sometimes felt the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, it is small wonder that lesser companies should have found themselves, now and again, confronted with an audience of "three people,"¹³³ or with total receipts such as those which Tate Wilkinson once collected at Maidstone:—"two pieces of candle and eighteenpence."¹³⁴

"The Tunbridge Wells Theatre," writes Doran,¹³⁵ "was of such dimensions that the audience part was in Kent, the stage in Sussex, and between the two ran a ditch, which players in debt found convenient when bailiffs were after them, as they speedily evaded jurisdiction by escaping into another county." One hopes that most of them escaped safely; indeed it is difficult not to take the poor strollers' part when it comes to judging of other tricks charged against them. There is the story of Jo Hayns, for example, who found a way out when, by reason of his company "having but a small stock of plays and those so often acted that no one would come to see 'em," the actors were fallen

¹³⁰ Genest (VIII, p. 595) quotes from *Touchstone, or The World as it Goes*,—

Cropley— Blessy, he be turned Squire.

Probe— Squire! What do you mean? A bank director or a strolling player?

¹³¹ *Management*, Act IV.

¹³² See n. 93.

¹³³ Frederick Reynolds (*Life and Times*, I, p. 97, reports this occurrence as of the year 1780; the audience was "mercifully dismissed."

¹³⁴ Cf. Doran, II, p. 315.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 315.

into a "deplorable condition." On the promise that half the receipts should be his, Jo undertook to get a full and understanding auditory,—by advertising a performance of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, though that play was not in the company's repertory. He did fill the house, and then made good his colleagues' shortcomings by persuading "a great lady in the audience" to object to *The Merry Wives* on the ground that she had seen it too often in London; whereupon the audience agreed to let them substitute their regular performance.¹³⁶ Anthony Aston in his time was publicly charged with "deserting from his Majesty's Company of Stage Players at Bath, with all his Cloaths and Accoutrements, after having receiv'd Advanc'd Money," and then "entering himself among the socks and buskins of Bartholomew Fair,"¹³⁷—but this unsupported charge may well be ignored in view of another episode of Aston's career, for which Chetwood¹³⁸ vouches. It would seem that the good Anthony once found himself something in debt to his landlord, but, instead of paying, managed to raise an additional loan on security of his wardrobe, "which he shewed him in a large Box, ten times the value of the debt owing or the sum borrowed." When the borrower had moved on, the landlord discovered that the box was filled up "with cabbage-stalks, Bricks, and Stone, cloath'd in Rags to prevent moving," but—and herein lies the redeeming grace—we are assured that when Anthony's finances were "cured of the consumption," he honestly paid his debt. Without seeking to multiply anecdotes of this sort, I may venture to illuminate old truth by one modern instance more. Elsewhere¹³⁹ I have recounted how George Peele, good Elizabethan stroller as he was, once attracted a great audience at Bristol by advertising the production of a spectacular new play, and how he then, after making only a preliminary bow to

¹³⁶ *Life of Jo Hayns*, pp. 43-45.

¹³⁷ Smith (*Collection*, vol. IV) quotes to this effect from a lampooning advertisement in *Heracitus Ridens*, August 24, 1703.

¹³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹³⁹ See n. 1.

the audience, disappeared with the takings. The following quotation from James Ralph¹⁴⁰ suggests once more that age cannot wither the pleasant and ingenious devices of the players:—

The Prince of a Tribe of *Dramatick Wanderers* once fix'd the seat of his Empire in the largest barn of one of the Hans-Towns: his vast Equipage of tatter'd Scenes, various Instruments, tarnish'd Tinsel, and empty Band-boxes delighted the Populace, and gave wonder to the Magistrates. After a week's necessary Preparation, he promis'd the City a most entertaining and magnificent Play upon the Story of St. Peter's following our Saviour into Galilee. The Play-Bills gave the Town Hopes of fine Machinery, gay Scenes, and exquisite Musick, surprizing Dancing, and all those additional Ornaments of the Stage which are requir'd to coax a *High-Dutch Audience* into swallowing Wit.

The long-expected Night comes, the House quickly fills, Crowds that could not enter were so unfortunate as to be oblig'd to carry back their Money. Prodigious was the expectation of the happy Mortals within, as great the Vexation of the Wretches excluded. At last, the wish'd for Minute comes, the Curtain flies up, and he who personated our Saviour appears with good St. Peter at his Heels, whom with an Air of Majesty he commands to follow him into Galilee; then quits the Stage . . . and St. Peter follows. From behind the Scenes they immediately convey their Persons with the Treasure of their Wit. . . . The Audience with unspeakable Impatience waited their Return to proceed with the Business of the Stage— but all in Vain—Moment succeeds to Moment; no Tidings, no Appearance . . . to finish the Play. The Audience, enquiring into the Reasons of their Delay, were inform'd that indeed they had taken Post-Horses and were by that time got out of the Territories of the said Town on their way to Galilee.

To some extent, however, it was only a case of the cheaters cheated. "It is a saying amongst us," wrote one of the strollers,¹⁴¹ "that a player's sixpence does not go as far as a town-man's groat; though the latter are continually abusing them . . . they take good care to indemnify themselves, and are no great losers if they get ten shillings in the pound." The strollers' sins, at worst, were venial sins. They brought the drama home to Dutch burghers and English country folk alike, and so they deserved to rest at ease in Zion.

ALWIN THALER

¹⁴⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁴¹ Holcroft, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 228–31.

XIII. SOUTHEY'S LATER RADICALISM

Carlyle tells us in his *Reminiscences* that, when *Wat Tyler* made its unlucky appearance in 1817, he with other radicals "cackled and triumphed" over Southey "as over a slashed and well-slain foe to us and mankind." A few years later, however, he read *Joan of Arc*, *Thalaba*, and *The Curse of Kehama* with kindlier feeling, thought them "full of soft pity, like the wailings of a mother, yet with a clang of chivalrous valor finely audible too." From that time on he watched for Southey's writings, especially his *Quarterly* articles, as for things of value; "in spite of my Radicalism, I found very much in these Toryisms which was greatly according to my heart; things rare and worthy, at once pious and true, which were always welcome to me."

What was there in Southey's Toryism which Carlyle, calling himself a radical, could thus approve? The answer to this question is possibly not without interest to the curious. Southey was throughout his life keenly interested in observing the facts of human living, and in speculating upon their causes and the means of controlling them. This interest in what we should call economics and sociology was, of course, stimulated by his early reading of such writers as Rousseau, Adam Smith, Godwin, Brissot de Warville, and others. and it showed itself in his ardor for pantisocracy and revolution. Yet that ardor was but the youthful flare of an interest which he carried over into his maturity, into his copious erudition, and especially into his acquaintance and extensive correspondence with such varied persons as his old schoolmate Wynn of the House of Commons, Rickman the statistician and census-taker, the reformer Robert Owen, and Andrew Bell the educator. Opportunity for the expression of such interest, finally, came to Southey in the necessity he was under during forty years of writing for the reviews, first the *Critical*, the *Annual*, and the *Edinburgh Annual*

Register, and then from 1809 to 1839 the *Quarterly*. Out of his contributions to these publications might be compiled a work in several volumes giving a fairly complete social as well as literary history of the English people. Beginning with the reign of Henry VIII, it would include a full discussion of the revolution in France and of contemporary changes in England together with chapters on Ireland, foreign parts of the British Empire, and the United States. The immediate purpose of these writings was to oppose political change at home, but the larger purpose was to enforce a point of view toward the problems of English society, a social philosophy admittedly and radically opposed to that which prevailed at the time. This broader aspect of his thought Southey had so much at heart that he attempted to give it permanent literary form in his *Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society* in 1829, and in 1832 republished from the reviews certain of his more important statements as *Essays Moral and Political*. The impression made on the public by this enormous body of able, learned, earnest writing on important matters is melancholy to reflect upon. In what Southey said Carlyle saw piety, sympathy, and a measure of truth, but Macaulay was nearer to the common notion in dismissing most of it as preposterous and the man himself as one too often ruled by the feeling "I do well to be angry." Carlyle could be angry too, but the anger of Southey, a thin, shrill man, though no less hot, was far less impressive, not titanic but almost feminine. What in Carlyle, therefore, was a kind of strength was in Southey a fault of temper which helped to earn for him a reputation which neither his character nor his opinions wholly deserved.

The structure of Southey's thought on society and the state had become clear by 1797, and remained simple and consistent. Consequently his opinions, reiterated often in almost identical phrases and developed with great particularity, can fairly be considered briefly as a whole. Their basis will be most easily understood if we remember that in 1793 Southey "read and almost worshipped" Godwin's

Political Justice and that the theory of that book has two distinct aspects. Godwin advances a conception of individual motive and will which he calls the doctrine of "necessity." By this notion Southey seems never to have been as deeply impressed as Coleridge was, and like others soon dismissed it as contrary to common sense and common charity. Godwin's theory as to the nature or content of individual purpose in society had a more lasting influence upon him. This notion was that the rational being acts, not as was commonly supposed, in accordance with self-interest, but in the interest of society. Welfare, Godwin argued, did not flow from undisturbed self-seeking, but from individual endeavor to find and to satisfy social rather than immediate personal need. That man did not best serve the general interest who pursued his own, but he most surely secured his own who forgot it in the interest of others. These considerations led Godwin to his striking definition of the rights of property, anticipating most of the concepts of nineteenth century social radicalism. In this he lays down the principle that the claim rising from need to the use and possession of anything takes precedence first over the right to property derived from conquest or legal title, and then over the right of the workman to the whole produce of his labor. The satisfaction of need, according to Godwin, was the paramount duty of all society, and to the possibility of satisfying need in the broadest sense of the word no limit whatever existed except such as men, by not willing to remove, permitted to continue.

This conception of the abstract relation of property to need was, as the author said, the keystone of *Political Justice*. It is in his book much weakened and made ridiculous by Godwin's many extravagances and eccentricities of illustration and application. To these Southey gave small heed, but to the fundamental idea of the infinite possibilities of human progress through direct human effort and the subordination of private to public interest, in a word, to the idea of the perfectibility of man and society through joint endeavor,

Southey brought an abiding faith religious in its intensity. In the midst of his Jacobinism, consequently, he was still a reformer; in the midst of his Toryism he was still a good deal of a radical. The result is that, considering the time in which he lived, he generally appears, like Godwin himself, to be arguing up the wind. Such a man, at any rate after the Napoleonic debacle of revolution in France, could have small hope of the political reforms then being urged upon England. He could have only abhorrence for the whole doctrine of *laissez faire*, assuming, as it did, that the law of nature required each man to look out for himself and the hindmost to take the consequences with pious resignation. Such a man, finally, was necessarily in disagreement with the later radical theories of the class struggle and the ultimate ascendancy of the proletariat. Southey, therefore, was quite naturally driven into becoming a Tory, but a Tory with this difference, that in the possibility of persuading the powerful to use their power immediately and directly for the satisfaction of need, for the relief and amelioration of the people, he saw the only hope of progress, or even of safety, for England.

It has often enough been recalled that Southey wrote foolish verses for George III and his son; let it also be recorded that the Tory laureate urged the ministers of the Georges to attack those evil consequences of the industrial revolution for which even democracies have not yet found a complete remedy. "I have pleaded," he wrote in 1832, "against the growing errors of the times; not more earnestly opposing evil designs, and perilous experiments upon our social system, than urging those efficient measures, and those only real and radical reforms, by which it can be supported." This position he first stated fully in two articles on the state of the poor written for the *Quarterly* in 1809 and 1816. In these and subsequent utterances Southey argued that the great economic changes then taking place were having social results which must be met by changes equally great in social policy. He admitted that the age was one of vastly

increasing activity, enterprise, and power, but it was also one of increasing private greed, loose principle, ignorance, vice, poverty, wretchedness, and political insecurity. The essay of 1816 discussed in particular the state of the agricultural population. It pointed out that enclosures, new methods of cultivation, consolidation of farms, had made of agriculture merely "a branch of great commercial speculation" with a resulting gain to landowners and a loss to the people. The notion of the economists that the greatest benefactor of the species was the man who made two blades of grass grow where but one grew before was false. To be sure hedgerows had been straightened, furrows lengthened, fields made handsomer, corn more and weeds less abundant, pork and mutton fatter, beeves better bred, but men had at the same time been made immeasurably worse and poorer. The agricultural worker was no longer an independent human being but a day laborer, no longer a happy peasant but a pauper. He was being driven away from the homes of his fathers to the great manufacturing towns where, old habits and associations broken, he rapidly degenerated.

In the manufacturing system Southey recognized great possibilities of usefulness, but for the use which had been made of it he had only condemnation. Through the employment of women and children, through the mechanical nature of the work, through long hours, poor and uncertain pay, and the conditions of life in factory towns, it served to brutalize the poor. They became the victims of the vicious circle of speculative trade—of the fatal round of selfish competition in the exploitation of foreign markets, of the resultant feverish activity and factitious prosperity, of overproduction, and then of deflation, unemployment, poverty, and disaffection. Such conditions, he argues, were not inconsistent with the increase of gross wealth, but the difficulty was that the manufacturing system tended to collect rather than to diffuse wealth. "Where wealth is successfully employed in the speculations of trade," he says in the *Colloquies*, "its increase is in proportion to its amount;

great capitalists become like pikes in a fishpond, who devour the weaker fish; and it is but too certain that the poverty of one part of the people seems to increase in the same ratio as the riches of another."

Hence comes the insecurity of England. Governments, he repeats, founded upon manufactures sleep upon gunpowder. The manufacturing poor, removed from the stabilizing influence of local attachments, exacerbated by their monotonous mechanical occupation, not being machines, may become brutes, miserable, ignorant, discontented, angry, dangerous. Selfish interests promote the danger. From their cheerless kennels the poor turn to the warm refuge of the pothouse, and there the demagogue and the cheap newspaper feed upon the disaffection they foment. Ignorance, which it is folly to suppose a protection to society, makes the poor greedy to believe that a corrupt government regards them as slaves, that "they are a flogged nation, and flogging is only fit for beasts, and beasts they are, and like beasts they deserve to be treated, if they submit patiently to such wrongs and insults;—these are the topics which are received in the pot-house, and discussed over the loom and the lathe: men already profligate and unprincipled, needy because they are dissolute, and dissolute because they are needy, swallow these things when they are getting drunk, and chew the cud upon them when sober."

With the theory that such conditions are an unavoidable incident to the working out of natural economic law, Southey has no patience. The manufacturing system increases revenue and decreases well-being; the business of the state should be to use revenue to augment well-being. A false view of human nature had been suggested by Adam Smith. Englishmen had come to assume, Southey says in 1828, that their prosperity rested upon cotton, that human beings were born to manufacture it and to wear it, that man was a manufacturing animal, and that children were created to feed power-looms. So fourteen years earlier he had asserted that Adam Smith estimated the importance of man, not by

the goodness or knowledge he possessed, not by his virtues, his duties, his capacities for happiness, the infinite possibilities of his nature, but by the gain, the "quantum of lucre," which could be extracted from him. "This philosophy, indeed, deals with him as Diogenes did with the cock, in derision of Plato's definition: pluck the wings of his intellect, strip him of the down and plumage of his virtues, and behold in the brute, denuded, pitiable animal, the man of the manufacturing system."

Upon Malthus, of course, the full weight of Southey's wrath more than once descends. There are minds, he says, that delight in garbage, and Malthus's is one of them. The latter's theory of the relation of food to population was an old and obvious truth, but whatever in his statement of it was true was not applicable so long as the earth was not fully populated, and whatever was applicable was not true. An enlightened people would of course practice continence, but if people were not enlightened, if more people existed than could be fed, the fault was not in nature but in the policy of governments. The folly, the ignorance, the errors, the wickedness of men were not to be attributed to an evil god or to a necessity more powerful than a good one. Malthus had said that nature, having provided only so many covers to her feast, superfluous and uninvited guests had better stay away or not complain at going hungry. What, asks Southey, if the uninvited guests should thrust themselves in, saying "you have had your turn at the table long enough, gentlemen, and if those who have no places are to starve, we will have a scramble for it at least." Nor will it suffice, he declares, to adopt, in place of the poor laws, a statute requiring the clergy to preach admonitory sermons at weddings on the virtues of continence and the wickedness of begetting children which nature can so easily replace that the state has no interest in feeding them. A legislature which should pass such an act, he asserts, would be torn in pieces by the mob and deserve it. Far other is the true policy of governments, "not to prevent their subjects from

multiplying, but to provide uses and employments for them as fast as they multiply. If in any country they increase faster than means, not merely for their existence, but for their well-being are provided, in that country there is a defect of policy; the error is in human institutions, not in the unerring laws of nature; in man, not in his Maker."

This is the constant burden of Southey's criticism, but he does not therefore agree to the demands of political radicals. On the contrary he argues that such changes as parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation will do more harm than good. His early enthusiasm for the French Revolution, he declares, was based not so much on faith in the rights of man as in the hope "of rapid improvement and indefinite progression," an enthusiasm quenched when he saw that the political power of an ignorant populace was made the instrument, not of progress, but of tyranny. The prosperity of the United States, he maintains, was not due to the form of government but to conditions of life in a new and rich country where an unparalleled demand for labor existed among a sparse population. European countries were wholly different. Among them extension of the franchise would merely give votes to a people being daily rendered more unfit to use them wisely for their own good. Their power would be manipulated, not for the purpose of making the poor wiser, better, or richer, but for making the existing rich poorer. On the ruins of France had risen, not a more enlightened people, but Napoleon. On the ruins of English society would arise a rule of demagogues and in Ireland, at least, of priests. But the ruin would come first. The *vox dei* might be in the *vox populi*, but only in the sense that God was in the earthquake and the storm. And the storm past, the old problems would remain. The condition of the English people was not due to the form of English government, which, though parliamentary representation might be improved, was on the whole a fortunate compromise of differing interests. That government would only be weakened by sweeping political change. At the end of the

eighteenth century, Southey notes, only the educated classes had produced Jacobins; the poor rioted for church and king. If Jacobinism had now infected the lower classes, it was because economic and social change, accelerated by war, had rendered them easy prey for the political agitator. The remedy lay in better not in changed government, in laws that would improve the state of men's lives. To one such agitator, therefore, Southey declared that "the condition of the populace, physical, moral, and intellectual, must be improved, or a *Jacquerie*, a *bellum servile* will be the result. It is the people at this time who stand in need of reformation, not the government."

Now this position, that happiness, though its basis be social and economic, can best be promoted by change in the hearts rather than in the governments of men, is in some ways obviously the most extremely radical that can be taken. In taking it, therefore, Southey became, not the usual sort of reactionary nor the recalcitrant renegade, but one who went in one direction at any rate so far beyond the radicals of his day that he seemed to merge with the Tories. He says himself that he kept his face toward the sun as it moved. Macaulay says that he travelled to the antipodes and never saw the day. We may say that he swung so far to the left as to seem finally to stand upon the extreme right. There, however, he finds that, if the hearts of men are to be changed, someone must begin trying to change them, and persuasion, he concludes like Godwin, can bring about conversion. He concludes also, and perhaps not unreasonably, that those most amenable to persuasion are not the weak who desire power but the strong who already possess it. Having thus in a sense boxed the political compass, he proposes to the rich and the rulers of England that, from being pikes in the fishpond, they become saviors and evangelists to the little fish, that to the woes of society they apply a species of revolution as a remedy.

Those "real and radical reforms" which Southey urged naturally show less consistency and penetration than do his

criticisms of existing conditions. At times his suggestions point toward decentralization of society and industry in small communal units reminiscent of Godwin and pantisocracy but with less extravagance of theory. He was, therefore, deeply interested in the ideas and enterprises of Robert Owen. He saw in them nothing inherently impracticable. Their ill success he attributed to insufficient funds, and that lack to Owen's regrettable infidelity or at any rate to the latter's failure to enlist the support of some form of religious enthusiasm—even Unitarianism or Swedenborgianism might have served. In Owen himself Southey saw such a pantisocrat as he himself had been; if they had met in 1796 instead of in 1816, the meeting, he thought, might have been important for both. As it was, these were but occasional harkings back to Utopia, and he had to content himself for the most part with urging leadership in altruism upon the ruling classes in the form of a highly centralized paternalism. Government, he told them, should be not merely a police power, but a social agency of unlimited scope. The war had shown the possibility of borrowing on the public credit. Let the state borrow now for purposes of welfare as it had done for those of war. This would prevent the evils that might attend the too rapid liquidation of the national debt and encourage thrift. Savings banks would assist toward the same ends. Money thus raised—and the state, unlike individuals, could never have too much—should be used at once for great public works such as harbors, roads, and the reclamation of lands. The poor would thus be given employment; wages would take the place of poor relief; the general prosperity would be increased. A far more important duty, however, was the extension of the national church in order that the people might be brought up in the way they should go. The clergy should be increased and strengthened, new chapels built, and, taking a leaf from the book of the Romanists and the Wesleyans, ministers of the established religion should carry the gospel to the poor in mines and factories. In

close alliance with the church should go universal popular education, the immediate carrying out of which Southey somewhat innocently thought had been rendered feasible, if not inexpensive, by the system of mutual tuition devised by the Rev. Andrew Bell. Finally Britain should "cast her swarms," become the mother of a family of free nations within the empire, open up colonial lands, direct and encourage emigration.

These are Southey's larger proposals, but he was prolific in more specific suggestions as well. There should be economy in the administration of government, but public servants, especially in the lower ranks, should be adequately paid and made to feel secure in their positions. The army and navy, impressment abolished, should be recruited through schools for training common soldiers and sailors, increased pay in the service, rewards of merit, retiring allowances and pensions. Other proposals have more of the odd and amusing in them. Beguinages or protestant nunneries should be established to provide for indigent but respectable females. A system of elevated foot-paths should be built up and down the land in order that pedestrians may go dry and safe from the highway. Far less engaging is the shrill insistence that the popular press should be curbed, agitators put down, public-houses strictly limited and regulated, the Catholic church held in fear and abhorrence. Here we encounter that temper in Southey which could madly expect to exterminate Byron with a laureate's preface.

It would be idle now to expatiate upon these pleas for a kind of Anglican and Tory socialism. Certain conclusions are, however, clear. The radicalism of the youthful Southey had been in part the boyish expectation of Utopia through political revolution. The radicalism of the later Southey was the belief that progress depended on the state of men's hearts and minds, and that it could and should be brought about by the leaders and rulers of England. In the wisdom of the common people he had never had anything but the most

theoretical kind of faith; even his early epics turned upon the deliverance of the people at the hands of some "missioned" maid or hero whose power was for the people but of God. In the need of the people, however, and in the duty of serving that need, he believed with religious passion, and, be it said, with fanatic bad temper. Yet whatever in our conception of him derives from Byron or Macaulay has in it a large element of error. This is not the place at which to discuss either the man's weaknesses or his general reputation and influence, but it may be noted in conclusion that his true strength was perceived by Carlyle. The latter had approved, for reasons that should now be plain, of the writings which have here been discussed. He was, moreover, gratified in his surly way by the older man's warm commendation of his *French Revolution*. Both appear to have recognized that, in spite of wide difference in personal circumstances, each had the same faith at heart. Our last significant glimpse of Southey, therefore, quite appropriately comes from Carlyle. They sat together on a sofa in Henry Taylor's parlor, talking of the state of England. "It will not and it can not come to good," exclaimed Southey, and Carlyle perfectly assented.

WILLIAM HALLER

XIV. POETRY, PROSE, AND RHYTHM

The following study represents an attempt to determine the fundamental difference between poetry and prose and the relation of simple rhythm, or metre, to poetry. The reader should bear in mind that in all branches of science and art distinctions and classifications hold good, as a rule, only in a broad and general way; there are always border-line phenomena that defy classification. For example, we make a general distinction between animal and plant life, and yet of some of the lower forms of life it is difficult to say whether they belong in the one class or in the other. Or again, it is no uncommon thing to hear chemists and physicists dispute regarding the provinces of their respective sciences. And again, rhythm and melody seem to us to be very different things, and yet at bottom they are both rhythm, because differences in pitch depend upon differences in frequency of vibration, and in any melody these vibration frequencies stand in a rhythmical relation to each other. The farther we penetrate into any subject, the more difficult does exact classification become. And so our distinction between poetry and prose must be taken in a rather broad and general way. There are pieces of prose which seem to be highly poetic in nature, and there are poems in which the writer seems to have encroached upon the province of prose. Be this as it may, I believe we can at least say that in this direction lies the field of poetry, in that the field of prose. With this general reservation, then, let us ask the question: What is the essential difference between poetry and prose?

Numerous attempts have been made to determine this difference. Most commonly the answer to the question has been that poetry represents an appeal to the emotions, prose to the reason. Let us glance at a few typical definitions of poetry:

Theodore Watts says: "Absolute poetry is the concrete

and artistic expression of the human mind in emotional and rhythmical language."

C. M. Gayley: "Poetry may be defined as the imaginative and emotive expression or suggestion of that which has significance in the . . . metrical medium of language appropriate to the subject."

Coleridge: "The common essence of all the forms of poetry consists in the excitement of emotion for the immediate purpose of pleasure through the medium of beauty; herein contradistinguishing poetry from science, the immediate object and primary purpose of which is truth and possible utility."

R. M. Alden: "Poetry is the art of representing human experiences, in so far as they are of lasting or universal interest, in metrical language, usually with chief reference to the emotions and by means of the imagination"; and commenting on his phrase, "with chief reference to the emotions," Professor Alden continues: "Here the emotions are in contrast with the reason. Prose literature ordinarily makes its primary appeal to the reason, adding the materials of intelligent thinking one to the other, with clearness and coherence as its essential qualities. The poet on the other hand, although he too may appeal to the intelligence of his reader, seeks his point of contact with some possible emotion which will correspond with the emotion dominating his own theme. . . . A great poem is marked by the presentation of a great idea. Yet its characteristic quality will nevertheless be the fusion of this idea with an utterance of joy, sorrow, love, pity, or fear, by means of which it will find lodgment in the reader's mind, fused there also with the corresponding emotion."

The untenableness of this distinction, however, has been clearly pointed out by Professor F. N. Scott,¹ who maintains that "taking English prose in bulk and setting it over against

¹ "The Most Fundamental Differentia of Poetry and Prose," *P.M.L.A.* XIX. 250 ff.

English verse in bulk, it is not so easy as one might think, to say which of the two displays more joy, more wrath, more passion." To be sure the critics do not distinguish carefully between scientific prose and literary prose, or prose fiction. Alden seems to be contrasting scientific treatises with poetry, whereas Scott evidently has in mind prose fiction, when he attributes as much emotion to it as to poetry. The difference between the two classes of prose will be referred to later. Instead of drawing the distinction between the two forms of expression along the lines of emotion and reason, Professor Scott suggests that "poetry is communication in language for expression's sake; prose is expression in language for communication's sake," an idea which, he says, was suggested to him by John Stuart Mill's statement that "eloquence is heard, poetry is overheard." If the desire for self-expression predominates, the type is that of poetry. As Shelley says: "A poet is a nightingale who sits in darkness and sings to cheer its own solitude with sweet sounds." And Mrs. Browning:

What the poet writes,
He writes; mankind accepts it if it suits.

As to the relation of rhythm to poetry and prose, Professor Scott holds that in self-expression "the individual is busy primarily with his own thoughts and feelings. His mind is self-centered. . . . Under such circumstances it is possible for the rhythm to be shaped by purely physiological or psychological causes." But communicative utterance "arises, as in the cry for help, from the urgent necessities of a practical situation. It adapts itself to these necessities. . . . Its rhythm is determined by the auditor's response." I believe that Scott's distinction between poetry and prose is a correct one and it is not my purpose to try to disprove it. I should like, however, to look at the problem not from the point of view of the purpose of the poet or the prose writer, but rather from the point of view of *two different mental processes* involved in these two types of literary composition.

Furthermore, it seems to me that the simple rhythm of poetry is due not so much to the fact that the individual is busy with his own thoughts and feelings, as to the fact that his thoughts are not in the nature of problems which call for the forming of explicit judgments. And, again, the irregularity of the rhythm of prose is due not so much to the delay incident to the gaining of a response, as to the mental process of reflective thought and of forming judgments.

Our understanding of the whole problem can perhaps be somewhat deepened and clarified if we examine it from a slightly different angle. The difference between poetry and prose rests, I believe, upon a difference in the nature of two mental processes: in poetry the intellectual content is furnished by the process of *direct apprehension*, or *immediate understanding*; in prose it is furnished largely by *indirect comprehension*, or *judgment and reflective thought*. To be sure, this does not constitute a complete definition of poetry and prose, but it is, I believe, the basic distinction between them, and from it can be derived the essential characteristics of each. From this point of view, rhythm will also appear in its proper relation to poetry and prose, if we examine it in the light of psychology, for we shall see that any series of impressions or of nerve and muscle reactions will irresistibly take a rhythmic form, except when interfered with by the conscious effort that is involved in the process of indirect comprehension. And lastly, the element of emotion can be assigned to its proper place, when we recall that the difference in the effects produced by the two types of literature is a matter of two different phases of esthetic feeling, rather than one of the presence and absence of emotion. The discussion falls under three heads: first, apprehension and comprehension; second, the relation of rhythm to poetry; and third, emotion and esthetic feeling.

I

Psychologists tell us that there are two ways of grasping meaning, the direct and the indirect. Familiar objects,

such as books, chairs, etc., we *apprehend*, or understand immediately upon perception; the meaning is directly apparent in the perception, or at least it follows so quickly that we are not conscious of forming a judgment; we accept it unconsciously and without question. Simple, immediate apprehension may result also without sensational perception by mere intellectual attention to an experience in memory or in imagination. On the other hand, there are objects and situations in which the meaning is not directly apparent, does not coincide with the act of perception, but must be *indirectly comprehended*. In such cases, we stop and search for the meaning; we are confronted by a problem; we assume a questioning attitude toward the matter; suggestions are aroused; we test the correctness of each suggestion and accept it or reject it. In this way we form an *explicit judgment*. And if the process involves the conscious drawing of an inference from our abstract and generalized knowledge, we call it *reasoning*, or *reflective thought*. Comprehension involves division of attention between two mental contents; apprehension represents singleness of attention. This is a fundamental point of difference.

If we examine poetry and prose in the light of these two mental processes, we shall find that apprehension is the method of poetry, comprehension the method of prose. To be sure, prose contains a certain amount of apprehension, but in the main this holds true. And no distinction need be made in either case between writer and reader; both the poet and the prose writer express themselves just as their minds naturally worked, and the reader receives the ideas by the same process. Let us illustrate by concrete examples. I take first a piece of scientific prose. The following is a part of the first paragraph of James's *Psychology*:

Psychology is the Science of Mental Life, both of its phenomena and their conditions. The phenomena are such things as we call feelings, desires, cognitions . . . and, superficially considered, their variety and complexity is such as to leave a chaotic impression on the observer. The most natural and consequently the earliest way of unifying the material

was, first, to classify it as well as might be, and secondly, to affiliate the diverse mental modes thus found, upon a simple entity, the personal Soul, of which they are taken to be so many facultative manifestations.

Here the questioning attitude can be detected immediately; the author is constantly confronted by a complex set of facts; he is constantly putting problems to himself: Is Psychology a science? Is it a science of mental life? Does it include more than the phenomena? Does it include also the conditions? What are the phenomena? Are they simple or varied and complex? Have we a clear or chaotic impression of them, etc. Every statement, practically every phrase, represents an explicit judgment reached after a process of questioning. To be sure, the judgments may have been formed very rapidly, and some of them almost unconsciously, because of the author's familiarity with the subject, but his mental attitude was undoubtedly one of questioning, weighing, deciding; he was careful to make accurate statements, the correctness of which could not be satisfactorily challenged.

Contrast with this a stanza from Shelley's *The Cloud*:

I wield the flail of the lashing hail,
And whiten the green plains under;
And then again I dissolve in rain;
And laugh as I pass in thunder.

There is here no questioning attitude, no forming of judgments. For the poet, the hail *is* a lashing flail, and the cloud *laughs*. He *apprehends* these pictures directly, vividly, and assumes that everyone else does the same. He does not question and test the correctness of his statements; he anticipates no challenge of their truth. In poetry, then, there is no attempt to convince. But, on the other hand, poetry is more than mere self-expression; it represents also a desire on the part of the poet to make others, kindred souls, appreciate vividly and with pleasure facts which they already know, or which they accept immediately and without questioning.

Looked at from this point of view, many of the catchwords of literary criticism may appear in a somewhat new light. We speak of the poet's intuition, or vision, or inspiration; we say that he lives in intimate contact with nature and with human experience. These are all merely different ways of saying that he grasps meaning immediately, concretely, vividly, without weighing suggestions and forming explicit judgments before making his statements. This does not mean, however, that the poet's apprehension and expression are devoid of suggestions; on the contrary, suggestion constitutes, as we all know, one of the chief characteristics of poetry; but such suggestions are not the kind that demand to be weighed and accepted or rejected; they are merely associated ideas of varying degrees of unusualness, which are called up by the original perception, and they add richness to it without causing any delay in the mental process.

Again, poetry is said to be concrete, prose abstract. This accords with our division of the two types, because in perception through sensation, as also in memory and imagination (and these are the province of poetry), we are always dealing with concrete objects and experiences, whereas abstraction and generalization are the result of judgment and reason. Hence it is that the language of poetry consists chiefly of figures of speech, such as the simile, metaphor, personification, metonymy, synecdoche, etc., for these all make for concreteness and immediate apprehension. The purpose of the devices of poetic diction is to stimulate the attention and thereby suppress the functioning of the reason. With our mind's eye we must see the picture so vividly that no questioning as to the truth or plausibility of the idea can arise in us; we must take the poet on faith; our reason must be suppressed. What finer poetry, but less plausible fact, than *The Ancient Mariner* or *Prometheus Unbound*.

The exclusion of reason from the field of poetry refers merely to the *process* of reasoning, not to its *result*. To be sure, there may be reason in poetry; in some poetry there is a

great deal of it. Every poet reflects more or less on the problems of life, on human experience, but when he comes to express his ideas, he abandons the process of weighing and judging, grasps the idea immediately, vividly, and projects it concretely under the forms of sense perception or imagination. The truth which he states may show the result of reflection, may stand the test of reason, but the expression of it was not reached by the process of reasoning. And when we read such poetry, we do not receive it as argument, as carefully considered statement; we do not assume a questioning attitude toward it; we feel it to be correct, we accept it at once as truth. So-called reflective poetry of the Tintern Abbey or Rabbi Ben Ezra type does not contain systematic reflective thinking such as a philosopher or scientist would engage in. It represents merely a chain of associated ideas, presented in vivid imagery, conceived in a solemn, philosophizing mood, and arranged in a sequence which moves from a natural beginning to a natural end, that is, possesses artistic unity. And the effect which such poetry produces is not that of intellectual conviction, but rather of esthetic satisfaction.

So far, no reference has been made to the usual division of prose into works of art and scientific treatises, for the reason that these two types do not differ as to the mental process involved, but only as to the object of the author, and as to his manner of arranging the ideas. The scientist is concerned merely with stating the truth accurately, and with presenting his material in an orderly and logical manner; the artist wishes to produce a certain esthetic effect, and in order to do this, he must arrange his ideas and situations in a special sequence. Both the scientist and the novelist deal analytically with their facts, and it is entirely immaterial whether these facts be actual or imagined. This point will be referred to again under the discussion of esthetic feeling.

II

Now, what is the relation of rhythm to poetry and prose? Rhythm is the regular recurrence of stress, the periodic alternation of tension and relaxation. The human organism always reacts rhythmically to a series of stimuli. If, for example, we center our attention on the ticking of a clock, we shall soon find ourselves stressing the alternate strokes. Any succession of equal impressions and of the corresponding muscular reactions will irresistibly take on a rhythmic form. This phenomenon is merely the physical counterpart of the rhythmical fluctuations of attention itself. The object of our attention is intermittently clear and obscure; there is a periodic rise and fall of vividness. The physiological explanation of this manner of functioning of the organism is to be found in the necessary alternation of activity and recuperation of the nerves and muscles, and the periodic form of such alternation seems to result in the greatest efficiency. This natural rhythm, however, is disturbed by the feeling of effort which accompanies the process of reflective thinking. Wundt² calls attention to this fact. Furthermore, it is a matter of common observation that a person engaged in any automatic rhythmic act, such as walking or dancing, will stop suddenly if confronted with a problem which demands conscious thought. This gives us a suggestion as to the relation of rhythm to poetry and prose. In poetry, the meaning is grasped immediately and without conscious effort. The intellectual content merely represents the poet's chain of associated ideas, suggestions accepted without mental effort, and the reader allows himself to be directed along the same line and in the same way. Such a process offers no obstacle to the natural rhythmic functioning of the organism. In prose, on the other hand, the mind is presented with problems which require reflection, thought, the conscious expenditure of effort, and division of attention, and this does interfere with normal rhythmic functioning.

² *Völkerpsychologie*, I, part 2, p. 386.

Poetry which represents too much of the effort of thinking tends just to that extent to become unrhythmical; and prose which largely assumes the consent of the reader borders closely upon poetry and tends irresistibly to become rhythmical. Poets differ much in this respect. Tennyson's lines, for example, we read with easy and well-marked rhythm; but much of Browning's verse is for the average reader at first rather halting and unrhythmical. This is not due solely to obscurity of expression and to the unusualness of the chain of mental images; it arises also from the fact that his work exhibits a rather heavy admixture of the process of thought. Take for example the first two stanzas of *The Laboratory*:

Now that I, tying thy glass mask tightly,
May gaze thro' these faint smokes curling whitely,
As thou pliest thy trade in this devil's-smithy—
Which is the poison to poison her, pritheest?

He is with her, and they know that I know
Where they are, what they do: they believe my tears flow
While they laugh, laugh at me, at me fled to the drear
Empty church, to pray God in, for them!—I am here.

The expression in these stanzas is not especially obscure, nor is the chain of ideas very unusual; but the poet seems to be trying too hard to state his facts accurately; these lines are almost prose. Of course, the bulk of Browning's work is excellent poetry, representing in the main the *result* of very sane and profound reflection, expressed in bold and telling imagery; but we must admit that it exhibits at times also the *process* of thinking.

We can say, then, that simple rhythm, or meter, is the essential form of poetry; that this form, however, is not determined by any emotional quality of poetry, but rather by the fact that the whole human organism reacts rhythmically except when the mind is occupied with the process of thinking. A series of ideas obtained by apprehension will irresistibly take on rhythmic form; but, on the other hand, this very rhythm will aid in rendering our appreciation of the ideas

more vivid and intense. Again, different chains of idea induce different moods and feelings, and express themselves in different rhythms, and, on the other hand, the rhythm reacts to intensify the mood. Hence, rhythm is not only an essential of poetry, it is also a positive aid in the producing of effects.

III

Just a few words regarding the idea that poetry appeals to the emotions, prose to the reason. In psychology, in literary criticism, and in common usage, the word "emotion" refers generally to such psychophysical phenomena as joy, grief, anger, fear, hope, etc. Sometimes the word is used in a rather lax way, as the equivalent of "feeling," and we meet such expressions as "religious emotion," and "esthetic emotion." But for the sake of accuracy, it would seem desirable to limit the word to the former meaning. Now emotion in this sense is not the distinctive characteristic of poetry. The inappropriateness of the word "emotion," as it is generally used in connection with poetry, has been pointed out by Professor Neilson.³ In its place, he suggests the term "intensity"; and he characterizes this quality of a poem as "the result of the artist's caring immensely about whatever aspect of his work especially appeals to him." Edgar Allan Poe, also, must have been trying to avoid the word "emotion" when, in his essay on the Poetic Principle, he spoke of this quality as "the elevating excitement of the soul."

What, then, is this element of poetry which is so often referred to as emotion, and wherein does it differ from the feeling produced in us by a piece of prose fiction? The answer, of course, is that we have here two types, or phases, of the *esthetic feeling*, and this is something very different from an ordinary emotion. The esthetic feeling is no doubt accompanied by a slight suggestion of an emotion, but what we primarily experience upon reading a poem or a novel, as in the enjoyment of painting or music, is not an emotion,

³ *Essentials of Poetry*, p. 29.

but the esthetic thrill, the "elevating excitement of the soul." The term "intensity" is undoubtedly preferable to that of "emotion," if by it we mean intensity of esthetic feeling. But it should be remembered that prose fiction also produces an esthetic feeling very similar to that produced by poetry. The matter will be made clearer by a brief glance at the nature of emotions and the esthetic feeling. To be sure, psychologists do not agree exactly in their interpretation of these two phenomena, but the following statements represent perhaps the most generally accepted views.

Emotions may be defined as very intense and complex feelings, representing high organic excitation and conflicting instinctive reactions, with a resultant stoppage of mental activities. According to William James, emotion is merely a group of sensations reflexly excited by some object or situation; "bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and our feeling of the changes as they occur is the emotion." Others maintain that the bodily sensations are not the whole of the emotion, but that mental processes which are started by the perception also form a part of the complex state. At any rate, the bodily reactions, such as the quickened pulse, short breath, the pale or the flushed face, the flow of tears, the lump in the throat, and the common instinctive reactions of fight, or flight, etc., are the motor counterparts of certain psychic states. The interruption of mental activities mentioned above is peculiar to the emotions; in all other feelings, the processes of perception, thought, and imagination go on without any special disturbance.

The esthetic feeling, on the other hand, is characterized by a heightened functioning, or stimulation, of the whole organism, combined with inhibition of action, unusual concentration of attention, a state of rapt contemplation, or repose, loss of consciousness of self, and unusual activity of the imagination. Everything is excluded from the field of attention except the one thing in which we are absorbed, and appreciation and enjoyment become for this reason

the more intense and vivid. The esthetic feeling may be looked upon as a form of satisfied expectation. In music, for example, there is set up a chain of tone and rhythm, in literature a chain of ideas; and according to a fundamental demand of our nature, the chain, or sequence, calls for a certain continuation and conclusion. The getting of the tone or idea that we feel to be the right one creates for us the sense of perfection, of unity, and in this illusion, then, by a process which is sometimes called "sympathetic imitation," or "sympathetic feeling," we ourselves actually experience a moment of perfection. Until the expectation is satisfied, the psychophysical organism is in a state of suspense, of disturbed equilibrium, in a kind of conflict, and the esthetic feeling is in the nature of a reconciliation, or resolving, of contending forces.

It will be seen, then, that the common emotions and the esthetic feeling stand in sharp contrast to each other. Emotion represents turmoil, conflict, instinctive reactions, the endeavor to reach a goal; esthetic feeling represents repose, reconciliation of conflict, satisfied expectation, inhibition of action, equilibrium. Emotion is accompanied by stoppage of mental activity; esthetic feeling favors vividness and intensity of attention and unusual activity of imagination. This distinction is of great importance, for it shows us how negligible must be the element of real emotion, both in literature and in the other arts. A poem or a novel does not *contain* such emotions as anger, fear, pity, joy; it merely contains the *idea* or *suggestion* of the emotion; it deals with emotion, but is not real emotion, either for the poet or the reader. When we read a so-called emotional poem or novel, we do not ourselves experience the emotion of pity, or fear, or jealousy; we are merely conscious of the idea of the emotion. What we do actually experience is the esthetic feeling, or, as Ethel D. Puffer⁴ expresses it, "pleasurable excitement . . . with a fringe of emotional association." The esthetic

⁴ *The Psychology of Beauty*, p. 282.

feeling always culminates in stimulation, exhilaration, satisfaction, pleasure, whereas the real emotions are in many cases decidedly unpleasurable. And what is true of the reader is also true of the poet; he was not actually experiencing the emotion when he wrote the poem; if he had been, he probably could not have written it; the emotion would have disturbed his mental activity to such an extent that he could not have viewed the experience in its universal aspect. Is not this what Wordsworth had in mind when he said that poetry "takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity"? Schiller in his criticism of Bürger's poems discusses this point, saying that the poet must free himself from his inner experience and objectify and idealize it before he can write about it; that he should beware of attempting to depict grief while he himself is still suffering grief. The poet must work himself through his emotion and reach a state of mental equilibrium before he can create a work of art which will produce an esthetic experience for the reader.

Let us illustrate the matter of the esthetic feeling produced by poetry by examining one of the great imaginative works of English literature, *The Ancient Mariner*. This is one of the best poems to study from this point of view, because of the great number of elements with which the poet operates. You will recall that Coleridge carries us through a long series of contrasted ideas: heat and cold, light and dark, calm and motion, clearness and mist, joy and grief, innocence and guilt, sin and atonement, the beautiful and the ugly, life and death, etc., and each of these is presented to us vividly, concretely, so that we apprehend it immediately, see it, or hear it, or feel it with the imagination. Now these elements are not *emotions*; they are *ideas*, suggestions, mental images, and they are, in the province of the mind, what musical tones are in the province of physical sensation; they are, in the hand of the poet, what tones are in the hand of the musician. And our enjoyment in both cases is due to the fact that the artist carries us through a series of pleasing ideas (or tones), each of which follows

naturally on the preceding one, and brings us finally back to the starting point, or to that end toward which the series moves from the beginning. The pleasure is purely an esthetic one, depending partly upon the beauty of the single elements, but chiefly upon the movement and its culmination. This movement is generally spoken of as a chain of disturbed equilibrium, and the culmination consists in the restoring of the equilibrium. We feel this very definitely in music. When a certain chain of melody is started up, it cannot stop at just any point; our consciousness of harmony and rhythm (which at bottom are one and the same) is in a state of disturbed equilibrium, and the conflict must be resolved in a restored equilibrium. Now exactly the same thing is true of poetry; the mental images correspond to the tones of music. The poet sets up a certain chain of images through which we move in a state of disturbed equilibrium until the series is brought to an end which restores that equilibrium. Hence the culmination of the movement of such a chain is often called "satisfied expectation." Now in *The Ancient Mariner*, although the poet operates with a great many different elements in the single parts of the work, yet he lets the chief movement of the poem as a whole consist in the transition from the idea of hate to that of love. Consequently, from purely artistic considerations he was forced to let his poem end with a note of perfect love:

He prayeth best, who loveth best
All things both great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all.

That is the *idea* toward which the series irresistibly moves. Coleridge was not moralizing, not trying to teach a lesson, when he wrote those lines. In fact, he himself later said: "The moral sentiment intrudes on the reader too much as the principle or the cause of the action. It ought to have had no more moral than an Arabian Night's tale." The beauty of *The Ancient Mariner* lies in the fact that it consists of a

series of vivid mental images, each of which follows naturally on the preceding one, until the chain reaches a perfectly satisfying end. Throughout the course of this movement the reader is held "spellbound," as we say, like the wedding guest himself. For the time he accepts as fact all of this mass of utter nonsense. Why? Because he sees it so vividly with his mind's eye that his faculty of reason is suppressed. "Seeing is believing."

Let us try now to define more accurately the difference between prose fiction and poetry from the point of view of the esthetic feelings produced by each. This can be best done by comparing poetry and prose with some of the other arts. Painting and music make their appeal through the eye and the ear; they are purely sensational. A painting pleases through symmetry of design and harmony of colors; music through rhythm and harmony of tones. They possess no real intellectual content, except the capacity to suggest an idea, a situation, a mood, and to stimulate the imagination. Literature, on the other hand, possesses intellectual content; human experience, ideas, form its very substance. But, as has been shown above, the nature of this intellectual content differs in the fields of poetry and prose. The novelist follows the method of the writer of a scientific treatise; both deal analytically with the facts; the novelist is concerned with analyzing motive and character, with convincing the reason, with telling his story, that is, with imparting information, and what he says must be plausible. All this involves reflection and the forming of judgments, and such mental processes interfere with our natural rhythmical functioning. In a novel, the intellectual content is the whole substance of the art; there is no sensational element of rhythm; the esthetic effect depends solely on the sequence of ideas and the form in which they are presented. And although minor esthetic feelings may be aroused at points during the course of the novel, yet it is only at the end that the real culminating thrill, the satisfaction, is experienced. (The pleasure which we feel *during* the reading of a novel

is in the main derived from recognition, surprise and suspense, and these are of an intellectual, not an esthetic, nature.) But in poetry, in which the intellectual content is furnished by immediate apprehension, there is no obstacle to rhythmic functioning and a rather free play of the imagination, so that, in addition to the esthetic feeling which is produced by the poem as a whole, there is throughout its length a constant stimulating and intensifying, due to the reaction of rhythm and imagination on the esthetic feeling. Thus, poetry occupies a position midway between music and prose fiction; it represents a blending of sensational and intellectual elements; in its rhythm and tone effects it approaches music, in its intellectual content it approaches prose. Carlyle very fittingly characterized poetry as "musical thought."

Just a few words regarding narrative poetry and its relation to prose fiction. In its beginnings all poetry was narrative; the ballad and epic relate the exploits of the tribe or its hero. But it must be borne in mind that the stories which make up these poems were well known to all the hearers; in fact, the different members of the group had a share in the composition of this folk poetry; the subject matter was the common possession of the whole tribe, and the end was known from the beginning. The interest in the story did not center in the development and solution of the plot, but merely in the manner in which the familiar events were allowed to pass in review before the minds of the hearers. The poet was under no obligation to satisfy his hearers intellectually by making his story appear plausible. About the facts and the outcome of the events there was no question. And, as we have seen above, as long as the subject matter is accepted by the hearer or reader without any questioning about its truth or correctness, the natural form of the composition is poetry. This is true of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, of *Beowulf*, of the *Nibelungenlied*, of the *Canterbury Tales*, and of *Paradise Lost*. It has often been said that no narrative poem has persisted and become

a recognized masterpiece, which was not based upon a story that was well known to the readers of its time. But with the invented story, the new story, the situation is quite different. We are interested in the outcome of the plot, the solution of the tangle, and our intelligence must be satisfied; the whole thing must be made reasonably plausible within the world in which the events occur. For this type of narrative, prose is the natural medium of expression; and if one attempts to tell such a story in verse, he is encroaching upon the province of prose, and his effort is likely to result in an artificial product. The well-known story should be told in poetry, the new story in prose.

In conclusion may I attempt a definition of poetry based upon the foregoing discussion: Poetry is that form of literary art in which the content consists of a series of mental images which are sufficiently vivid and unusual to force the attention to occupy itself entirely with the act of apprehension, to the complete suppression of the faculty of reflective thinking; and this series of mental images, which will most naturally develop in simple rhythmic form, must be arranged in such order as that the sequence moves toward and finally reaches that end which we instinctively feel to be the right end, the satisfying end; that is, the whole series, like any other work of art, must produce for us that peculiar excitation which we call the esthetic experience.

C. M. LOTSPEICH

XV. HOW POETIC IS SHELLEY'S POETRY?

(A CENTENARY VIEW)

Poor Shelley's after-fame is now almost as fluctuant as that scene of his ending, just a hundred years ago, when the waves bore him "darkly, fearfully, afar" (July 8, 1822). The centenary of his death finds his status as a poet involved in peculiar uncertainty. Writers who have agreed fairly well on other matters have differed widely in their evaluations of Shelley's style, particularly as compared with the styles of Wordsworth, Byron, and Keats. And almost any company of *immediate* poetry-lovers—I mean, those who maintain a healthy distrust of professional critics and a warm faith in their own predilections—can wax uncommonly disputatious if one of their number affirms that Shelley was a very real poet, or a very unreal one. Apparently his art is quite singular in its capacity to captivate and to repel. It so repelled Matthew Arnold that it appeared to him a maze which wise men should rather walk around than penetrate. Though he surveyed it tellingly, he never passed right through it with his hand on an unbroken clue; nor have his followers done so. Critics of another type have yielded themselves so fully to the poet's fascinating meanders that eventually they could not emerge, with undimmed vision, into the open country beyond. In short, it has proved very difficult to bring the captivating and the repellent qualities of Shelley's work under a single impartial scrutiny. But at least it should be clear that such a scrutiny should now confine itself to Shelley's poems, submerging all other sources of impression. Extensive enquiry into the poet's life, theories, and affiliations was called for by the singular nature of his case. But this enquiry has become entangled, rather obscuringly, with the question which in the end must stand alone: How poetic is Shelley's poetry?

I

That question may be faced most squarely, perhaps, in connection with *Adonais*, which, while thoroughly representative of Shelley, has proved itself more generally satisfying to his readers than any other of his major poems. Certainly, in its own way, *Adonais* may be regarded as the most fascinating treatment in English poetry of an old human subject: regret for the transitory and high yearning for the changeless—these two feelings companioning and enhancing each other, like variants of a single theme, until the “immortal longing” can burn intensely, in a culminating moment, though the very air of death. The rhythm, almost unexampled in its combination of prevailing dignity with fluent shiftings of tone, carries the duple theme magically and culminates with it in the closing passage (stanzas 54, 55):

That Light whose smile kindles the Universe,
That Beauty in which all things work and move,
That Benediction which the eclipsing Curse
Of birth can quench not, that sustaining Love
Which through the web of being blindly wove
By man and beast and earth and air and sea,
Burns bright or dim, as each are mirrors of
The fire for which all thirst, now beams on me,
Consuming the last clouds of cold mortality.

The breath whose might I have invoked in song
Descends on me; my spirit's bark is driven
Far from the shore, far from the trembling throng
Whose sails were never to the tempest given;
The massy earth and spherèd skies are riven!
I am borne darkly, fearfully afar;
Whilst, burning through the inmost veil of heaven,
The soul of *Adonais*, like a star,
Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are.

At once a rhythmic and a thematic triumph is that “Light” which kindles wistfully in the opening verse, and passes changefully through the ensuing lines like a leaping and subsiding torch-flame borne by a swift messenger, and beacons steadily for a moment at the close, as though from the

goal. The passage can be fascinating, if we are in the mood for it. But at another time, when we regard it with a certain degree of poetic intentness, it may easily become repellent, driving us back on our memory of lines that render an "immortal longing" in a more satisfying manner, such as Cleopatra's

Give me my robe, put on my crown; I have
Immortal longings in me; now no more
The juice of Egypt's grape shall moist this lip - - -

To be sure, the whole speech of nineteen lines, if lifted from its context in Shakespeare's play and placed alongside the Shelley passage, takes on some air of cheapness. Its half dozen superb verses are surrounded and tinged with the common soil of Elizabethan rhetoric. Shelley's rhetoric and rhythm are more evenly distinguished, and his subject is more aspiring. Nevertheless, when our aim is sheer poetic pleasure, the Shakespeare passage is the more satisfying of the two. For its author, unlike Shelley, is intent in a very high degree upon the specific kind of emotion he is rendering: namely the "immortal longing" of a passionate and egotistic nature now weary of the world, and eager to project its love and earthly splendor, painlessly, into eternity. The passage is remarkable for its variety of emotional tones, swiftly succeeding each other, yet dominated by a single homogeneous quality. Shelley, on the other hand, twines together two quite different qualities of emotion, in such a way as to frustrate both. His stanzas yearn upward toward a Light that is absolutely beneficent, "beyond the clouds of cold mortality," and "like a star" in its eternal and awful peace. But this thread of high "immortal longing" is woven confusedly into a warp of restless mortal sympathies. The poet feels for the earthy "web of being" in which we are all enmeshed, the blind, warm life that pulses through "man and beast and earth and air and sea"; and thereupon, somewhat diverging from that gregarious emotion, comes a rush of sympathy for his own unconventional spirit, far from the routine existence of "the trembling throng." In short,

the mixed emotion of the passage is so restless that it fails of elevation, and so anxious for elevation that it is thin and warped in its human implications.

Just previously (stanza 52) Shelley had been able to touch the same two spheres of feeling in swift alternation and yet without confusion:

The One remains, the many change and pass;
Heaven's light forever shines, Earth's shadows fly;
Life, like a dome of many-colored glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity - - - -

Here it seems that the poet has contemplated his "immortal longing" so intently that it can become, for a sufficient moment, a white and quiet light of emotion inundating all else. The "white radiance of eternity" is felt distinctively—so is this "many-colored" life of ours which dims and entirely stains that radiance, and yet transfuses it, in transitory domed splendor. Why then, in the sequel, does the poet collapse that dome and reduce that radiance to a kaleidoscopic figuration which mingles the white and colored lights factitiously? His palpable aim in the two final stanzas is to draw together, in one pattern, several topics which he has treated scatteringly in the course of the poem. But beneath that design is a deeper one. Consciously or not, he wishes to close the poem on his favorite note of high aspiration interwoven, indistinguishably, with wide sympathy.

Here, indeed, is the central purport of Shelley's work as a whole, from *Queen Mab* to *Hellas*. He wished to express an unhampered sympathy with the wide "web of being" in men and Nature; and, at the same time, a pure devotion to "the Good," or whatever one may choose to term the highest life of the spirit. He had an exceptionally keen sense for the old human longing to combine such sympathy with such devotion, "harmonizing this earth with what we feel above." But he had an abnormally slight sense for the real divergency, and the continual opposition, of these two emotions in the general human heart. It is a matter of common experience, in individual lives and in history, that a heighten-

ing of our sentiment for "the Good" will narrow our sympathy with those features of life that seem most remote from it; and that a broadening of our sympathies, in an effort at readjustment, will pull down considerably our love of "the Good." But this competition scarcely appears in Shelley's work. So that, instead of striving as the human heart strives when it is most vital, toward a real harmony in which each of those two emotions should retain its own distinctive quality, Shelley quickly merged and denatured them. Hence the extraordinary sense of frustration which we experience when we try to read, with poetic intentness, his most ambitious work, *Prometheus Unbound*. The poem appeals at once to our yearning for universal sympathy and to our yearning for human perfection. These two sentiments, when stimulated, tend to diverge and to develop themselves in competition with each other. But Shelley will not have them do so. From the first, he keeps winding and fusing them together in a single stream of undifferentiated emotion. For example, he merges more and more the qualities of the two principal personages, Prometheus and Asia. If these two characters had been made the vehicles, respectively, of ethical elevation and wide sympathy, their eventual reunion could have won a fine human and artistic significance, suggesting that fullness of life which the human spirit recognizes as its greatest potentiality. But in the course of the story, the initial nobility of Prometheus is soon softened down by his rising pity for all things, including the powers of evil (Act I, scene i, lines 53, 305, 480); and finally this active striver for mankind becomes a retired well-wisher, throbbing only with millennial reverie and sympathy (Act III, scene iii). On the other hand, the Aphroditic quality of Asia, her imaging of the universal pulsing desire that weaves the "web of being," remains inchoate; for the poet wishes her to adumbrate also the higher kind of love that urges human perfection. Thus the outlines of Prometheus and his Asia fade into each other: the two are not married, but merged. The poem as a

29. plus
Shelley

whole frustrates and repels our poetic sense by attempting the music of the spheres on a single string.

Since Shelley's longing for human harmony means a denaturalization of the emotions which must take part in such harmony, it is essentially unpoetic. It has rhetorical zest and rhythmic sweep, but it lacks *poetic* spontaneity. Whatever spontaneity may mean in personal life, surely in verse it means that, for the moment, all the artist's powers are intensely preoccupied in bringing out the full specific quality of his emotion, and in thus making it poetically real. But Shelley, as in the two final stanzas of *Adonais*, is intent on shaping up his theme, not on shaping out his emotion. The pattern achieved in that passage, as previously suggested, is rhetorical and rhythmic, rather than poetic. It does not consist in a poetic realization of the writer's emotions. Such unreality pervades Shelley's more ambitious works, becoming acute in climactic passages. Its source, in the last analysis, is his peculiar longing for harmony—in other words, the kind of love, aspiration, and hope that run centrally through his poetry. These emotions failed to grow more specific and shapely, as Shelley's powers in verse became more mature, for the simple reason that his interest in them was not mainly an artistic interest. He did not experience them with any depth of poetic originality and spontaneity. Accordingly, those who have found in Shelley's work an extraordinary and predominant spontaneity have had their eye (and often unwittingly) upon his temperament rather than upon his art. Those who have condemned his poetry for *mere* spontaneity have left the gate open to those who have praised it for *sheer* spontaneity.¹ Neither phrase is properly applicable to Shelley's main territory. But in one field of poetry—a field very limited in its human value, but very keen in its human appeal—Shelley could be intensely spontaneous.

¹ Paul Elmer More's essay on Shelley deals most penetratingly with the confused nature of Shelleyan criticism, and the actual nature of the Shelleyan temperament. But his treatment of the subject of spontaneity

II

Through the false harmonies of Shelley runs a vital and captivating melody. It is the cry of "the spirit of solitude": the most exquisite note of utter loneliness in English poetry. His solitude is that of a spirit hovering between rich human sympathy and high self-satisfaction, not realizing either. Loneliness of this sort has been notably common during the past hundred and fifty years; but it hovers perpetually in the outskirts of human life. It is a mood that awaits any one whenever his dissatisfaction with human institutions and conventions begins to veil from him their deepest meaning. Through convention, in the finest sense of that nowadays degraded word, human sympathy and aspiration are at once restricted and, in some degree, made real. But Shelley would see only the deadening tendency of convention, and could therefore have no real fellowship with the deep con-

in Shelley's poetry seems inadequate. In reference to Francis Thompson's remark upon the closing scenes of *Prometheus Unbound*—"the spell on which depends such necromantic castles is some spirit of pain charm-poisoned at their base"—Mr. More says: "That charm-poisoned spirit was nothing less than the peculiar romantic illusion of the Revolution which ignored the native impulse of evil, ever lurking in the heart of man, ready to leap forth when its chains are shaken, and which valued the emotions in accordance with their mere spontaneity and intensity" (*Shelburne Essays*, Seventh Series, p. 18). But surely "the native impulse of evil" is itself among the emotions which are spontaneous and intense. Therefore Shelley's failure to give a proper value to that impulse means that his criterion was not "mere spontaneity and intensity," and suggests that this phrase is not an exact key to his poetic art. The whole question would seem to turn on a proper distinction of the artistic mode from the moral mode of controlling emotion. Though these two modes are complementary, a too close approximation of them will produce confusion in the criticism of poetry. Certainly, the man Shelley was deficient enough in self-control, and often followed the impulse of the moment: this may be called "mere spontaneity." But it is equally true that he was deficient in the artistic instinct of following an emotion *through*, into its full specific nature: this means that he lacked poetic spontaneity. He was animated by a quick, vague affectionateness. He never followed its lower motions into the sphere of vivid lust, nor its higher motions into the sphere of firm love, either in his life or in his poetry.

vention-making power in our nature which imperfectly builds, and rebuilds, the house of life. That living structure, even while his nature craved its shelter and could find nothing beyond it but shadowy hopes and fears, could appear to him an idle painted veil:

Lift not the painted veil which those who live
 Call Life; though unreal shapes be pictured there,
 And it but mimic all we would believe
 With colors idly spread,—behind, lurk Fear
 And Hope, twin Destinies, who ever weave
 Their shadows o'er the chasm sightless and drear.
 I knew one who had lifted it—he sought,
 For his lost heart was tender, things to love - - - -

Most poets, when their love is thus inadequate to the constructive life of mankind, can float their homeless imagination for a while on the beating tides of common desire—from which Shelley shrank. A few can build up, through meditation, a higher companionship—for which Shelley was too wilful. At once exceptionally refined and extraordinarily restless, he found neither the relief of full desire nor the steadiness of calm thought:

Alas! I have nor hope nor health,
 Nor peace within nor calm around,
 Nor that content surpassing wealth
 The sage in meditation found,
 And walked with inward glory crowned—
 Nor fame, nor power, nor love, nor leisure—

But he found the very cadence of utter solitude.

Shelley's verse is at its best when he best realizes, poetically, his loneliness. His dominant mood is then trance-like, for it is made of emotion which is withdrawing itself from the sources of emotion. It is a thin but real love of life, circling above an abyss of nothingness: thrilling upward, again and again, in an ecstasy poignant with a sense of its own coming dissolution; but sinking down, with increasing frequency, in a state of despairing apathy. He achieved a fine art in the representation of apathy. Often it comes out

in dramatic touches, imaging either his own state of lonely suspension, as in the fragment "To the Moon," which breaks off so suggestively:

Art thou pale for weariness
Of climbing heaven and gazing on the earth,
Wandering companionless
Among the stars that have a different birth,—
And ever changing, like a joyless eye
That finds no object worth its constancy?
Thou chosen sister of the spirit,
That gazes on thee till it pities—

or the kind of apathy, opposite in origin and complementary to his own, which descends upon mechanically conventional persons, such as the dead Ginevra's husband:

Some few yet stood around Gherardi there,
Friends and relations of the dead,—and he,
A loveless man, accepted torpidly
The consolation that he wanted not;
Awe in the place of grief within him wrought.

But this vein is richest, of course, in Shelley's lyric and sensuous stanzas. They range in tone all the way from the deathly languor of this passage in *The Invocation to Misery*:

There out tent shall be the willow,
And mine arm shall be thy pillow;
Sounds and odors, sorrowful
Because they once were sweet, shall lull
Us to slumber, deep and dull;

to the piercing desolation of *When the Lamp is Shattered*. The whole movement of this wonderful little piece is that of a love swaying down, so to speak, toward insensibility. In other poems, such as *To A Skylark*, the same love spirals upward, in swift, ecstatic joyance: creating for a moment, in its longing to escape languor, a region where "languor cannot be." Shelley's delight and apathy must be felt, by a reader who would touch the finest pulse of his verse, as diastole and systole, as the lift and fall of a single wave of

emotion. His joy is unique in English poetry because it is uniquely near to apathy:

The passing wind which heals the brow at noon,
And may strike cold into the breast at night,
Yet cannot linger where it soothes the most,
Or long soothe could it linger—(Fragment of an unfinished
drama)

Other poets have deeper sorrow and richer joy than his. No other has his exquisite hovering movement of delight: his lonely joy, swaying cloudlike between heaven and earth, always about to dissolve and pass.

From its very nature, Shelley's lonely emotion could rarely assume real poetic shape: I mean, that inner form, synonymous with poetic reality, which is created by the union of sincere impulse and focal theme. Such union is not consummated in the bulk of Shelley's work. Sometimes, as in *The Witch of Atlas*, he follows his shifting moods, veraciously, through a thin and diffusive theme. At other times, as in *Epipsychidion*, he pursues a focal idea—a deliberately thought-up topic, more or less derived from his reading—which his own actual emotion cannot properly fulfil. For when vitally ingenuous his poetic spirit is so liable to formless volutions that, when deliberately architected, it is always likely to become factitious and inane, like the human shapes which a fanciful, determined eye finds in the clouds. But a real shape of poetry, now and then suddenly emerging in these cloudy regions, has a magic beauty, an "inevitability," quite singular in English verse. We feel that an "unbodied joy" has found for a moment, as if by chance and after long vain journeyings, the only theme in which it could really be clothed. Such a theme was the autumnal west wind which Shelley listened to in a forest near Florence. The Ode which ensued is an harmonious texture of fancies which had been drifting scatteredly through his previous works, and which were now drawn into a single rhythm under the sweep of a movement in Nature wonderfully correspondent to the tenor of his own lonely mood. "Make

me thy lyre even as the forest is," he prays: and never was poetic invocation more magically answered. Wraith-like fancy, tumultuous yearning, and delighted brooding—spectral leaf, surging cloud, and quivering wave—all flow into one "deep autumnal tone, sweet though in sadness." The poem is a sudden apparition, in lovely form, of the spirit of utter solitude.

The continual though obscured presence of this spirit can lure us on, by hints and gleams of itself, through the inanities of Shelley's more ambitious works. We feel that at any moment the true daemon may take shape, and sing; as in the rich sylvan solitude of Act II, scene ii, of *Prometheus Unbound*,

When there is heard through the dim air
The rush of wings, and rising there,
Like many a lake-surrounded flute,
Sounds overflow the listener's brain
So sweet, that joy is almost pain.

In *Adonais*, more than elsewhere, this music of isolation is sustained through a highly architected theme. An instinct finely true to himself, though untrue to Keats, led Shelley to place in the forefront of the poem an image of Adonais in a "twilight chamber," gone from life, but not yet covered with the darkness of decay: lying there in "deep and liquid rest, forgetful of all ill"; closely attended still by his own fading aspirations, surrounded in the near distance by the shifting vital powers of Nature, visited by the eternal spirit of poetry herself—but insensible, now, to them all (stanzas 7, 8). This is the noblest form of that picture of entranced loneliness which, first appearing in the opening stanzas of "Queen Mab," is painted and repainted throughout Shelley's work,—in hues more deathful toward the close. Something of nobility is sacrificed, but the suggestiveness of the picture is heightened, by the "one frail Form" who is featured so vividly among the poetic mourners of Adonais (stanzas 31-34). Properly considered, this figure is a pathetic variant of the central Adonais-image. It represents

the Shelleyan temperament not yet absolved from life, but on the verge of dissolution: "a pard-like Spirit beautiful and swift," hunted to the end by its own lonely aspirations:

A phantom among men; companionless
As the last cloud of an expiring storm
Whose thunder is its knell. - - - -

The episode prepares the way for an increased emphasis upon the poet's yearning to be free from life, and to become "what Adonais is." It is a yearning which shrinks away from earthly personality, from "the world's bitter wind," and from the processes of natural decay; but falls short of a real devotion to that immortality which is at once the most organic and the most peaceful life of the human spirit. Essentially, it is a yearning for a sort of perpetual trance, as of a being suspended between time and eternity, oblivious of its utter solitude.

This longing is the most vitally felt emotion in the last third of "Adonais." But the poet's inner shaping of it is confused and imperfect: so that this part of the work, though the most popular, is substantially the least adequate, from the standpoint of art. Shelley endeavors, as previously suggested, to focus his theme upon the idea of a Light, or Power, which solves all discords,

Which wields the world with never-weary'd love,
Sustains it from beneath, and kindles it above.

These verses are inept and mediocre, not because entirely void of human truth, but because Shelley has not intently experienced the two-sided truth they hint at. Their neat rhetorical harmony is in strong contrast with the real melody that flows whenever the poet contemplates, with intent longing, the Adonais-image; which, at the beginning of this part of the poem (stanzas 38-40), is rapt away from its initial "twilight chamber," and established in an ideal state beyond decay:

He has outsoared the shadow of our night :
Envy and calumny and hate and pain,

And that unrest which men miscall delight,
Can touch him not and torture not again - - -

Such music belongs to the spirit of solitude, in its yearning for Lethe. Its echoes can carry us through all ensuing inanities, even through the rhetoric of the two closing stanzas, quoted previously. Behind their elaborate and tangled imagery: behind the poet's desire to have his "spirit's bark" driven by the breath of eternity, far over a tempestuous sea, beyond the riven "massy earth" and "sphered skies," toward the "inmost veil of heaven"—behind all this rhetorical pomp of ocean and air, we can hear, if we will, that clear small voice of poetry which speaks most perfectly, perhaps, in the lonely, mysterious murmuring of the following stanzas from another poem, where sea and sky are quieter:

Yet now despair itself is mild,
Even as the winds and waters are;
I could lie down like a tired child,
And weep away the life of care
Which I have borne and yet must bear,
Till death like sleep might steal on me,
And I might feel in the warm air
My cheek grow cold, and hear the sea
Breathe o'er my dying brain its last monotony.

G. R. ELLIOTT

XVI. MARK TWAIN AND DON QUIXOTE

The purpose of this paper is to trace the influence of Cervantes upon Mark Twain, with particular attention to the supposedly autobiographical tales *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*.¹

A short digression will be necessary at the outset in order to overcome, if possible, an almost universal prejudice. The popular notion is that Mark Twain's genius "just grew," like Topsy; that he was peculiarly a "self-made" man, the term "self-made" being understood to mean "lacking in book learning." We like to think that Mark Twain, above all other authors, dug into the virgin soil of his native country, and brought forth rich treasures which could be found nowhere else. We like to say: "What genuine American humor! What a true picture of American boyhood! Nothing of Europe in Mark Twain! Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn are real Americans!"

This belief in what might be called the ultra-originality of Mark Twain has received support from critic and scholar. W. D. Howells observes that Mark Twain's humor is "really the least literary of all forms of humor. . . . Of all the literary men I have known, he was the most unliterary in his make and manner." It was this supposed lack of literary background which caused the late Henry James, that redoubtable American exponent of European culture, to snub Mark Twain, maintaining that the great American humorist was capable of amusing only very primitive persons.² Mark Twain himself lent a certain authority to the

¹ Acknowledgment is made for valuable suggestions received from Miss Ida Langdon, of Elmira, New York, as well as from Professor Kenneth Colegrove, of Northwestern University.

² Archibald Henderson, *Mark Twain*, New York, 1910, p. 74

general opinion when he declared that, aside from *Joan of Arc*, his works "needed no preparation, & got none."³

It will therefore come as a rude shock to many readers who have habitually fled to Mark Twain as a refuge from Europeanism to know that their favorite drew much of his inspiration for his most American books from European models; that he was in earnest when he declared, in a heated controversy, that "there is not a single human characteristic which can be safely labeled as 'American.'"⁴

To understand the nature of Mark Twain's reading of European literature, let us peep for a moment at his lair at Quarry Farm, where he used to retire with his family to be "hermits and eschew caves and live in the sun." When not engaged in writing the adventures of Tom and Huck, he could often be detected reading, rereading, studying and mulling over, and conning by rote certain beloved authors—some English, some translated from the original French, Spanish or Italian. Saint-Simon's *Mémoires* he reread twenty times, without being suspected by the general public. For Casanova he felt an equal admiration. On the fly-leaf of Volume I of Saint-Simon, there is the following comment in the author's handwriting: "This, & Casnova & Pepys, set in parallel columns, could afford a good coup d'œil of French and English high life of the epoch." He nearly wore out his two-volume edition of Lecky's *History of European Morals*, while another constant companion was Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*.

An attempt to make a complete list of the well-worn books in Mark Twain's library would carry us far afield. It is hoped that the point is sufficiently established that his reading of European literature made up in intensity for

³ Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, a Biography* (1912), II, p. 1034. The facts concerning Mark Twain's reading of Saint-Simon, Casanova, Lecky and Malory are all taken from Paine's biography, I, p. 511, and III, pp. 1536, 1540.

⁴ Mark Twain, *What Paul Bourget Thinks of Us*, in *North American Review*, January, 1895, p. 52.

whatever it may have lacked in extensiveness; that he was therefore all the more likely to be influenced by his favorite authors; and that it is not surprising that he should have read Cervantes, albeit that fact has apparently been overlooked heretofore.

It is probable that Mark Twain had begun to read Cervantes as early as the *Innocents Abroad*. With *Don Quixote* in mind he relates the strange conduct of the "pilgrims," who try to act the parts of Bedouins, and "keep themselves in a constant state of Quixotic heroism." "They have their hands on their pistols all the time," he writes, "and every now and then, when you least expect it, they snatch them out and take aim at Bedouins who are not visible and make savage passes at other Bedouins who do not exist."⁵

Mark Twain's admiration for Cervantes was destined to grow steadily. While he was composing *Huckleberry Finn*, he actually took occasion to put himself on record as choosing Cervantes as his standard-bearer against Walter Scott and the "romantic frauds." The following quotation from the *Life on the Mississippi* forms, as it were, a profession of literary faith:⁶

A curious exemplification of the power of a single book for good or harm is shown in the effects wrought by 'Don Quixote' and those wrought by 'Ivanhoe.' The first swept the world's admiration for the mediaeval chivalry-silliness out of existence; and the other restored it. As far as our South is concerned, the good work done by Cervantes is pretty nearly a dead letter, so effectually has Scott's pernicious influence undermined it.⁷

⁵ *Innocents Abroad*, Authorized Edition, II, p. 304.

⁶ The close interrelation between *Huckleberry Finn* and the *Life on the Mississippi* is very obvious. In one of the early chapters of the *Life on the Mississippi* Mark Twain refers to *Huckleberry Finn*, making a long quotation from that romance. Paine has also noted that the Darnell-Watson feud, described in the *Life on the Mississippi*, furnished the model for the Grangerford-Shepherdson feud in *Huckleberry Finn*. (See Paine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 796.)

⁷ *Life on the Mississippi*, p. 349. It should be noted that Mark Twain, admirer of "old Sir Thomas Malory's enchanting book," did not give up his own love for the "mediaeval chivalry-silliness" without an inner struggle. At the time of his first visit to England, he went into raptures over "the stately city walls, the castellated gates, the ivy-grown, foliage-sheltered, most

It is therefore not astonishing to find that there is a striking parallel between the plots of *Don Quixote*, on the one hand, and of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*, on the other.

It will be recalled that Don Quixote, confined to his house, has read so many romances of chivalry that he feels irresistibly inclined to play the rôles of his heroes, wear the armor of a knight, take a title—that of the Knight of the Rueful Face—rescue captive princesses, and redress wrongs. The humor of the romance lies in the contrast between the matter of fact philosophy of Sancho Panza and the romantic spirit of Don Quixote. Usually Sancho Panza attempts to dissuade his companion from acts of folly. The hero replies that things must be done according to the books.

For the man Don Quixote Mark Twain substitutes the boy Tom Sawyer. Tom is a romantic youth, who has read a great many exciting tales, and desires to play the rôles of his heroes. By day he would be general of an army. By night he would turn longing glances upon the curtain of a second-story window, lighted by the dull glow of a candle, to see if the sacred presence of his Adored Unknown is there. In company with his more prosaic chum, Huck Finn, he has witnessed a murder committed by Injun Joe. He makes Huck write, in blood, a pledge to secrecy, after the manner of the books. We find him also playing the rôles of Robin Hood, Friar Tuck, and the Sheriff of Nottingham with his

noble and picturesque ruin of St. Mary's Abbey, suggesting *their* date, say five hundred years ago, in the heart of Crusading times and the glory of English chivalry and romance." (Paine, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 485-486.) Paine tells us that this scoffer at romance was always possessed with the desire to follow out two fiction schemes: (1) A "long period of dream existence during a brief moment of sleep;" (2) "the story of a mysterious visitant from another realm." (See Paine, *op. cit.*, III, p. 1515, and elsewhere.) The second plot was carried out in the *Mysterious Stranger*, which appeared posthumously because the author's reputation as a humorist made it difficult for him to publish so serious a book during his lifetime. The extent to which his conscious imitation of Cervantes was responsible for the repression of his romantic instinct would make an interesting study.

comrade Joe Harper. Occasionally he aspires to be a pirate, and gives to himself the title of the Black Avenger of the Spanish Main; to Huck that of the Red-Handed; to Joe Harper that of the Terror of the Seas, all names taken from "his favorite literature."⁸ Tom and Huck finally have a real adventure, and capture a hidden treasure.

In *Huckleberry Finn*, we find Tom Sawyer's "Gang" taking a very dark oath, concocted from his books. The boys plan to abduct some of their friends and allow them to be ransomed, as happens in pirate stories. They charge Quixotically upon some Spanish merchants and "A-rabs," who turn out to be a Sunday-school picnic. Huck Finn escapes from home, and goes down the Mississippi River in a raft with the runaway negro Jim. After various adventures, Huck and Jim arrive at the house of Tom's Aunt Sally, and are soon joined by Tom himself. The boys decide to rescue Jim, who is hiding in a cabin. Huck Finn, the practical minded, would liberate the prisoner in the simplest manner possible. Tom Sawyer rebels, because things are not done that way in the books. Jim must be dug out of prison, like Edmond Dantès, and other heroes about whom he is forever reading.

Much of the humor of the book lies in the contrast between the romantic spirit of Tom and the matter of fact attitude of Huck.

Thus we have on the one hand a boy, who reads about pirates and robbers, and imagines himself in the rôles of his favorite heroes. On the other hand, we have a man, who behaves in the same manner regarding romances of chivalry. Tom Sawyer has his counterpart, the matter of fact Huck Finn. Don Quixote's counterpart is the prosaic Sancho Panza. The humor of Mark Twain, as well as of Cervantes, lies to a great extent in the contrast between imaginative and unimaginative characters.

⁸ *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, Chapter xiii.

"But," one may interpose, "are not *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer* 'autobiographical' novels?" Is not the character Tom Sawyer really Mark Twain himself, with a few episodes from the lives of his boon companions thrown in, for good measure? Is not the character Huck Finn really a vagabond by the name of Tom Blankenship? As for the resemblance between the 'autobiography' of Mark Twain and the 'fiction' of Cervantes, is that not fortuitous?"

To answer this question, it is necessary to compare, in some detail, the boy Mark Twain with the boy Tom Sawyer; the boy Tom Blankenship with the boy Huck Finn. We must determine whether any considerable alterations of the original characters were made by our author, and whether these alterations were made because of the influence of Cervantes.

A great deal hinges on the extraordinary amount of reading done by that phenomenal boy, Tom Sawyer. His prototype, Mark Twain, was not addicted to excessive reading during his boyhood.¹⁰ What his biographer calls the "turning point" of his career did not come until he was apprenticed to Joseph P. Ament, owner of the *Missouri Courier*. One day young Clemens happened to pick up a stray leaf from a volume about Joan of Arc. A few years before, he would have paid no attention to it, but his intellectual appetite had been whetted by his connection with the printing trade. Eagerly he read the tale of the "maid" in her cage at Rouen, defying the ruffian English soldiery, and his taste for reading—especially for historical works—never deserted him afterwards.¹¹

The period of Mark Twain's life which corresponds to the boyhood of Tom Sawyer was distinctly *before* the "turning point" and the apprenticeship. It was then that he neglected reading, and hated school above everything else. He hated it worse than church, which, in Tom's phrase,

⁹ A. B. Paine, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 53, 54. See A. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁰ A. B. Paine, *op. cit.*, I, p. 80.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

"ain't worth shucks."¹² When summoned by his mother to the bedside of his dead father, he sobbed: "I will promise anything, if you won't make me go to school! Anything!"¹³

Let us contrast Mark Twain's early hatred for literature and learning with the zest for reading, quite comparable to that of Don Quixote, which is manifested by Tom Sawyer. There is evidence in *Tom Sawyer* that the hero has read—and practically memorized—stories of Robin Hood, Friar Tuck, Guy of Gisborne, Much the Miller's son, and the Sheriff of Nottingham; has learned by heart portions of seafaring tales; has some acquaintance with American history, especially the colonial period, and has probably dipped into Lecky's *History of European Morals*.¹⁴ In *Huckleberry Finn* the list of careful reading is considerably extended. Tom has evidently assimilated in careful fashion the *Lady of the Lake*, *Don Quixote*, the lives of Benvenuto Cellini, Baron Trenck, and Casanova, the *Arabian Nights*, *le Comte de Monte Cristo*, and *le Vicomte de Bragelonne*. He talks familiarly about Henry of Navarre, and about the attempted flight of Louis XVI. He has read more about heraldry than most men in middle life. Here are his words, as reported by that accomplished savant, Huck Finn: "On the scutcheon we'll have a bend *or* in the dexter base, a saltire *murrey* in the fess, with a dog, couchant, for common charge, and under his foot a chain embattled, for slavery, with a chevron *vert* in a chief enrailed, and three invected lines on a field *azure*, with the nombril points rampant on a dancette indented; crest, a runaway nigger, *sable*, with his bundle over his shoulders on a bar sinister; and a couple of gules for supporters, which is you and me; motto, *Maggiore fretta, minore atto*. Got it out of a book—means the more haste the less speed."

When we come to *Tom Sawyer Abroad* we find that the author's didacticism is actually offensive. The hero, who

¹² A. B. Paine, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁴ *Tom Sawyer*, Chapter xiii.

is forever reading the works of the detested Walter Scott,¹⁶ seems perfectly familiar with *Ivanhoe* and the "paynim";¹⁷ talks learnedly about sectants, chronometers,¹⁸ mirages, longitude and time, comets, etc., and pronounces this discourse on the Sahara Desert, all before reaching the age of fifteen years.¹⁹

" . . . From New York to the Pacific is 2,600 miles. From one end of the Great Desert to the other is 3,200. The United States contains 3,600,000 square miles, the Desert contains 4,162,000. With the Desert's bulk you could cover up every last inch of the United States, and in under where the edges projected out, you could tuck England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Denmark, and all Germany. Yes, sir, you could hide the home of the brave and all of them countries clean out of sight under the Great Sahara, and you would still have 2,000 square miles of sand left."²⁰

Rather good, is it not, for a lad who spends his time playing "hookey" from school, so that he may give "Painkiller" to the cat?

Even Huck appears to have become infected, at an early age, with the desire for reading, in spite of early discouragements. At the outset, it is true, he was disposed to run away after having attended school most of the time for three or four months, and learned the multiplication table "up to six times seven is thirty-five."²¹ Despite his early association with that inveterate reader, Tom Sawyer, he felt no interest whatever in history. It is true that when he first heard the story of Moses and the "Bulrushers" he was "in a sweat to find out all about him."²² On learning that Moses had been dead a considerable time, he immediately became disgusted because he "didn't take no stock in dead people." Nevertheless, the situation had altered materially by the time that Huck was aboard the raft

¹⁶ *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. New Edition, Chapter xxxviii, p. 358.

¹⁶ *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, p. 18.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 55.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 14.

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 88, 89.

²¹ *Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter iv, p. 21.

²² *Ibid*, Chapter i, p. 2.

with the runaway negro Jim. Huck seems to have remembered with interest everything that the widow had told him about Solomon the wise, with his thousand wives, dead though that hero was. He was frankly disgusted with the attitude of Jim. "I never see such a nigger," he exclaimed. "He was the most down on Solomon of any nigger I ever see."²³

So Huck tried some of the other princes in his repertory, such as Louis XVI "that got his head cut off in France long time ago"; his son "the dolphin, that would a been king, but they took and shut him up in jail, and some say he died there." Then he proceeded to teach Jim "Polly-voo-franzy" and some of the other "jabber" which he had got "out of a book."²⁴

It was no very serious matter, however, to represent Huck Finn as an occasional reader of "historical" literature known to Mark Twain only after the "turning point." The significant change was to attribute to him a matter of fact, instead of a poetic nature. The original Tom Blankenship, social outcast that he was, had the mind of a seer. Twice he dreamed of hidden treasure, and so vivid was his imagination that he believed his dreams to be true. His faith spread to the other boys of the "Gang," who dug in two different places, under his direction, to find the money.²⁵ In *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*, as has been observed, Mark Twain makes of Huck a sort of Sancho Panza, who attempts by common sense reasoning to put a damper on the fancies of his Quixotic playmate, Tom.

In the case of Tom the alteration of his character to make of him an inveterate reader, instead of a hater of books, was an essential change in order to follow the model of Don Quixote. For Tom reading is no mere incident, as it is for Huck; he has gone wild over his books, and desires, like Don

²³ *Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter xiv, p. 109.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²⁵ A. B. Paine, *op. cit.*, I, p. 62.

Quixote, to see the rôles of his favorite heroes acted out, to the utmost detail.

Tom has been reading the life of Benvenuto Cellini, who, while in the prison of S. Angelo, made a rope from the sheets of his bed;²⁶ of Baron Trenck, who twisted the hair of his mattress into a rope, in order to make a ladder;²⁷ of Casanova, who made a rope from a mattress, towels and cover. He has read also in *le Comte de Monte Cristo* how Abbé Faria made a rope by unraveling his shirts, and the sheets of his bed.²⁸ He feels that the imprisoned darkey Jim must have a rope-ladder. To the protests of Huck he constantly replies in this vein: "You don't know anything about it. . . . They all do . . ." ²⁹ "Why, hain't you ever read any books at all?—Baron Trenck, nor Casanova,

²⁶ *La vita di Benvenuto Cellini*, B. Bianchi edition, Florence (1903), I, cvi, pp. 229, 230.

²⁷ *The Life of Baron Frederic Trenck*, translated from the German by Thomas Holcroft, Providence (1808), p. 18. Cf. Giacomo Girolamo Casanova de Seingalt, *Historia della mia fuga delle prigioni della repubblica di Venezia dette "le Piombi,"* traduzione e prefazione di Salv. di Giacomo, Milan (1911), II, p. 127.

²⁸ Alexandre Dumas père, *le Comte de Monte Cristo*, Chapter v.

Mark Twain's interest in Dumas dates back to the pilgrimage of the "Innocents." He writes: "We hired a sailboat and a guide and made an excursion to one of the small islands in the harbor to visit the Castle d'If. . . We saw the damp, dismal cells in which two of Dumas's heroes passed their confinement—heroes of 'Monte Cristo.' It was here that the brave Abbé wrote a book with his own blood; with a pen made of a piece of iron hoop, and by the light of a lamp made of shreds of cloth soaked in grease obtained from his food; and then dug through the thick wall with some trifling instrument which he wrought himself out of a stray piece of iron or table cutlery, and freed Dantès from his chains. . ." (*Innocents Abroad*, I, pp. 144, 146). He continues: "They showed us the noisome cell where the celebrated 'Iron Mask'—that ill-starred brother of a hard-hearted King of France—was confined for a season, before he went to hide the strange mystery of his life from the curious in the dungeons of St. Marguerite. The place had a far greater interest for us than it could have had if we had known beyond all question who the Iron Mask was, what his history had been, and why this most unusual punishment had been meted out to him. . . ." (*Ibid*, I, p. 147).

²⁹ *Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter xxxv, p. 333.

nor Benvenuto Chelleeny, nor Henri IV nor none of them heroes?"³⁰ But Huck merely protests that Jim "ain't got no use for a rope ladder."³¹

Tom has read how Baron Trenck notched a penknife and sawed through iron bars; how Abbé Faria dug through stone walls with the iron handle of a sauce pan. He insists that Jim use case knives for digging the foundations from under his cabin-prison. When Huck proposes to use shovels instead, Tom turns on him, "looking pitying enough to make a body cry, and says:

"Huck Finn, did you *ever* hear of a prisoner having picks and shovels, and all them modern conveniences in his wardrobe to dig himself out with?"³²

Baron Trenck has tamed a mouse so that it will play with him.³³ As a matter of fact, this exploit was a trifle "irregular," as Casanova had objected to the rats, large as rabbits, which inhabited his prison.³⁴ But Tom orders Jim to set a new departure, and tame a rattlesnake so that it will sleep with him. When poor Jim protests, Tom urges:

"Jim, don't act so foolish. A prisoner's *got* to have some kind of a dumb pet, and if a rattlesnake hain't ever been tried, why there's more glory to be gained in being the first to ever try it than any other way you could ever think of to save your life."

"Why, Mars Tom, I doan' *want* no sich glory," Jim explains. "Snake take 'n bite Jim's head off, den *whah* is de glory? No sah, I doan' want no sich doin's."³⁵

Abbé Faria wrote a *Traité sur la possibilité d'une monarchie générale en Italie* on two shirts.³⁶ Tom directs Jim to write a journal on a shirt. Jim may also write "any little common mysterious message to let the world know where he's captivated . . . on the bottom of a tin plate with a fork and

³⁰ *Huckleberry Finn*, p. 331.

³⁶ *Monte Cristo*, Chapter iv.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 337.

³³ *Life of Baron Trenck*, p. 94.

³⁴ Casanova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 26.

³⁵ *Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter xxxviii, p. 362.

throw it out of the window. The Iron Mask always done that, and it's a blame good way, too."³⁷

Baron Trenck pricked his fingers, and wrote with blood.³⁸ Abbé Faria used blood for red ink. For ordinary ink, he employed soot from an old chimney, moistened with wine.³⁹ Jim is told to use ink made from iron rust, moistened with tears or blood.

Abbé Faria made pens from the heads of whittings served on fast days.⁴⁰ Jim is to construct a pen from an old pewter spoon or a piece of old iron barrel-hoop. He is not permitted to follow Huck's suggestion and pull a feather out of a goose, thus making a far better pen. That "'ain't regular,'" explains Tom.⁴¹

Benvenuto Cellini's rope-ladder was too short. He fell into a moat, breaking his leg, when he attempted to escape from the castle of S. Angelo.⁴²

Jim's rope-ladder must be nineteen feet short, and Tom laments the absence of a moat, where Jim may properly break his leg.⁴³

In addition, Tom wants somebody spying around to give

³⁷ *Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter xxxv, p. 335.

³⁸ *Life of Baron Trenck*, p. 74.

³⁹ *Monte Cristo*, Chapter iv. Cf. *Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter xxxv, p. 334.

The following tricks borrowed by Dumas from Casanova do not appear in *Huckleberry Finn*. Casanova persuades his jailer to serve Lucca oil on his salad, and saves the oil for a lamp. Abbé Faria separates the grease from his meat, and makes an oil. Casanova feigns a toothache, and thus persuades the guard to bring him a pumice stone. Abbé Faria feigns a skin disease, and thus obtains sulphur, ostensibly for treatment, really for matches. Casanova uses a steel buckle to strike a light. Abbé Faria strikes a light on burnt linen, with two pebbles.—Casanova, *op. cit.*, I, p. 64. Cf. *Monte Cristo*, Chapter v. Silvio Pellico also writes with blood, during his imprisonment, using a pin as a pen.—*Le mie prigioni*, ed. Egidio Bellorini, Milan, 1907, p. 10 (Chapter v).

⁴⁰ *Monte Cristo*, Chapter iv.

⁴¹ *Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter xxxv, p. 334.

⁴² Benvenuto Cellini, *op. cit.*, I, cix, p. 237.

⁴³ *Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter xxxv, p. 332.

the alarm when Jim attempts to escape, because "when Louis XVI. was going to light out from the Tooleries a servant-girl done it."⁴⁴

Mark Twain is not satisfied to represent his hero as an enthusiastic reader, after the manner of Don Quixote. Much of the dialogue between Tom and Huck over the matter of following the books is almost *verbatim* the regular argument between Don Quixote and his squire. "If I was as ignorant as you I'd keep still," says Tom.⁴⁵ "Why, it's perfectly ridiculous." "You don't seem to know anything, somehow—perfect saphead."⁴⁶ "How you talk, you better say; you don't know anything about it."⁴⁷ "Hain't you ever read any books at all?"⁴⁸ "It ain't no use trying to learn you nothing, Huck."⁴⁹ Don Quixote's refrain is: "How little thou knowest about it . . . and this would have been made clear to thee, hadst thou read as many histories as I have"⁵⁰ "Listen, Sancho, . . . I swear that thou has^t the least understanding of any squire on earth, present or past."⁵¹ "How little thou knowest about chivalry, Sancho."⁵² "I have told thee already, Sancho, that on the subject of adventures thou knowest little."⁵³ "It is easy to see that thou art not used to this business of adventures. . . ."⁵⁴

⁴⁴ *Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter xxxix, p. 369.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, Chapter xxxv, p. 334.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, Chapter iii, p. 20.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, Chapter xxxv, p. 333.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 331.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 339.

⁵⁰ *The Complete Works of Miguel de Cervantes*, edited by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, translated by John Ormsby, Glasgow (1901), *Don Quixote*, Vol. I, Chapter x, p. 73.

⁵¹ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, ed. D. Diego Clemencín (1910), I, Chapter x, p. 158. The translation is my own, no other being available to me. Elsewhere I have followed Ormsby.

⁵² Ormsby, *op. cit.*, I, Chapter xviii, p. 121.

⁵³ *Ibid*, I, Chapter viii, p. 62.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, I, Chapter viii, p. 59.

If Tom calls Huck 'ridiculous' because of his unwillingness to accept the authority of the books, so does Don Quixote laugh at the ignorance of Sancho Panza. "Don Quixote could not help laughing at his squire's simplicity."⁵⁵

Not only is there a general imitation of *Don Quixote* in *Huckleberry Finn*, but there is also a direct imitation of one or two episodes from *Don Quixote*. In Chapter III of *Huckleberry Finn* we learn that Tom, doubtless borrowing an idea from the *Lady of the Lake*, "sent a boy to run about town with a blazing stick, which he called a slogan (which was the sign for the Gang to get together). . . ." He induced the "Gang" to set an ambush for a crowd of Spaniards and "A-rabs," camels and elephants, all loaded down with "di'monds," and guarded by only four hundred soldiers. Huck says: "'When we got the word we rushed out of the woods and down the hill. But there warn't no Spaniards and A-rabs, and there warn't no camels nor no elephants. It warn't anything but a Sunday-school picnic and only a primer class at that. We busted it up, and chased the children up the hollow; but we never got anything but some doughnuts and jam . . . I didn't see no di'monds, and I told Tom Sawyer so. He said there was loads of them there, anyway; and he said there was A-rabs there, too, and elephants and things. I said, why couldn't we see them, then? He said if I warn't so ignorant, but had read a book called *Don Quixote*, I would know without asking. He said it was all done by enchantment. He said there was hundreds of soldiers there, and elephants and treasure, and so on, but we had enemies which he called magicians, and they turned the whole thing into an infant Sunday-school, just out of spite. I said, all right; then the thing for us to do was to go for the magicians. Tom Sawyer said I was a numskull.'"⁵⁶

In Part I, Chapter XVIII, Don Quixote imagines that a herd of sheep, which he sees approaching, is really a motley

⁵⁵ Ormsby, *op. cit.*, I, Chapter viii, p. 60.

⁵⁶ *Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter iii, pp. 18, 19.

army of Arabs, Spaniards, Christians and pagans. He attacks the sheep, and the shepherds repulse him, using their slings. Don Quixote explains that his enemy, the magician, has turned the armies into sheep, for spite. In the next chapter, there is the story of an assault upon a funeral procession, the monks being put to rout, and the booty captured by Don Quixote consisting of a few baskets of provisions, which the mourners brought with them. To these two episodes Mark Twain doubtless added a few details about "di'monds" from the "robber books" to which he constantly refers.

Tom Sawyer is much more truly autobiographical than *Huckleberry Finn*. In *Tom Sawyer*, however, the hero insists upon following the models found in the books. " 'They all do' " is the supreme reason for everything.

" 'Why, I can't do that, it ain't in the book,' " he protests.⁵⁷

" 'I can't fall; that ain't the way it is in the book.' " ⁵⁸

" 'What does he (the hermit) put sackcloth and ashes on his head for?' " inquires Huck.

" 'I dono. But they've got to do it. Hermits always do.' " ⁵⁹

" 'What do you kiss for?' " asks Becky.

" 'Well, they always do that,' " answers Tom.⁶⁰

The boys play the parts of Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, in Sherwood Forest. When Joe Harper falters, Tom prompts him, for they talked "by the book, from memory."⁶¹ Joe Harper refuses to fall dead. Tom explains that the book says, 'Then with one backhanded stroke slew he poor Guy of Guisborne.' So Joe has to receive the blow, and fall.

The *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* was begun shortly after the publication of *Huckleberry Finn* and the

⁵⁷ *Tom Sawyer*, Chapter viii, p. 79.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 78.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, Chapter xiii, p. 118.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, Chapter vi, p. 60.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, Chapter vii.

Life on the Mississippi, a fact which is of some importance in the consideration of literary influences upon Mark Twain.⁶² It is significant that in the *Connecticut Yankee* the author refers repeatedly to the books which played an important rôle in the concluding chapters of *Huckleberry Finn*. In one passage he exclaims: "There was to be nothing finer or sweeter in the life of even Benvenuto Cellini, that rough-hewn saint, ten centuries later."⁶³ Chapter XVIII of the *Connecticut Yankee*, entitled "In the Queen's Dungeons," is suggestive of the narrative of Jim's imprisonment. The author mentions here Casanova's tale about the "dismemberment of Louis XV's poor awkward enemy," and remarks of the Queen: "So here she was, forecasting the veritable history of future prisoners of the Castle d'If without knowing it."⁶⁴

It is true that in the *Connecticut Yankee* there is no such direct reference to *Don Quixote* as may be found in *Huckleberry Finn*. The fundamental thesis, the satire upon chivalry and chivalrous romances, is, however, clearly borrowed from Cervantes.⁶⁵ In pursuance of this theme Mark Twain is willing even to satirize a beloved volume for which his true feeling is expressed in the affectionate phrase "old Sir Thomas Malory's enchanting book."⁶⁶ Indeed, he assumes in the *Connecticut Yankee* exactly the attitude of the "blanketers" of Cervantes, who were "fellows who would not have cared two farthings for Don Quixote, even had he been really one of the knights-errant of the Round Table."⁶⁷

⁶² The *Connecticut Yankee* was formally begun in 1886, but Mark Twain was already taking notes for the novel in 1884. (See Paine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 791.)

⁶³ *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, Chapter xvii, p. 131.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, Chapter xviii, p. 145.

⁶⁵ "Howells likened him to Cervantes, laughing Spain's chivalry away." (Paine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 891.)

⁶⁶ *Connecticut Yankee*, p. 12. Paine deplores the author's attack on Malory, and challenges the validity of Howells's comparison. (*Op. cit.*, II, p. 891). For Mark Twain's attachment to Malory, see *ibid*, III, pp. 1320 and 1540, and especially II, p. 790.

⁶⁷ *Don Quixote*, I, Chapter xvii, p. 120.

In a certain sense, Mark Twain's mode of attack is similar to that of Cervantes. Alisande ("Sandy"), speaking now the words of Malory, now a quasi-antique version of Lecky's *History of European Morals*, represents the romantic side, like Don Quixote, quoting from his romances of chivalry. The Yankee, making fun of Malory and "Lecky," plays the rôle of a glorified Sancho Panza.⁶⁸

The following excerpt will illustrate the author's method of ridiculing Malory:⁶⁹

"So they two departed and rode into a great forest. And—"

"Which two?"

"Sir Gawaine and Sir Uwaine. And so they came to an abbey of monks, and there were well lodged. So on the morn they heard their masses in the abbey, and so they rode forth till they came to a great forest; then was

⁶⁸ The Yankee's lively intelligence makes it seem unfair to compare him to Sancho Panza, but it was evidently the author's intention to represent him as an "ignoramus." As he observed to Dan Beard: "You know . . . this Yankee of mine has neither the refinement nor the weakness of a college education; he is a perfect ignoramus; he is boss of a machine shop; he can build a locomotive or a Colt's revolver, he can put up and run a telegraph line, but he's an ignoramus nevertheless . . ." (Paine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 887, 888).

⁶⁹ Though a large part of the materials in the book is taken from Malory and Lecky, the author draws in numerous places on his own works. In Chapter xxxviii (pp. 344, 345), *e. g.*, we find Arthur, enslaved and dressed in rags, being derided for his pretensions of royal blood, just as the Prince, in *The Prince and the Pauper*, is hooted by the mob. Another version of the story of the changeling boy is found in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Chapter xxi. The court scene in this chapter of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is similar to that in *Tom Sawyer, Detective*, which appeared in the same year.

The fundamental conception of *The Prince and the Pauper*, as well as of the episode of King Arthur in rags, doubtless came from one of Mark Twain's recurrent dreams. Often he had the familiar dream of appearing scantily clothed in a public place, but he adds: "Sometimes in that dream I am dressed like a tramp instead of being in my night-clothes." He explains the worst part of his embarrassment thus: "I take hold of some man and whisper to him, 'I am Mark Twain;' but that does not improve it, for immediately I can hear him whispering to the others, 'He says he is Mark Twain,' and they all look at me a good deal more suspiciously than before, and I can see they don't believe it, and that it was a mistake to make that impression." (Paine, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 1368, 1369.)

Sir Gawaine ware, in a valley by a turret, of twelve fair damsels, and two knights armed on great horses, and the damsels went to and fro by a tree. And then was Sir Gawaine ware how there hung a white shield on that tree, and ever as the damsels came by it they spit upon it, and some threw mire upon the shield—"

"Now, if I hadn't seen the like myself in this country, Sandy, I wouldn't believe it. But I've seen it, and I can just see those creatures now, parading before that shield and acting like that. . . ." ⁷⁰

A good example of Mark Twain's parody of Lecky is found in the tale of the "Holy Fountain":

History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne, by William Hartpole Lecky (1883), II, pp. 111, 112.

He (St. Simeon Stylites) had bound a rope around him so that it became imbedded in his flesh, which putrefied around it. 'A horrible stench, intolerable to the spectators, exhaled from his body, and worms dropped from him whenever he moved, and they filled his bed. . . .' From every quarter pilgrims of every degree thronged to do him homage. A crowd of prelates followed him to the grave. . . . The general

A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, XXI, pp. 173, 174.

" . . . Of old time there lived there an abbot and his monks. Belike were none in the world more holy than these; for they gave themselves to study of pious books, and spoke not the one to the other, or indeed to any, and ate decayed herbs and naught thereto, and slept hard, and prayed much, and washed never; also they wore the same garment until it fell from their bodies through age and decay. Right so came they to be known of all

⁷⁰ *Connecticut Yankee*, Chapter xv, pp. 114-115. Cf. *Morte d'Arthur*, IV, Chapter xvi, end. The entire quotation from the *Morte d'Arthur* is from IV, Chapter xvi (end) to Chapter xviii.

In all at least a dozen pages in the *Connecticut Yankee* are word for word quotations from Malory. In the WORD OF EXPLANATION, the story of HOW SIR LAUNCELOT SLEW TWO GIANTS, AND MADE A CASTLE FREE is taken, with some omissions, from *Morte d'Arthur*, VI, Chapter xi. The old man's tale, Chapter iii, pp. 33-35, is from *Morte d'Arthur*, I, Chapter xxv. The "novice's report" of the tournament, Chapter ix, pp. 72-74, is taken with slight omissions from *Morte d'Arthur*, VII, Chapter xxviii. Chapter xix of the *Connecticut Yankee*, which Mark Twain acknowledges to be "borrowed, language and all," from Malory (*Connecticut Yankee*, p. 156, note) is from *Morte d'Arthur*, IV, Chapter xxiv. The "newspaper" account of Arthur's death is quoted from *Morte d'Arthur*, XXI, Chapter iv.

voice of mankind pronounced him to be the highest model of a Christian saint. . . .

It was related of one monastery in the desert, that the monks suffered greatly from want of water to drink; but at the prayer of the abbot Theodosius a copious stream was produced. But soon some monks, tempted by the abundant supply, diverged from their old austerity, and persuaded the abbot to avail himself of the stream for the construction of a bath. The bath was made. Once, and once only, did the monks enjoy their ablutions, when the stream ceased to flow. Prayers, tears, and fastings were in vain. A whole year passed. At last the abbot destroyed the bath, which was the object of the Divine displeasure, and the waters flowed afresh.

the world by reason of these holy austerities, and visited by rich and poor, and revered. . . .”

“But always there was lack of water there. Whereas, upon a time, the holy abbot prayed, and for answer a great stream of clear water burst forth by miracle in a desert place. Now were the fickle monks tempted of the Fiend, and they wrought with their abbot unceasingly by beggings and beseechings that he would construct a bath; and when he was become weary and might not resist more, he said have ye your will, then, and granted that they asked. Now mark thou what 'tis to forsake the ways of purity, the which He loveth, and wanton with such as be worldly and an offense. These monks did enter into the bath and come thence washed as white as snow; and lo, in that moment His sign appeared, in miraculous rebuke! for His insulted waters ceased to flow, and utterly vanished away.’”

“They fared mildly, Sandy, considering how that kind of crime is regarded in this country.’”

“Belike; but it was their first sin; and they had been of perfect life for long, and differing in naught from the angels. Prayers, tears, torturings of the flesh, all was vain to beguile that water to flow again. . . . And so upon a time, after year and day, the good abbot destroyed the bath. And behold, His anger was in that moment appeased; and the waters gushed richly forth again. . . .”

Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112.

A spectator attempted to number these rapid motions, but desisted from weariness when he had counted 1,244.

Connecticut Yankee, Chapter XXII, p. 191.

I timed him with a stop-watch, and he made 1,244 revolutions in 24 minutes and 46 seconds.

Imitation of *Don Quixote* is not confined to the ridicule of Malory, and to the garbled extracts from Lecky. Apparently there are also reminiscences of *Don Quixote* in some of the episodes of the *Connecticut Yankee*. Don Quixote, it will be recalled, had the greatest difficulty in eating and drinking with his armor on. Finally the landlord came to the rescue, hollowing out a reed, through which the knight errant's wine was poured into his mouth.⁷¹ Mark Twain's hero, compelled to wear armor, gets into a perspiration, and begins to itch. In vain he tries to scratch through the iron of the helmet, while, to make matters worse, a fly gets through the bars and settles on his nose. Finally Alisande ("Sandy") comes to the rescue, relieving him of his helmet, and pouring water down inside his armor.⁷²

⁷¹ . . . But a laughable sight it was to see him eating, for having his helmet on and the beaver up, he could not with his own hands put anything into his mouth unless some one else placed it there, and this service one of the ladies rendered him. But to give him anything to drink was impossible, or would have been so had not the landlord bored a reed, and putting one end in his mouth poured the wine into him through the other; all which he bore with patience rather than sever the ribbons of his helmet. (*Don Quixote*, I, ii, p. 29.)

⁷² *Connecticut Yankee*, Chapter xii, p. 95. This episode, in which Mark Twain approaches Cervantes more closely than anywhere else in the novel, was the germ of the whole story. Paine tells us that the first entry in the author's notebook for the *Connecticut Yankee* was: "Dream of being a knight-errant in armor in the Middle Ages. Have the notions and habits, though, of the present day mixed with necessities of that. No pockets in the armor. No way to manage certain requirements of nature. Can't scratch. Cold in the head and can't blow. Can't get a handkerchief; can't use iron sleeve; iron gets red-hot in the sun; leaks in the rain; gets white with frost and freezes me solid in winter; makes disagreeable clatter when I enter church. Can't dress or undress myself. Always getting struck by lightning. Fall down and can't get up." (Paine, *op. cit.*, II, 791.)

"Sandy's" ogres are changed by enchantment to starveling swineherds, just as Don Quixote's giants, etc., prove to be shepherds.⁷³ "Sandy's" castle is likewise changed to a pigsty, with a wattled fence around it, just as Don Quixote's castles invariably prove to be ordinary taverns.⁷⁴

A certain type of humor, depending for its effect upon the misunderstanding of terms, especially slang, is common to the *Connecticut Yankee* and to *Don Quixote*. It would be rash to infer that we have here another example of literary influence, but at least we have evidence of a kinship of spirit between Mark Twain and Cervantes.⁷⁵

The following extracts from the conversation of the Yankee and "Sandy" will serve to illustrate the style of humor in question:

"Where do they hang out?"

"Where do they hang out?"

"Yes, where do they live?"

"Ah, I understood thee not. That I will tell thee eftsoons. . . ."

"Don't forget the cowboys, Sandy."

"Cowboys?"

"Yes; the knights, you know. . . . You were going to tell me about them. A while back, you remember. Figuratively speaking, game's called."

"Game—"

"Yes, yes, yes! Go to the bat—"⁷⁶

⁷³ *Connecticut Yankee*, Chapter xx, p. 163. Cf. *Don Quixote*, ed. Clemen-
cín, I, Chapter xviii, p. 276.

⁷⁴ *Connecticut Yankee*, Chapter xx, p. 162. Cf. *Don Quixote*, ed. Clemen-
cín, I, Chapter ii, p. 29; Chapter xvii, p. 255; Chapter xviii, p. 260.

⁷⁵ Numerous critics have noted such a general resemblance. W. D. Howells asserted, for instance, that the *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* was quite comparable to the *Ingenious Gentleman of La Mancha*. Brander Matthews placed Mark Twain on a level with Cervantes and Molière. Albert Bigelow Paine, when seeking a basis of comparison, ranked *Huckleberry Finn* higher than *Don Quixote*.

⁷⁶ *Connecticut Yankee*, Chapter xv, p. 113. Cf. the account of Buck Fanshaw's funeral in *Roughing It*, where the parson fails to understand Scotty's 'ante and pass the buck,' 'gone up the flume,' 'kicked the bucket,' etc., while Scotty has equal difficulty in comprehending the parson's 'mysterious country from whose bourne no traveler returns.' A rather similar

Mark Twain used to vary this type of joke by having the misunderstanding of terms result not merely in naïve credulity, but in panic. An example of this variation is found in *The Prince and the Pauper*, where the constable is frightened out of his wits by Sir Miles:

"In the law the crime is called *Non compos mentis lex talionis sic transit gloria mundi*."

"Ah, my God."

"And the penalty is death!"

"God be merciful to me a sinner!"

The Yankee produces devastating results by his word: Mekkamuuselmannenmassenmenschenmoerdermohrenmuttermarmormonumentenmacher!⁷⁷

To summarize: The influence of Cervantes, apparent already in the *Innocents Abroad*, is very manifest in the *Life on the Mississippi*, where Mark Twain chooses Cervantes as a sort of standard-bearer against the romantic Walter Scott.

effect is obtained in *Innocents Abroad* when the pilgrims pretend not to understand what an Egyptian mummy is. (*Innocents Abroad*, I, Chapter xxvii, pp. 372-373).

Cervantes represents Don Quixote as being naïvely shocked because one criminal has been sent to the galleys for being "enamorado," while another's crime is simply that he is "músico y cantor." (*Don Quixote*, ed. Clemencín, I, Chapter xxii, pp. 351-353).

The foundation of this scene in *Don Quixote* is in *Rinconete y Cortadillo* a *novela* mentioned in *Don Quixote* (ed. Clemencín, I, Chapter xlvii, in Vol. II, p. 368). In this *novela*, the following explanation of thieves' slang is made to those aspiring young criminals, Rincón and Cortado: "... porque los días pasados dieron tres ansias a un cuatrero que había murciado dos roznos, y con estar flaco y cuartanario, así los sufrió sin cantar, como si fueran nada; y esto atribuímos los del arte a su buena devoción, porque sus fuerzas no eran bastantes para sufrir el primer desconcierto del verdugo; y porque sé que me han de preguntar algunos vocablos de los que he dicho, quiero curarme en salud y decírselo antes que me la pregunten: sepan vuestras mercedes que cuatrero es ladrón de bestias; ansia es el tormento; roznos los asnos, hablando con perdón; primer desconcierto es las primeras vueltas de cordel que da el verdugo."

Cuatrero and *cantar en el ansia* are explained both in the *novela* and in *Don Quixote*.

⁷⁷ *Connecticut Yankee*, Chapter xxiii, p. 199.

In *Tom Sawyer*, and especially in *Huckleberry Finn*, Mark Twain parallels closely the masterpiece of Cervantes. He alters the character of Tom Sawyer so that, like Don Quixote, he is an omnivorous reader of romance, and desires to act out the rôles of his favorite heroes. He alters also the character of Huckleberry Finn, transforming him from a very imaginative character to a prosaic Sancho Panza, a foil to the brilliant Tom Sawyer. For the romances of chivalry which turned the brain of Don Quixote, Mark Twain substitutes more modern romances, such as the *Life of Baron Trenck*, and *Monte Cristo*, which inspire the wild fancies of Tom Sawyer. In attempting the rôles of his favorite heroes, Tom Sawyer falls into frequent altercations with Huck Finn, which resemble closely the arguments between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. One or two episodes from *Don Quixote* are imitated directly in *Huckleberry Finn*, with acknowledgment by the author. The *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, which contains numerous reminiscences of *Huckleberry Finn*, is essentially another imitation of *Don Quixote*, because of its satire upon chivalry and chivalrous romances. Alisande ("Sandy"), speaking the language of Malory, or a modified version of Lecky, is the author's Don Quixote. The scoffing Yankee is his glorified Sancho Panza. One or two episodes in the *Connecticut Yankee* are apparently imitated directly from *Don Quixote*, and the author's style of humor is often strikingly similar to that of Cervantes.

OLIN HARRIS MOORE

XVII. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON MODERN FOLK PAGEANTRY

Passing mention was made in *English Pageantry* of the appearance of civic giants on the Continent—notably in Belgium and the North of France; and the fact that such figures as Saint Christopher of Salisbury and his European colleagues have reappeared since the recent war has been recorded in an article entitled *Post-Bellum Giants*. Since the publication of that paper, in *Studies in Philology* for January 1921, additional details concerning French and Belgian giants have come to my attention.

Antwerp, Brussels, Hasselt, Douai, Mons, Ath, and Lille are some of the Belgian and French cities which still show their giants on popular festival-days. Most of these feasts centre around the "kermesse," or holiday in honor of the local patron-saint; and though the war interrupted these celebrations, they have been revived, since the coming of peace, with renewed enthusiasm. Fortunately, many of the civic giants were spared from destruction; and when they reappeared, the crowds recognized in them old friends, whom they greeted with a noisy, but none the less profound, emotion. For it should be noted that these figures have acquired a personality, which has made them almost human; and the folk has come to regard them with the same air of ownership with which it invests a popular public character.

One of the most prominent civic giants of Europe is that of Antwerp, Druon Antigoon,¹ who was built in 1534 by Pieter Coecke of Alost. I am indebted to Professor Gustave L. van Roosbroeck, of the University of Minnesota, and to M. Georges Delannoy, of the City Council of Antwerp, for the

¹ Cf. "Post-Bellum Giants," *Studies in Philology*, xviii, 1, p. 6. Cf. also *English Pageantry*, i, pp. 55, and n. 2; 254, 256, for mention of giants and other pageantry at Antwerp.

following additional notes concerning this interesting figure.

Under date of 2 March, 1921, Professor van Roosbroeck writes: "Druon Antigoon is an old acquaintance; I spent my childhood in Antwerp. I remember also very well his spouse, and the other personages of the traditional 'Omme-gang,' as, for example, Op Sinjoorken, de Dolfyn, etc. The old song of the 'Matrooskens,' or 'Sailors,' is the well-known

Naar Oostland willen we varen, . . .

"In Borgerhout, near Antwerp, is the home of four old 'giants' who go out every year to the great delight of young and old. . . ."

Under date of 11 March, 1921, he writes at greater length:

" . . . The reason for promenading Druon Antigoon, the Antwerp Giant, through the streets, once a year, is linked up with an old legend about the origin of the name *Antwerpen*²

"It is told by the people of Antwerp that the Giant is made entirely out of chewed paper:³ Pieter Coecke, it is said, was imprisoned and, being unable to obtain materials, he chewed

² Cf. *English Pageantry*, i, 254, n. 4. Professor van Roosbroeck recounts the story in detail, noting that it is found in sixteenth-century historians. A statue to Brabo (the work of Jef Lambeaux) is in front of the Hôtel de Ville of Antwerp, and the legend is perpetuated on the City Seal. In some accounts, this giant is named "petit Eckhof"; M. van Roosbroeck does not name him; he says: "About the time of the conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar there lived in a castle near the Schelde a terrific giant who stopped all the ships on the river and exacted a high income tax [sic]. Any captain who refused to submit to his demands was killed. The giant cut off the hands of his numerous victims and threw them into the Scheldæ, and therefore the city was called *Hand Werpen* (Antwerpen). . . . One of Cæsar's generals, Sylvius Brabo, killed the giant, cut off his hand and threw it into the Schelde. Brabo became the first Duke of the country around Antwerp, which was called after him: Brabant." It may be noted that the modern province of Brabant is that district surrounding Brussels, which is the capital of Brabant, as well as of Belgium.

³ It may be noted that the French *papier-mâché* is literally "chewed paper."

all the paper within his reach and pasted, in this fashion, our Giant together. To this legend refers the old folk-song:

De reus heeft dikke beenen,
 De reus heeft dikke beenen,
 De reus heeft dikke beenen,
 Van geknauwd papier.
 Waar heeft hij die gaan leenen?
 Waar heeft hij die gaan leenen?
 Die dikke, vette beenen,
 Van geknauwd papier?

"The giant, as seen to-day, is the work of Pieter Coecke, and his spouse of Daniel Herreyns.⁴ But their heads are modern. The old heads once fell off and have been replaced by exact imitations. The real heads can still be seen in the Steen, the Antwerp Museum of Antiquities.

"I am sending you the words of the song *Naar Oostland willen we varen* (to sail)— a song which is sung by the Matrooskens or Little Sailors. It is adapted with only one word of difference from an old, well-known Flemish song, *Naar Oostland willen we rijden* (to ride). The music of this song can be found in Willems' book, *Oud Vlaemsche Liederen*, if I am not mistaken. . . The Matrooskens follow the Giant and his Spouse on a ship drawn by four or six strong horses.⁵

"The Dolphin dates from the sixteenth century at least. I remember having seen old engravings of the Antwerp *Omme-gang* in which the Dolphin appeared. On his back is

⁴ *Post-Bellum Giants*, already referred to, records this fact. M. Delanoy notes, in 1921, that the giants had suffered much at the hands of the Occupying Forces: he says: "Les Allemands logés dans le magasin des géants ont commis beaucoup de dégâts, en enlevant les cordages et la voilure du bateau, les cuirs des géants, et en brisant méchamment ces chars et engins."

⁵ Cf. *English Pageantry*, i, pp. 254, 256 and n. 6. Many examples of ships in pageants will be found in this book; see the Index under *Ship, Ships, Half-Moon, Clermont, Laclede, Don de Dieu, Welcome, drakar*, etc.

riding a child armed with a spout through which it pours unexpectedly a stream of water on the onlookers.⁶

" . . . In the list of civic giants from Malines⁷ there appears Op-Signoorken. It is claimed by the old *burgers* of Antwerp that the real Op-Signoorken is in Antwerp, and that the Op-Signoorken of Malines has been stolen from Antwerp, but recovered later. In the Steen one finds a small wooden statue of a man in an eighteenth-century costume: tradition claims that it is the real Op-Signoorken. He is called 'the oldest citizen of Antwerp.' The word *Signoorken* refers to the fact that the inhabitants of Antwerp are nicknamed *Signoren*, because in the sixteenth century they called themselves Signore, or Señor, after the contemporary Spanish-Italian fashion. Besides, there settled at that time, at Antwerp, a large colony of Italian and Spanish merchants and soldiers. *Op* refers to the fact that [the image] was thrown *up* in the air. Before he touches the ground, he is caught in a big sheet. The song of Op-Signoorken is:

En laat hem toch niet vallen,
Met zijnen neus in 't slijk.
Alle gelijk!"

M. Delannoy sends a few additional details: he dates the "birth" of Druon 1535, and spells the name of the constructor Pierre [Pieter] Coucke; he notes further that the giant is twenty-four feet tall. *La géante*, constructed in 1765 by the painter Herreyns, is made "in the form of the goddess Minerva"—an interesting example of the classical influence superimposed on the *naïveté* of folk-custom. In early times, the Ommegang was an annual affair, taking place in connection with the *kermesse* (the third Sunday in August);

⁶ Cf. the element of the unexpected in the squibs of the London street-processions, and the tricks of the crowd humorously described by Ned Ward. (*A Civic "Triumph" circa 1700*, in *Journ. Eng. Germ. Philol.* for January, 1918, [xvii, 1] pp. 128 ff.)

⁷ *Post-Bellum Giants*, p. 6.

but of late years, it has occurred less often.⁸ In 1889, says M. Delannoy, the two giants were sent to Paris for the charity fête organized for the victims of an explosion in an Antwerpian cartridge-factory. In 1899, the Ommegang formed part of the Van Dyck celebration; but it does not seem to have emerged from its *magasin* again until 1920, when the Plantin celebration (which should have taken place in August, 1914) finally occurred.⁹ A huge poster announcing the Ommegang was displayed by the civic authorities; a copy of this, sent by M. Delannoy, may be found in the Harvard Library.

I am indebted to Professor van Roosbroeck for the words of the two songs—that of the Sailors, and the Giant's Song (*Reuzenlied*)—here transcribed:

NAAR OOSTLAND

Naar Oostland willen we rijden,
Naar Oostland willen we mee,
Alover die groene heide,
—Frisch over die heide—
Daar is er een betere stee.

Als wij binnen Oostland komen,
Als wij binnen Oostland zijn,
Daar worden we binnen gelaten,
—Frisch over die heide—
Zij heeten ons welleskom zijn.

Wij drinken den wijn er met schalen,
En 't bier ook zooveel 't ons belijft,
Daar worden we binnengelaten,
—Frisch over die heide—
Daar woont er mijn zoete lief.

⁸ M. Delannoy notes that "de cet Ommegang il existe encore: la baleine et les trois dauphins, le bateau et les trois barquettes, le géant et la géante. Sont disparus: le cheval marin, l'éléphant, le dromadaire, le dragon, l'enfer, le Parnasse, etc." It is interesting to compare this list with such a one as that of the pageants at Chester (*Eng. Pag.*, i, pp. 44, 45, and notes), and with the arbors and "wildernesses" of the London civic pageants (*ibid.*, ch. vi, *passim*). The "enfer" suggests a survival of miracle-plays.

⁹ A letter from another Belgian source records that on this occasion "est sorti un géant qui lançait un jet d'eau qui a fort amusé la foule." Cf. above, note 6, and *Eng. Pag.*, i, pp. 254 and 256, n. 6.

to "Don" under Spanish rule, and that a name which originated with a saint's image became later connected with a charitable nobleman of the region. Gayant, the Giant of Douai, bears the Picard form of *géant* as a proper name, but Ambiorix, of Ath (also called "le Tyran"), suggests an historical background.

The *Echo du Nord*, a journal of Lille, records, in its number of 18 July, 1921, preparations for the marriage of Lydéric and Jeanne Maillotte:

Comité des fêtes de Fives-Saint-Maurice
MARIAGE DE LYDÉRIC ET DE JEANNE MAILLOTTE
(Cortège comique)

On nous communique:

La température, les moustiques et les bizarreries du coefficient n'empêchent pas ce Comité de travailler avec . . . chaleur à l'organisation des fêtes qui seront données à Fives-Saint-Maurice, le dimanche 14 août prochain, à l'occasion du mariage de Lydéric et Jeanne Maillotte.

Des lettres d'invitation ayant été lancées un peu partout. . . Paris nous envoie sa Reine, la Cour du Roi Clotaire y sera représentée pour faire honneur à Lydéric, ce digne fils de Salvaert, les géants Phinaert, etc. les Archers de Jeanne Maillotte, les Hurlus avec leur légendaire tambour-major, la municipalité d'Tartagrobob (canton de Monpoing-sur-Deûle) avec les pompiers, la rosière, la musique, tous ont promis d'y assister.

Cet enthousiasme des Tartagrobobriens à participer à cette fête s'explique en ce sens que l'osier de nos géants lillois a poussé dans les champs de cette riantة commune.

Fairholt records the name of the Giant of Ath as Goliath,¹⁰ and it is possible that the giant Ambiorix, who appeared in the *fêtes communales* of the twentieth century, is another figure. It was not uncommon, in earlier times, to give the giants Biblical names—a Samson appeared with a Hercules at London in 1522, for instance¹¹—and there may have been a close connection between them and the miracle-plays. Such

¹⁰ See *English Pageantry*, i, p. 55, and n. 2. A post-card bearing the name of the giant ("Ambiorix (Géant). Le Tyran") and his picture, which was mailed at Ath on 26 August, 1912, has been given me by Mlle. Pierron, of Lille.

¹¹ Corpus Christi (Cantab.) MS. 298 (no. 8), cited in *Eng. Pag.*, i, p. 176.

a practice as the flogging of Judas¹² may also go back to the older drama; not every actor has the physique which could withstand such treatment as that required of the

¹² See *English Pageantry*, i, p. 16, [cf. ii, p. 156, n. 5,] i, p. 26, n. 4, and p. 27, n. 2. Judases apparently appeared in Norwich processions early in the sixteenth century.

Cf. *Letters of Susan Hale* (Boston: 1919) p. 147 f., for a description of Good Friday at Mexico City. In a letter dated Easter Sunday, 5 April, 1885, Miss Hale writes: ". . . Friday was Good Friday, which they celebrate here as a day of great rejoicings; all the world is in the street. . . . This country is a great place for children's toys, especially this anniversary, for they make a great time about Judas (Iscariot). The streets are full of hideous images called Judases, most of them full of fireworks, and on Saturday at ten o'clock in the morning these are all set off amid pealing of bells. [Cf. the "squibs" of the London Lord Mayor's Shows.] There are Mrs. Judases as well. Someone gave Mrs. Church a little silver Judas; it is a Devil;—the man who sold it said, 'Yes, Devil, yes, Judas, same thing.' They are all sizes and designs. I have several choice ones which we can set off on the Fourth of July. Then every being has in his hand a sort of watchman's rattle, which makes a noise called grinding the bones of Judas, and these are of every imaginable design, frying-pans, bedsteads, locomotives, flower-vases, birds, bath-tubs, and then there are little wooden carts, with wheels that grind the bones. The true thing is to buy your Judas, selecting him with care from millions, and put him in his little cart and draw him home. We saw countless children doing this, the little carts decorated with real flowers, and the children so pleased!

" . . . Saturday was Judas-day, and we saw from our balconies crowds of Judases carried to their doom. These big ones are the size of a man, made of frames covered with tissue paper or what masks are made of. One was hung across corners of our two streets; he had a grinning face; they had put a straw hat on him and festooned him with bread and bananas. He had a placard on him in very bad spelt Spanish, saying among other things, '*Adios amigos, voy a morir.*' But we couldn't stop to see him *morir*, but all hastened to the Zocolo, where we got separated and I was alone in a street leading off with an immense crowd all waiting to see three Judases set off. They were hung on ropes stretched across the second story, and the crowd pleased themselves with throwing missiles at them with yells of joy when anything hit; but very gentle and polite, and very nice to me. At last one went off and then another with a great rushing sound, and snorting smoke and flame which issued from the boots chiefly. Then I got away in the wake of a horse-car that cleaved the crowd—and found the Longfellows in the Cathedral. . . ."

Oberammergau cast! Perhaps Judas had already become an effigy at Norwich in the St. George procession of 1532-3.¹³

Pageantry which may have had some connection with the figure of St. George—though its tie with chivalric pageantry seems more obvious—may be found in the symbolic figures of two knights in the funeral procession of Alexander II of Russia. Among the random reminiscences of a British diplomat occurs this description, by an eye-witness of the occasion:¹⁴

The most striking feature of the procession was the "Black Knight" on foot, followed immediately by the "Golden Knight" on horseback. These were, I believe, meant to typify "The Angel of Death" and "The Angel of the Resurrection." Both knights were clad in armour from head to foot, with the vizors of their helmets down. The "Black Knight's" armour was dull sooty-black all over; he had a long black plume waving from his helmet. The "Golden Knight," mounted on a white horse, with a white plume in his helmet, wore gilded and burnished armour, which blazed like a torch in the sunlight. The weight of the black armour being very great, there had been considerable difficulty in finding a man sufficiently strong to walk six miles, carrying this tremendous burden. A gigantic young private of the Preobrajensky Guards undertook the task for a fee of one hundred roubles, but though he managed to accomplish the distance, he fainted from exhaustion on reaching the Fortress Church, and was, I heard, two months in hospital from the effects of his effort.

While the figures of the knights may have come from chivalric pageantry, it is worthy of note that the symbolism attached to them is distinctly religious. This may have been suggested by the sad occasion on which they appeared; but it seems to relate them more closely to such a figure as St. George than to any of the romantic heroes of more secular pageants. The figure of St. George has appeared at Mons since the war¹⁵ as have the four sons of Aymon, with Bayard, at Brussels.¹⁶

¹³ *Eng. Pag.*, i, p. 26, n. 4, already referred to. There seem to have been two Judases on this occasion, and four in 1535 (*ibid.*, p. 27, n. 2.)

¹⁴ From *The Vanished Poms of Yesterday*, by Lord Frederick Hamilton, (New York: 1920) p. 165 f.

¹⁵ *Post-Bellum Giants*, p. 7. The folk-song sung on this occasion need not be reprinted here, but may be compared with the Antwerp songs given above.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The modern attitude of the Church toward folk-customs such as we have been considering, is expressed in the preface of Jacques Boulenger to Jean Baffier's *Nos Géants d'Auterfoés*.¹⁷

Or, les géants, bâtisseurs des villes, des clochers, des forts châteaux, des belles églises, experts aux travaux champêtres, amis des petites gens, ennemis du diable, étaient les serviteurs de Dieu, et la foi qu'on avait en leurs histoires n'empêchait pas les paysans de prier avec ferveur Marie et son Fils. Toutefois, M. Baffier a souvent entendu, vers 1860, le curé de sa paroisse prêcher contre les contes de la veillée, voire contre les danses, les chansons, les dictons, les coutumes du pays qu'il regardait comme des superstitions païennes. Et cette malveillance de l'Église pour les légendes et les anciens usages de nos provinces chagrine M. Baffier. Hélas! c'est bien vainement qu'il s'en désole, je le crains, et qu'il exhorte, au nom de la morale, Mgr. l'évêque de Nevers et son clergé à admettre ces traditions; j'entends bien que saint Éloi et saint Martin faisaient très bon ménage dans l'âme paysanne avec Gargantua et les fées; mais l'Église romaine ne saurait plus fermer les yeux aujourd'hui sur des liaisons illégitimes à ce point. . . .

The connection between the legends recorded by M. Baffier, and such pageantry as we have been noting, may be assumed. M. Boulenger continues:

Les légendes des saints étaient souvent fort semblables par le fond aux histoires des géants; toutefois, les bienheureux étaient à l'ordinaire plus badins et leurs travaux, pour ainsi parler, plus féeriques; ils ne détestaient pas de se railler un peu des humains et d'étonner leur monde, comme fit saint Éloi, le jour que, chez un maréchal qui doutait de son habileté professionnelle, il coupa froidement le paturon d'un 'chivau,' cloua un fer au sabot en moins de temps qu'il n'en faut pour le dire, et rajusta la jambe tranchée de telle sorte que le cheval s'en alla plus gaillard qu'il n'était venu. Jean de l'Ours et Gargantua étaient moins facétieux et, parce que leurs histoires avaient plus de noblesse, le petit Jean s'y intéressait davantage.

¹⁷ *Nos Géants d'Auterfoés*, by Jean Baffier (Paris: 1920), tells the "geste populaire et berrichonne" of Gargantua, which the author got from his father, "un vrai paysan." The charm of its style is noteworthy. I am indebted to Professor van Roosbroeck for calling the book to my attention. (This quotation is on p. 10.)

Le père Baffier était un vrai paysan. Il savait, car les anciens de Neuvy le lui avaient appris quand il était petit, que la terre *deux fois notre mère, est un grand corps* . . . et qu'il ne faut pas l'exploiter aveuglément, mais l'aménager avec respect. Comme ses ancêtres, il avait la religion de la terre: c'était un homme qui s'en allait greffer les sauvageons de poirier et de cerisier dans les bois. Et sa dévotion aux pierres, aux sources, aux rivières, aux prés, aux champs, aux vignes était grande, et il n'ignorait pas que les bonnes fées et les esprits les habitaient. D'ailleurs, il se souvenait d'avoir vu, dans sa prime jeunesse, des familles de géants *que battait jà pour le diâbe autant que pour le bon Dieu, et il en avait aperçu d'une autre vacâtion que battait pour le diâbe contre le bon Dieu. Si ça continue, ajoutait-il, ce mènement du diâbe incarné, le temps venra ben tôt, comme ça marque dans la porphétie, qu'on vaira un précipice effreyâbe à la place de la cathédrale de Nevers. Partout à l'entour sera un désert à parde de vue; y aura mais de blé dans les champs, mais d'arbages dans les prés, mais d'ârbes dans les bois, et les vignes seront defunctées. . . La terre venra chesse comme de l'amadou, le feu du ciel tumbera dessus, et la terre et le monde s'en iront en poussier. . .*

The names of the giants (mentioned *ibid.*, p. 9), are: Tord-Châgne, Tranche-Montagne, Saint Éloi, Saint Martin, Jean de l'Ours, and Gargantua.¹⁸ The admixture of saints' names is to be remarked. Not unlike such songs as we have cited is that given *le moument qu'on voyait la Géante dansant la bourrée berruyère anvê le coumandant d'armes de Sancoing, au son des vielles et des cornemuses*.¹⁹

¹⁸ M. Boulenger (*op. cit.*, p. 12) remarks: "Pour les rabelaisants, elle a cet intérêt de rappeler de la façon la plus frappante, non du tout par l'affabulation, mais, ce qui est plus intéressant, par le tour et l'accent du récit, le roman de Maître François. . . . Et je ne puis m'empêcher de rester persuadé, après avoir lu les récits du père Baffier, que Rabelais s'est proposé d'imiter les conteurs villageois qu'il avait certainement entendus souventes fois à la veillée et d'écrire dans ce style parlé et traditionnel les aventures de ses héros."

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 158 ff. M. Baffier notes (p. 155) that the *bourrée* is a kind of dance, "d'origine religieuse et guerrière." On p. 128 f., the arrival of the *géante* is described: "*Coument était venue et de là où était venue la Géante. Parsoune, à cetelle heure, ne peu mettre en doutance la venue à Sancoing de la Géante. Coument alle était venue, de là où alle était venue? Moé j'en sais ren, mais ren du tout!*"

"Charlot Robet disait qu'alle venait de Bertagne, et i' chantait une chanson que marquait son voyage en parlant des Pays qu'alle avait traversés. Je m'en rappelle pus de cetelle chanson. Le père Bordier disait qu'alle venait de Langres, par Autun et Nevers. Girard le plemeu de brères

. . . On causait toujours en tout et pour tout de Gargantua, que tenait cheus nous la pus haute place du pinacle, après le grand Dieu du Ciel, parce qu'il était le grand esprit de la Terre de cheus nous. Voéla don' coument le père Lyondon, le vieus lictin, a mis en écriture à la main la bourrée de la Géante, cependant que mon grand-père la disait:

Dedans Cincoing	}	(bis)
L'y a la Pardris grise,		
Dedans Cincoing		
Tout l' mond' la counait ben		
Dame Gargantua	}	(bis)
Vin' à la Pardris grise,		
A la bourrée		
Qu' alle a fort ben dansée		
Les artisans	}	(bis)
De ville et de campagne,		
Tous les paisans,		
En avaint l' cuer content.		
Les grands seigneurs,	}	(bis)
Les bourgeois de la ville,		
Tous les grands sires		
En avaint du plaisir,		
Tous les sargents	}	(bis)
Et tous les capitaines,		
Tous les ech'vins		
Et tous les miliciens.		
Le grand Pervot,	}	(bis)
Et le coumandant d'armes,		
Tous les guerriers		
Etaint émociounés		

J'ai toujours ouï-dire que c'était Gargantua que l'avait faite sus le moument cetelle chanson que mon grand-père Regnaud m'a chantée souventes foés. . .

These few notes will show that pageantry which seems to survive from the miracle-plays has not died out, and that even where its origin has been forgotten, it is still connected

assaurait qu'alle venait de l'Auvargne, par Clermont et Moulins, le père Enault m'a aartené qu'alle venait des Flandres, par Lille, Paris, Bourges. Mon grand-père Regnaud la tenait pour berruyère simpelment, et la mère à Ugène crai qu'alle venait de la Marche. . . ."

(if only through the kermess) with the Church. Perhaps in every case a direct descent from the miracle-play cannot be proved, but the influence of the sacred drama may, in most cases, be felt; and if the Judases have become toys, and Lyderic part of a *cortège comique*, men are but children of a larger growth, and still hold to their playthings.

ROBERT WITHINGTON

XVIII. LAURENCE MINOT'S TRIBUTE TO JOHN BADDING

In commemorating the men who fought for "sir Edward" in the battle "of Inglisch men & Normandes in þe Swyn" Laurence Minot praised John Badding "als one of þe best."¹ Beyond this tribute, however, Badding has remained unknown to the readers of Minot's poems. In editing these poems, Mr. Joseph Hall surmises that, since Badding's name appears in no other account of the fight at Sluys (1340) the poet "has here inserted the name of some comparatively obscure friend of his."² This friend, he thinks, was probably some person connected with the Robert Badding who was M.P. for Winchelsea in 1371, with the John Badding who was M.P. for Rye between 1386 and 1407, or with the John Badding who, according to *Rolls of Parliament*, I, 413, was involved in the taking of twenty-four livres worth of goods from a vessel belonging to John Houchoun and Thomas Peverell of Sherborne in 1321-22.³ It is my purpose to show that, whatever his relation to the M.P.'s for Winchelsea and Rye may have been, the John Badding who was involved in the affair of 1321-22 was probably the person to whom Minot paid tribute for his valor in the fight at Sluys. The evidence for this statement is contained in the record mentioned above and in two other records which identify John Badding with the Cinque Ports and show that he was a well known English seaman of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. With these facts established, the justice of Minot's tribute becomes plausible.

Inasmuch as these documents have never (to the best of my knowledge) been noted in this connection, it seems worth

¹ Joseph Hall. *Poems of Laurence Minot*. Third Edition. Oxford, 1914. Pp. 14-17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

while to print them here. They belong to the years 1321-22, 1336, and 1341. They deal respectively with the taking of goods from the ship of John Houchoun and Thomas Peverell of Sherborne, the preparation of the English fleet to take the sea against the "allies of the Scots," and the payment of expenses incurred in taking a new galley from Winchelsea to London. The three documents are as follows:

(1) *Rolls of Parliament*, I, 413.

Au Counsiel nostre Segnieur le Roy monstrent ses poveres gentz Johan Huchoun, & Thomas Peverell, de Shyrbourne en Dorset, qe par la ou il aveynt charge une Nief de Whytesond de vynt & cynq' drasz, chescun drape pres de cynq' Mars, & cynquaunt aunes de canevas pres de viii soudz, & dys & seept livres d'esterlinges, & vyndrent devaunt Portesmuthe le Vendredy procheyn apres la Feste de Seint Michel, en l'an du regne le Roy qe ore est, qe Dieu gard, quynszyme, la vyndrent Robert de la Bataille, Piers Ward, Johan Badding, Johan Dyne, & Andreu Sely, e autres gentz desconuz, des Cynk Portz, & en la dite Nief entrerent a force & armes, & les avaunditz deniers & chateux pristrent & enporterent, encountre la pees, a lour greve damage de iii^{xx} livres, & surmistrent a les ditz Marchauntz q'il furent de Weymouthe les gentz Roger Damory, & sount de Shyrbourne com les lettres overtes l'Evesqe de Salesbuyrs lour tesmoigne. De ceo prient remedie.

Habeant Breve de transgressionem versus transgressores.
Responsio.

(2) *Rotuli Scotiae*, I, 446.

R. dilecto sibi Reginaldo Alard de Wynchelse salutem. Cum *pro eo quod intelleximus a nonnullis quod quedam galee in partibus transmarinis hostibus armatis ac aliis neccessariis de guerra munite & parate ad partes Normann & Britann' jam noviter accesserunt ad invadend' hostiliter regnum nostrum vel contra nos hostibus nostris Scot' succurend' quam plures naves regni nostri de guerra parrari & congregari fecerimus ad obviand' & resistend' galeis paratis & aliis navibus guerrinis si ad partes regni nostri vt ad partes Scot' ex causa*

predicta presumpserint declinare & ad easdem galeas & naves si ad partes Scot' absque resistentia hujusmodi evaserint insequend' ac jam intellexerimus quod quedam naves de partibus nostris que in hujusmodi obsequium nostrum proficisci deberent pro eo quod victualibus munite non existunt adhunc domi detinentur. Nos periculis que ex defectu hujusmodi evenire poterunt quod absit volentes Deo propitio obviare considerantes etiam quod vos sicut ceteri de regno nostro attento tante necessitatis articulo salvationem regni & populi nostri intime contingente ad defensionem & resistentiam predictas viriliter & potentius quo poteritis faciend' ratione ligentie nostre astricti estis vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes quod quandam navem nostram pro guerra competentiore victualibus necessariis juxta avismentum dilecti & fidelis nostri Galfridi de Say admiralli flote nostre navium versus partes occidentales quem super hoc oneravimus vel deputandi ab eo in hac parte quibuscumque excusatione & dilectione cessantibus muniri fac' ita quod ipsa hujusmodi victualibus sic munita prompta sit & parata ad proficiscend' supra mare in obsequium nostrum hujusmodi in comitiva prefati admiralli nostri una cum aliis navibus de flota predicta indenturas intra ipsum admirallum vel deputand' ab eo et vos continentes que & cujusmodi dicta victualia fuerint & eorum pretium fieri facientes prout decet per quas vobis de pretio predicto in crastino Sancti Martini proxime futur' juxta formam earundem indenturarum ad scaccariam nostram satisfieri faciemus Taliter vos habentes in permissis quod per defectum victualium predictorum profectio navis predictae non retardetur nec dicta defensio regni nostri minuatur per quod ad vos & vestra ex hoc materiam habeamus modo quo convenit capiendi.

T. R. apud Villam de Sancto Johanne xxvj die Aug. pro ipsum regem. Consilia brevia diriguntur subscriptis videlicet. Henr' Wynch, Stephano Padyham, Ricardo de Wertyngge, Roberto Batayle, Benedicto Sely, Johanni Bad-dyng, Stephano Tregeden, de Wynchelse seperatim; Alexandro Alayn & Karolo Colyn de Wynchelse conjunctim; Johanni Wyche de Rye; Will'o Arche & Alexandro Hertyn de

Dovorr' conjunctim; Henr' Chaumpeneys de Sandwych; Simoni Godard & Stephano atte Cherch de Sandwico conjunctim; Johanni Botoun & Stephano Messeberwe de Sandwico conjunctim; Stephano Zoke & Will'o Yre de Sandwico con'; Petro County & Will'o Elys de Sandwico; Petro atte Pette de Sandwico; Petro Bard de Sandwico.⁴

(3) *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 14 Edward III, part 2, p. 599.

January 19, 1341. Westminster. To the treasurer and barons of the exchequer. Whereas the king ordered Stephen de Padyham, bailiff of Winchelse, to find the expenses for taking a new galley of the king from Winchelse to London on a certain day and to be attendant upon John Baddyng, master of the galley, in things necessary for the rigging of the galley, by virtue of which order Stephan incurred divers expenses, as he says, and has besought the king to order allowance to be made to him therefor, the king orders the treasurer and barons to view the king's order and to account with Stephen for the said expenses, causing reasonable allowance therefor to be made to him in his account. By pet. of C.

These records establish the fact that there was a John Badding living at the time of which Minot writes, that he was associated with men of some position in English naval affairs, that he was from Winchelsea, and that he was officially a master of the galley. It is interesting to note that Robert Bataille, who was with Badding in the Southampton affair of 1321-22, was a member of the expedition sent from the Cinque Ports against the Scots in 1336. Like the other associates of Badding, he was from the vicinity of the Cinque Ports. As late as 1342 he was supervisor of walls and waterworks "in the marsh of Northmarsh, near Rye, and Spadeland, between Winchelsea and Dounswall, and other marshes in county Sussex."⁵ Stephan de Padyham, who was a member of the expedition against the Scots and was attendant on

⁴ I have made no changes in the punctuation of this record except such as were necessary to separate the names appended to it.

⁵ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 16 Edward III, p. 582.

Badding in delivering the new galley to the king in 1341, was also an office holder. On March 8, 1338, the barons of the exchequer were ordered to pay him one hundred pounds "for making a new galley at Winchelsea for the king."⁶ On April 3, 1338, he was bailiff of Winchelsea and keeper of the Manor of Ihamme.⁷ He still held this position on August 28, 1342.⁸ Finally, Peter Bard, who was also a member of the expedition against the Scots, was an important naval officer. He was, jointly with John Sturmy, captain and admiral of the fleet sent against the Scots in 1314;⁹ he was captain and admiral of the fleet "from the mouth of the Thames towards the west" in 1338;¹⁰ and he was collector of the port of Sandwich at his death in 1339.¹¹ John Badding's association with these men indicates that he was a man of some importance in the Cinque Ports and explains Minot's

Faire come he sayland out of þe suthwest.

Judging from the evidence of location and associations, the John Badding against whom complaint was issued in 1321-22 was apparently the same man to whom Minot pays tribute for valor in battle in 1340.

Since Badding was a master of the galley, it is probable that he well deserved Minot's tribute. A galley was second in size to a cog, which was a first class vessel in Minot's time.¹² A master of a galley would, therefore, command a second rate fighting ship. Such a ship carried from sixty to eighty-seven sailors and from fifty to sixty fighting men.¹³ As there were about two hundred and fifty English vessels in the fight at Sluys,¹⁴ it was obviously too tedious a task

⁶ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 16 Edward III, p. 339.

⁷ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 12 Edward III, p. 400.

⁸ See 5 *op. cit.*

⁹ Sir N. H. Nichols, *History of the Royal Navy*, I, 451.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 525.

¹¹ See 7 *op. cit.*

¹² Nichols, *op. cit.* II, 159-160.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 401.

¹⁴ Joseph Hall. *Poems of Laurence Minot*, p. 60.

for the chroniclers to mention all the masters of galleys. They, therefore, confined themselves to recording the deeds of the nobility. Minot, however, made one exception in his poem. He probably did this either because John Badding was better known than most of his fellows or because he knew Badding personally. In view of the documents recently published by Professor Moore, which indicate that Minot was engaged in some business transactions in France, the latter hypothesis seems more probable.¹⁵

ROSCOE E. PARKER

¹⁵ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXV, 78-81. I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown for directing my attention to this article and for other valuable suggestions.

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XIX. THE MARLOWE CANON

I. AUTHENTIC WORKS

A. PLAYS

Christopher Marlowe's name appears on the title-pages of the early editions of the following plays:

Dido: 'Written by Christopher Marlowe, and Thomas Nash. Gent.' (1594)

Edward the Second: 'Written by Chri. Marlow Gent.' (1594)

The Massacre at Paris: 'Written by Christopher Marlow.' (n. d. ca. 1600.)

Doctor Faustus: 'Written by Ch. Marl.' (1604)

The Jew of Malta: 'Written by CHRISTOPHER MARLO.' (1633)

Lust's Dominion: 'Written by Christofer Marloe, Gent.' (1657)

The last drama is probably falsely ascribed: the evidence will be taken up in the discussion of the spurious works. The remaining plays appear indeed to be chiefly or altogether Marlowe's work; and to these should be added on internal evidence four plays published anonymously, concerning which no satisfactory external evidence of authorship exists:

Tamburlaine, first and second parts (1590)

The First Part of the Contention between York and Lancaster (1594)¹

The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York (1595)¹

1. *Dido, Queen of Carthage*

There is some reason to believe that *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage* may have been Marlowe's first essay at dramatic composition. The recorded history of the play, however, does not go back of the year 1594, in which the only early edition appeared. The phraseology of the title-page, 'Played by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell,' rather implies that performances were still being given at the time of publication;² and the failure of any licensing notice in the Stationers' Register is perhaps due to the publisher Woodcock's inability to secure a clear right to print while the drama was still a novelty on the stage.³ Evidently the text was printed from a theatre manuscript. This is indicated by the list of 'Actors' on the title-page, and by the explicit nature of the stage directions.

The most acceptable hypothesis is perhaps that Marlowe wrote the play while still at college, and that Nashe, acting as a (presumably self-appointed) literary executor, revised

¹ The authorship of the Henry VI plays is not specifically discussed in this article. The present writer's belief that Marlowe was the main author of the *First Part of the Contention* and the *True Tragedy* and that he was not at all concerned in the *First Part of Henry VI* has been stated elsewhere. Cf. *The Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of "King Henry VI"* (Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1912) and the Yale Shakespeare edition of *The First Part of King Henry VI* (1918), Appendix C.

² Contrast the specific use of the past tense on the title-pages of other plays:—'two Tragical Discourses, as they were sundrie times shewed vpon Stages in the Citie of London' (*Tamburlaine*, 1590); 'As it was sundrie times publicquely acted' (*Edward II*, 1594); 'As it hath bene Acted' (*Doctor Faustus*, 1604).

³ Thomas Woodcock was an under warden of the Stationers' Co. from July 1593. As he died, April 22, 1594, it would appear that the 1594 quarto must have been published between that date and the twenty-fourth of the previous month, when the old year ended by the stationers' calendar. On March 4, 1593-4 Woodcock entered a book called *A Myrrour of Popishe subtilties*.

the manuscript after Marlowe's death for the use of the particular London company which might most properly undertake the production of so academic a piece.⁴ This is the apparent meaning of Bishop Tanner when he says of the play: 'Hanc perfecit et edidit Tho. Nash.'⁵ Such is the opinion of Warton,⁶ Broughton,⁷ Dyce, Ellis,⁸ Ward,⁹ Falgout, Creizenach, Knutowski, Ingram, Bullen,¹⁰ Sir Sidney Lee,¹¹ Charles Crawford,¹² and McKerrow.¹³

⁴ Nashe's *Summer's Last Will* was similarly designed for private performance, though by what company is not known. McKerrow shows good reason to believe that it was composed for production in 1592 at Archbishop Whitgift's palace at Croydon, and actually given there, after revision, on the occasion of the Queen's visit in August, 1600 (*Nashe* iv. 416 ff.).

⁵ *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 1748, p. 512.

⁶ 'His Tragedy of Dido Queen of Carthage was completed and published by his friend Thomas Nashe in 1594.' Regarding the elegiac song on Marlowe's death by Nashe, which both Tanner and Warton profess to have seen in a copy of *Dido*, nothing further is known. All that can be said on this perplexing subject has been well said by Dyce and McKerrow.

⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1830. Broughton suspects 'that Nash merely prepared it for the press after Marlowe's death, or at the utmost completed two or three scenes, which perhaps were left unfinished.'

⁸ 'It is probably an early work of Marlowe's, so far as it is his at all, and it must have been elaborated and considerably enlarged by Nash in a manner that is sometimes a caricature, perhaps not quite unconsciously, of Marlowe's manner. *Dido* must be compared to *Hero and Leander* rather than to any of Marlowe's dramas.' (Mermaid ed, xliii).

⁹ 'I am inclined to think that so far as *Dido* was written by Marlowe, it must be regarded as a juvenile work, very probably composed before he left Cambridge. . . . It is impossible to determine how much of this tragedy is Marlowe's, although it is tolerably easy to lay one's finger on what must be Nashe's.'

¹⁰ 'Nashe's work lay chiefly in completing certain scenes which Marlowe had sketched in the rough.'

¹¹ 'The piece must have been a very juvenile effort, awkwardly revised and completed by Nashe after Marlowe's death.' (*D. N. B.*, Marlowe). In the article on Nashe, Lee says: 'In 1594 he completed and saw through the press Marlowe's unfinished "Tragedie of Dido." Nash's contribution to the work is bald, and lacks true dramatic quality.'

¹² 'Although Marlowe left *Dido* unfinished at his death, it is pretty safe to say that his friend Thomas Nashe, who completed it, added but little to the play.' (*Collectanea* i. 91.)

¹³ 'It seems to me to be practically all Marlowe's.' (Private letter, 1909.)

The idea that Marlowe and Nashe wrote the play in conjunction has been seriously advanced only by Collier,¹⁴ Fleay,¹⁵ and W. Wagner,¹⁶ the still less reasonable view that it is chiefly the work of Nashe only by the publisher of the Hurst edition of 1825 (who adduces no arguments) and by Grosart in a very ill-argued passage in his *Complete Works of Nashe*.¹⁷

That *Dido* was originally a quasi-academic exercise, intended for a university rather than a London public, is suggested

¹⁴ 'It is chiefly the circumstance of the monotony of Nash's versification which enables us to judge what parts of the tragedy of *Dido* proceeded from his pen, and what other parts from that of his coadjutor Marlow' (*Hist. Engl. Dr. Poet.* iii. 225). Collier ascribes to Nashe the description of the taking and sack of Troy; to Marlowe the 'pretty scene in which Dido is wounded by Cupid in guise of Ascanius and one or two that follow it.' 'Although there is a marked superiority in the versification of some parts of the play over others', Collier adds, 'we may conclude with sufficient certainty that it was produced before Marlowe had himself acquired that degree of excellence in the formation of blank verse which he had attained when he produced his *Edward II.*' (p. 229.)

¹⁵ In his *Biographical Chronicle*, ii. 147, 148 (1891), Fleay asserts that *Dido* was written by Marlowe and Nashe at Cambridge, and thus partitions the authorship:—Marlowe—I.i.a, II.i.ii., III.iii., IV.iii.iv., V.i.ii.; Nashe—the rest. In the introduction to his edition of *Edward II* (1877) Fleay had accepted the more usual view: 'He (Marlowe) did leave an unfinished play, however, *Dido*. This got somehow into Nash's possession, who finished it for the Chapel Children.'

¹⁶ Wagner (*Sh.-Jb.* xi. 75) calls *Dido* 'eine sehr durchdachte und sorgfältig ausgeführte Arbeit, in der Marlowe offenbar seinen jüngern Genossen, Nash, Alles ausführen liess, was zur bloss äusserlichen Fortführung der Handlung gehörte, während er selbst den Gesamtplan und die grossen, pathetischen Scenen lieferte.'

¹⁷ 'Broadly, I would state that the "vocabulary" and phrasing of Nashe are so marked in this "Tragedie"—as our Glossarial-Index demonstrates—and that of Marlowe is so slightly illustrated, that in my judgment very little of it was left by Marlowe for Nashe. His "mighty line" is scarcely once found; not even his choice epithets except in a very few cases, and even these few so mixed up with Nashe's self-evidencing *bits* as to be doubtful: e.g., one might have set down a passage in "Dido" as almost certainly Marlowe's, but in it occurs a so singularly used Nashe word as to certify it to have been his. See Glossarial-Index under "Attrect." And so throughout.' (Vol. vi. p. xxii.)

by the large number of Latin lines which the extant text retains. The evidence of metre and style seems also to link it with Marlowe's earliest works.¹⁸

Crawford has noted the remarkable way in which lines

¹⁸ The large amount of alliteration and rime, and relatively small proportion of feminine endings, caesural pauses, and trochaic first feet are notable. The figures for different parts of this play as regards rime and final polysyllables perhaps offer some hints as to its authorship:

	Final polysyllables	Riming lines
L1. 1-100	5	12
101-200	6	8
201-300	4	6
301-400	15	4
401-500	18	5
501-600	8	2
601-700	12	6
701-800	13	4
801-900	5	2
901-1000	3	7
1001-1100	5	6
1101-1200	5	8
1201-1300	10	4
1301-1400	7	4
1401-1500	8	8
1501-1600	12	6
1601-1700	11	4
1701-1736	1	4

The percentage of riming lines decreases pretty regularly as the percentage of final polysyllables increases. If we take the polysyllables as a mark of Marlowe's hand, the largest traces of that poet would seem to be in the scenes dealing with Dido's first meeting with Æneas and the tale of Troy's destruction (with a falling off in the latter portion—lines 500-600—which includes the story of Priam's death); and in the scenes portraying the development of Dido's love (ll. 600-800) and the final parting (ll. 1500 ff.). The passages specially lacking in final polysyllables are often noticeably unlike Marlowe; e.g., the Jupiter-Ganymede prologue, which has no dramatic purpose; the flat rendering of the opening of the *Æneid* (134-295); the altercation between Juno and Venus (811-910); the jealousy of Iarbas and scene at the cave (911-1094); and the episode of Iarbas and Anna (1095-1150). Perhaps, however, the unevenness may be due as much to youthful inability to sustain the high style as to divided authorship.

in *Dido* parallel lines in *Tamburlaine*.¹⁹ He mentions *Dido* 505 f.

Yet flung I forth, and desperate of my life,
Ran in the thickest throngs

and *Tamburlaine* 3329 f.

But then run desperate through the thickest throngs,
Dreadlesse of blowes, of bloody wounds and death;

Dido 1414

And clad her in a Chrystall liuerie

and *Tamburlaine* 2573

And cloath it in a christall liuerie.²⁰

To these should be added:

Dido 63 And all *Æolia* to be vp in armes

Tamb. 2397 All *Asia* is in Armes with *Tamburlaine*

" 2401 All *Affrike* is in Armes with *Tamburlaine*

" 4384 All *Turkie* is in armes with *Callapine*

Dido 155 f. Doe thou but smile, and cloudie heauen will cleare,
Whose night and day descendeth from thy browes

Tamb. 1220 That with thy lookes canst cleare the darkened Sky

" 2572 Whose chearful looks do cleare the clowdy aire

Dido 482 That after burnt the pride of *Asia*

Tamb. 140 Least you subdue the pride of Christendome

" 3568 To ouerdare the pride of *Græcia*

Dido 765 f. Flinging in fauours of more soueraigne worth,
Then *Thetis* hangs about *Apolloes* necke

Tamb. 2737 f. The Sun vnable to sustaine the sight,
Shall hide his head in *Thetis* watery lap

¹⁹ 'Often, when comparing Marlowe's plays and poems with each other, I have been struck by the close manner in which *Dido* repeats *Tamburlaine*, and it has occurred to me that perhaps the author worked concurrently at the two dramas, and threw *Dido* aside to get on with other work. . . . *Dido* and *Tamburlaine* resemble one another in phrasing; and in both plays the phrasing is different from what we find in other parts of Marlowe's work.' (*Collectanea* i. 91 f.)

²⁰ Cf. also *Tamburlaine* 3462

Like louely *Thetis* in a Christall robe

- Dido* 830 That onely *Iuno* rules in *Rhamnuse* towne
Tamb. 635 When she that rules in *Rhamnis* golden gates
- Dido* 1070 Doubtles *Apollos* Axeltree is crackt
Tamb. 1494 That almost brent the Axeltree of heauen
 " 2415 Quiuer about the Axeltree of heauen
- Dido* 1150 And strewe thy walkes with my discheweld haire
Tamb. 1920 With haire discheweld wip'st thy watery cheeks
- Dido* 1251 Now looks *Aeneas* like immortall *Ioue*
Tamb. 2292-4 As *Iuno*. . . .
 So lookes my Loue
- Dido* 1325 Nor blazing Commets threatens *Didos* death
Tamb. 1059 That shine as Comets, menacing reuenge
 " 4199 ff. Which threatned more than if the region. . . .
 Were full of Commets and of blazing stars²¹
- Dido* 1433 Whom doe I see, *Ioues* winged messenger?
Tamb. 2735 That *Ioue* shall send his winged Messenger²²

Parallels hardly less striking exist between *Dido* and later works of Marlowe; e.g.,

- Dido* 274 When suddenly gloomie *Orion* rose
DF 235 f. Now that the gloomy shadow of the earth,
 Longing to view *Orions* drisling looke
- Dido* 480-2 And after him a thousand Grecians more,
 In whose sterne faces shin'd the quenchles fire,
 That after burnt the pride of *Asia*
- DF* 1328 f. Was this the face that lancht a thousand shippes?
 And burnt the toplesse Towres of *Ilium*?
- Dido* 1328 f. For in his lookes I see eternitie,
 And heele make me immortall with a kisse
- DF* 1330 Sweete *Helen*, make me immortall with a kisse
DF 1333 Here wil I dwel, for heauen be in these lips
- Dido* 1416 ff. From golden *India Ganges* will I fetch,
 Whose wealtheie streames may waite vpon her towers,
 And triple wise intrench her round about
- DF* 116 f. Ile haue them wall all *Iermany* with brasse,
 And make swift *Rhine* circle faire *Wertenberge*

²¹ Cf. also *Lucan* 527 And Commets that presage the fal of kingdoms.

²² Possibly it may be worth while to add the references to Deucalion (*Dido* 1465, *Tamb.* 2732 f.) and to 'blubbered cheeks' (*Dido* 1541, *Tamb.* 1802).

- Dido* 1554-6 So thou wouldst proue as true as *Paris* did,
 Would, as faire *Troy* was, *Carthage* might be sackt,
 And I be calde a second *Helena*
- DF* 1334-6 And all is drosse that is not *Helena*:
 I wil be *Paris*, and for loue of thee,
 Insteede of *Troy* shal *Wertenberge* be sackt
- Dido* 264 Forbids all hope to harbour neere our hearts
Edw. 2535 O if thou harborst murther in thy hart
- Dido* 725-7 And thou *Æneas*, *Didos* treasure,
 In whose faire bosome I will locke more wealth,
 Then twentie thousand *Indias* can afford
- Edw.* 628 f. nor let me haue more wealth,
 Then I may fetch from this rich treasure
- Dido* 1305 ff. O that
 Or that the *Tyrrhen* sea were in mine armes,
 That he might suffer shipwracke on my breast
- Edw.* 1114 f. O that mine armes could close this Ile about,
 That I might pull him to me where I would
- Dido* 1340 And let rich *Carthage* fleete vpon the seas
Edw. 344 This Ile shall fleete vpon the Ocean
- Dido* 1567 Tygers of *Hircania* gaue thee suck
Edw. 2057 Inhumaine creatures, nurst with Tigers milke
- Dido* 526 Threatning a thousand deaths at euery glaunce
HL 382 Threatning a thousand deaths at euery glaunce

It does not seem to me that the parallel passages prove anything definitely in regard to the date of *Dido*. The fact that the play has much more verbal affinity with the second than with the first part of *Tamburlaine* might be urged against the theory that *Dido* was Marlowe's first play. So might the similarities to such late works as *Edward II* and *Hero and Leander*; while it would seem most likely again that the three separate echoes of the great passage in *Faustus* (1328-1336) were written after that passage. It is easy to understand how Marlowe should in a subsequent play have repeated the ideas and wording of *Faustus's* apostrophe to Helen; but not quite so easy to believe that when he created that apostrophe he was fusing together three ideas which he

had already expressed in *Dido* and which there bore no connection with each other.

Notwithstanding such considerations as these, the feeling remains that *Dido* is early work. But adherents of this theory are on safer ground when they trust to general evidence of style and spirit than when they attempt formal demonstration.²³

Evidence is also lacking on the relation between the Marlowe-Nashe tragedy and the play of *Dido and Æneas* which was first acted by Henslowe's company on January 8, 1597/8. I think it likely that the latter was a revised version of the former. Dyce has noted that the properties mentioned in the inventory of the Lord Admiral's Men ('j tome of Dido,' 'Cupides bowe, and quiver,' 'Item, Dides robe') 'do not bear out the identification.' Neither, however, do they invalidate it.

2. *Edward II*

Edward the Second was licensed for publication, July 6, 1593, and was printed in 1594—probably also in 1593—as 'Written by Chri. Marlow Gent.' and as 'sundrie times publiquely acted . . . by . . . the Earle of Pembroke his seruants.'

With the exception of the *First Part of the Contention* and *True Tragedy*, and possibly of *Dido*,²⁴ this is the only play

²³ The following explanations of apparent marks of late composition of *Dido* may be mentioned:

1. The second part of *Tamburlaine* is much more loosely constructed than the first. It contains more padding and is imaginatively less intense. Therefore the poet's temptation to draw upon the stock of ideas stored up in previous works would naturally have been greater than in the first part.

2. The hypothesis, already suggested by Knutowski and others, that Marlowe subjected *Dido* to an incomplete revision toward the close of his life, at the time when he was interested in *Edward II* and *Hero and Leander*, would obviate some difficulties, but is not based upon much solid probability.

3. The lines in *Tamburlaine*, 3055 ff., show that Marlowe's imagination was playing with the ideas embodied in the apostrophe to Helen before he conceived the play of *Doctor Faustus*.

²⁴ On the assumption that the *Dido and Æneas* first played by Henslowe's company on January 8, 1598 was *not* the Marlowe-Nashe drama.

by Marlowe which is not mentioned in Henslowe's Diary. Consequently, no definite dates of performances are at hand. Indications of the date of production, however, as well as of the powerful impression which the tragedy created, can be obtained from the extraordinary number of echoes of lines in *Edward II* to be found in works by rival poets. The anonymous *Arden of Feversham*, licensed April 3, 1592, and printed the same year, contains six undoubted pilferings;²⁵ Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, licensed November 20, 1592, contains five;²⁶ and Peele's *Edward the First*, licensed October 8, 1593, four more.²⁷ Other echoes are found in *The Battle of Alcazar*, published in 1594;²⁸ Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*, licensed May 24, 1594;²⁹ Nashe's *Summer's Last Will*,³⁰ and Peele's *Honour of the Garter*,³¹ for which Peele received payment, June 23, 1593.

This evidence indicates the latter part of 1591 and the year 1592 as the time of the play's production. The little that is known of the fortunes of Pembroke's Company points in the same direction. By the close of 1592 they were apparently high in favor: there is record of payment to them for performances at court on December 27, 1592 and January 6, 1593. By September, 1593, they were in the greatest financial distress.³² This distress probably accounts for the fact

²⁵ *Edward II*, lines 151, 832 f., 857, 1911 f., 2031, 2651. Crawford asserts that 'There are at least thirty passages in *Arden of Feversham* that were directly inspired by *Edward II*.'

²⁶ *Edward II*, lines 157, 162, 594 f., 1875, 2248 f.

²⁷ *Edward II*, lines 173 f., 1550, 1684 ff., 1964.

²⁸ No entry of this play has been found in the Stationers' Register. It has been rather doubtfully assumed that it was in existence in 1589 on the ground of an allusion to 'Tom Stukeley' in Peele's *Farewell to Norris and Drake*. Cf. *Edward II*, line 1956.

²⁹ Cf. *Edward II*, lines 2302-2304.

³⁰ Cf. *Edward II*, line 2522. Nashe's play was apparently written during the summer of 1592. Cf. McKerrow, *Nashe* iv. 416 ff.

³¹ See *Edward II*, line 2562.

³² See Henslowe's letter of September 28, 1593.

that William Jones was able to license *Edward II* for publication on July 6, 1593.³³

3. *The Massacre at Paris*

A performance of 'the tragedey of the gvyes (Guise),' noted by Henslowe as a new play, was given by Lord Strange's Men on January 30, 1593.³⁴ Ten further performances, by the Admiral's Company, occurred in the following year (1594), between June 19 and September 25. A revival probably took place in the late autumn of 1598, for William Birde (or Borne) borrowed of Henslowe twelve shillings on November 19 of that year 'to embroider his hat for the Guise,' and on November 27 twenty shillings more 'to buy a pair of silk stockings to play the Guise in.'³⁵ Again, from the third to the twenty-sixth of November, 1601, Henslowe expended an aggregate sum of £7. 14s. 6d. on properties needed for the play,³⁶ and on the following January 18 (1601/2) he paid Edward Alleyn £6 'for three books which were played,' of which the second was 'The Massacre of France.'

³³ In the circumstances of performance and publication *Edward II* seems to be associated with *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, which was likewise acted by Pembroke's Men (printed 1595), and with *The First Part of the Contention Between York and Lancaster* (printed 1594). Warton's statement that *Edward II* was 'written in the year 1590' rests upon no ascertained authority.

³⁴ No more performances in this year were possible because of the plague.

³⁵ It is however possible, as Greg notes (*Henslowe's Diary* ii. 197), that these properties were used in connection with an extended work on the Civil Wars of France, in three parts and an Introduction, referred to by Henslowe between Sept. 29, 1598 and Jan. 20, 1598/9. The authors of this were Dekker and Drayton, who may have drawn upon Marlowe's tragedy.

³⁶ Webster is known to have written a play called *The Guise*, now lost. Collier sought to connect Webster with the 1601 revival on the strength of Henslowe's record of Nov. 3, which he read: 'Lent vnto Wm. Jube the 3 of Novembz 1601 to bye stamell clathes for the gwisse—Webster . . . iii¹¹.' The name Webster, he says (*Hist Engl. Dr. Poet.*, 1832, ii. 101) 'sufficiently connects Webster with the performance, which we may conjecture was a new version of Marlowe's tragedy.' The word 'Webster,' however, is a modern forgery. Cf. Warner, *Dulwich Catalogue*, pp. xlii and 161, and Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*. See also Stoll, *John Webster*, 200-205.

In view of the very unsatisfactory state of the text, it is difficult to form conclusions regarding either the original date of composition of this play or the extent to which the surviving edition represents Marlowe's text. The assassination of Henri III, with which the piece closes, occurred on August 2, 1589; and the allusion in lines 1250, 1251,

whet thy sword on *Sextus* bones,
That it may keenly slice the Catholicks,

implies that Pope Sixtus V (d. Aug. 27, 1590) was already dead as well. On the other hand, parallel passages seem to indicate that this play was written earlier than the *Contention*, *True Tragedy*, and *Edward II*.³⁷ Hence it is hard to believe that it can have been composed immediately previous to Henslowe's first mention of it in 1593. There would seem, then, to be some reason for believing *The Massacre at Paris* to be Marlowe's earliest effort to write a history play in the strict sense, and for dating it 1590 or 1591.³⁸ On that assumption, Henslowe's mark 'ne,' applied to the performance on January 30, 1593, requires explanation.

The title habitually employed by Henslowe, *The Guise*, very likely represents that given the play by Marlowe, the change to the less appropriate *Massacre of France* or *Massacre at Paris* being doubtless introduced in later revivals, after public interest in the Duc de Guise had abated. The text is evidently printed from a theatre manuscript: the stage directions are the fullest and most interesting in Marlowe. The incoherence of plot and irregularity of much of the verse may be the result of theatrical cutting and manipulation.³⁹

³⁷ See discussion of this point in the paper on the *Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI*, pp. 173, 174.

³⁸ Collier (*Hist. Engl. Dr. Poet.* iii. 132) thinks that *The Massacre at Paris* 'possibly, in point of date, preceded *Faustus*,' and that it certainly preceded *The Jew of Malta* (*ibid.* 135). The latter idea is denied by Dyce, p. xxiv, note ¶.

³⁹ Lines 1005, 1027 sound like reminiscences of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, II. ii. 10, 48, which was not in existence till half a dozen years after Marlowe's death. Mr. J. M. Robertson (*The Shakespeare Canon*, 1922) would give Marlowe a part in *Julius Caesar* and in *Henry V*.

4. *Doctor Faustus*

Marlowe's authorship of *Doctor Faustus*, indicated on the title-pages of the numerous quartos, has not been questioned. Doubt exists, however, on two points:—(1) the relation of the two texts of 1604 and 1616 to each other and to Marlowe's manuscript; and (2) the date of composition of the play.

The question of the relative merits of the two texts has, since Dyce first called attention to the serious differences between them, evoked enormous controversy, particularly in Germany. The following statements can now be supported, I think, by satisfactory evidence:

(1) The 1604 text, reprinted in the quartos of 1609 and 1611, represents the acting version of the play more or less as it existed when Thomas Bushell entered the manuscript for publication on January 7, 1600 (1601).

(2) The 1616 text, reprinted in 1619, 1620, 1624, 1628, and 1631, gives the acting version that resulted after Henslowe employed William Birde and Samuel Rowley, in 1602, to write additions to the play.⁴⁰

(3) Neither text represents the play as it left Marlowe's hands. The 1604 text is marred by cuts and by a few pieces of interpolated clownage presumably dating from a period subsequent to Marlowe's death—probably the period of the recorded performances of 1594–1597.

(4) The added matter in the 1616 text is almost entirely by Birde and Rowley; but this text preserves a few genuine lines omitted in the 1604 version, and in a greater number of cases enables the student to detect corruptions in that version. Evidence on these points is found in lines 351–432, 598–611, 612, 726 f., 797, 922–1006, 1106–1198, 1238–1242, 1273–1284 of the 1604 text.

⁴⁰ It may be surmised that the many deletions of references to the Deity, and similar expurgations, were made after King James's statute against profanity on the stage came into operation (1605). See P. Simpson, 'The 1604 Text of Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus"' (*English Association, Essays and Studies*, 1921, pp. 142–155.)

I am sceptical of the results of efforts to fix the date of composition of *Doctor Faustus*. Fleay dated the piece 1587-1588; nearly all other critics have assigned it to the following year, 1588-1589. Three arguments have been thought to prove a date prior to the close of 1589:

(1) Evidence of style and metre connects *Faustus* with *Tamburlaine*.⁴¹

(2) A 'ballad of the life and deathe of Doctor Faustus the great Cungerer,' licensed February 28, 1589 by Richard Jones, is assumed to have been suggested by the performance of the play.⁴²

(3) The company which is stated on the 1604 title-page to have acted the play (the Earl of Nottingham's) suspended its London performances at the command of the Lord Mayor on November 6, 1589.⁴³

One piece of evidence—far the most tangible which has been adduced—proves an embarrassment in fixing a date prior to November, 1589 for *Doctor Faustus*. This is the fact that Marlowe's undoubted source, the English translation of the *Faustbuch*, was printed in 1592. That Marlowe employed this work by 'P. F. Gent.' rather than the German original or any oral report of its contents is positively

⁴¹ Cf. Collier, *Hist. Engl. Dr. Poet.* iii. 126-130.

⁴² Collier's contention that the word *ballad* 'in the language of that time, might mean either the play or a metrical composition founded upon its chief incidents' (*ibid.* 126) seems to be entirely unjustified. It is supported neither by the evidence which he adduces nor by the N. E. D. Collier may have got the idea from Malone, who in his copy of the 1631 edition of *Faustus* noted the entry of the ballad and added: 'This was probably the play; for R. Jones appears to have been Marlowe's Printer. See the preface to *Tamburlaine*.'

⁴³ This company continued, however, to perform regularly at court till February 16, 1591 (cf. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary* ii. 83). Between 1591 and 1594 nothing is heard of it. Fleay assumes it to have spent these years abroad.

Allusions in the play to the Prince of Parma (d. 1592) and 'the fiery keele at *Antwarpes* bridge' (1585), and a very dubious reference to Thomas Cavendish's circumnavigation of the globe, July 21, 1586—Sept. 10, 1588, have no real value as determining the posterior limit for the date of the play.

demonstrated by numerous verbal parallels. There are two hypotheses on which the discrepancy in dates can be reconciled.

(1) It can be assumed that Marlowe had the use of P. F.'s manuscript several years in advance of its publication. This is an unlikely possibility.

(2) It can be assumed that there was an earlier edition of the translation, following very close upon the first appearance of the German Faustbuch in 1587. This is the assumption which recent critics have almost unanimously adopted; but it is based upon no extant evidence.⁴⁴ The words of the title-page of the 1592 Faustbook, 'Newly imprinted, and in convenient places imperfect matter amended,' have indeed been taken by Logeman and others to imply the existence of an earlier edition of P. F.'s translation. To this it must be said that the natural interpretation of 'Newly imprinted' is not reprinted, but recently or freshly printed, as in the statement of the first edition of *Tamburlaine*, 'Now *first* and *newlie* published'; and that the imperfect matter amended refers most likely to the very significant deviations which the translator made from his German original, not to variations between two English editions. Furthermore, the new matter which P. F. copiously introduces into the 1592 Faustbook is by no means what we should expect to find in a translation dashed off while the German Faustbuch was hot from the press; while the hypothesis of a normal translation about 1588, followed in 1592 by P. F.'s 'amended' version, would hardly help the case for the date of *Doctor Faustus*, since Marlowe clearly employed the peculiar P. F. version.

I am obliged to conclude that no reason exists for believing that P. F.'s translation of the Faustbuch of 1587 was in print before 1592, except the fact that Marlowe employed that version. The conventional date for Marlowe's play

⁴⁴ Collier (*Henslowe's Diary*, p. 42) states that the English Faustbook was entered for publication in 1588. Fleay suggests that the leaf containing this entry has since been abstracted; but misstatement on Collier's part seems considerably more likely.

(1588-1589), however, was fixed long before Logeman's reprint of the P. F. translation made it apparent that the poet employed that version rather than the German original; and critics from Logeman on have been so sure of that date that they have preferred to presume the necessity of an earlier edition of P. F. rather than reopen the question of the date of *Faustus*. Let us consider in the light of the new evidence the three arguments, already stated, which have been thought to demonstrate that the play was written before the close of 1589.

(1) Close similarities in style between *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus* certainly exist, just as there exist close similarities between *Faustus* and *Edward II*. The former indicate, I think, that *Faustus* followed *Tamburlaine*, but are not of a kind to prove that it followed it immediately.

(2) The ballad licensed on February 28, 1589 may reasonably be assumed to be the same in substance as the extant ballad in the Roxburghe collection;⁴⁵ but it would not be safe to argue that it was verbally the same and that any echo of Marlowe in the Roxburghe version must have existed in the earlier version of 1589 also. In point of fact, however, I believe Ellis (*Mermaid* Marlowe p. xxxvi, note), Logeman, and others to be right in asserting that the Roxburghe ballad was not founded on the play. It contains no suggestion of Marlowe's stage practice; does not mention *Mephistophilis* or *Lucifer*, though speaking of 'the devil in fryars weeds;' and substitutes an hour glass for the dramatic striking of Marlowe's clock.⁴⁶

(3) The reference to the play on the title-page of 1604 as acted by the Earl of Nottingham's servants simply advertises the established fact that it had shortly before been acted by

⁴⁵ This is reprinted in an appendix to the *Mermaid* Marlowe. A slightly different version in the Bodleian (Wood 401) is collated by Logeman, p. 140.

⁴⁶ W. Wagner states well the relation between the ballad and the play: 'In spite of the coincidences we notice here, the ballad cannot be derived from the play. We should first notice that besides the discrepancies already pointed out there is a fundamental difference in the view taken of *Faustus*'s

that company. A London company was so called only between October 22, 1597—when the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, became Earl of Nottingham—and this same year 1604, when it passed under the patronage of Prince Henry.⁴⁷ By his allusion to the performances of Nottingham's Men I imagine that Bushell may have intended to imply mendaciously that his text was the same as that which Birde and Rowley had amplified for production by the Nottingham company at the close of 1602, and which was in 1604 undoubtedly the most familiar to playgoers. That any information concerning the original representation of the piece a dozen or fifteen years before is contained in Bushell's words seems absurd.

We know, indeed, that *Faustus* was performed from 1594 till 1597 by the Lord Admiral's Company, later called Nottingham's. *Tamburlaine* had been acted still earlier by the same company; and the publication of *Tamburlaine* in 1590 may have been connected with the inhibition of the Admiral's Men in November, 1589. If the company had been possessed of the manuscript of *Faustus* during this lean period, it would be logical to argue that that play also would have found its way into printers' hands. The part of Faustus appears to have been created by Edward Alleyn, and the

character. . . . We are, therefore, inclined to assume that the ballad was founded upon mere oral relation of the legend, such as might be obtained some way or other, perhaps from one of the inmates of the German "Steel-yard" in London' (p. xxvi).

I have observed just one passage in the ballad which sounds like Marlowe—where Faustus is made to say:

'I then did wish both sun and moon to stay,
All times and seasons never to decay.'

And this, curiously enough, is much more like the words of Edward II (2052 f.),

'Stand still you watches of the element,
All times and seasons rest you at a stay,'

than like the parallel lines of *Faustus* (1422 f.),

'Stand stil you euer moouing spheres of heauen,
That time may cease, and midnight neuer come.'

⁴⁷ Greg notes that Henslowe's Diary first speaks of the company as Nottingham's Men on May 26, 1599.

play—like *The Jew of Malta* which was performed by five different companies between 1592 and 1596—probably followed the individual fortunes of Alleyn rather than those of any particular company.

I conclude, then, that there is no good reason for assuming that *Doctor Faustus* was in existence prior to the publication of P. F.'s translation of the Faustbuch in 1592. Should an earlier edition of that work actually be discovered, the date of Marlowe's play might be pushed back, but nothing which we know of the play necessitates the hypothesis of such an earlier edition.⁴⁸

5. *The Jew of Malta*

The Jew of Malta was on the stage in the winter of 1591/92. Henslowe's record of dramatic performances at the Rose Theatre begins February 19, 1592. Just a week later he notes the first of his list of thirty-six representations of this play: 'Rd. at the Jewe of malltuse the 26 of febrearye 1591 (1592) ls.' Evidently the play had been performed before: this is indicated by the absence of Henslowe's mark 'ne' and by the moderate amount of the earnings—fifty shillings as compared with £3 16s. 8d. for the new *Harry the Sixth* on March 3rd.

The reference in the third line of the play, 'And now the Guize is dead,' fixes the date of composition as subsequent to the assassination of Guise, December 23, 1588.⁴⁹ Composition in 1589 would best suit this allusion, and would best

⁴⁸ Critics have habitually assumed that Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (acted as an old play, Feb. 19, 1591/2) was written in imitation of *Doctor Faustus*. The idea appears to be based chiefly on the presumption against Greene created by his plagiarism of *Tamburlaine* in *Alphonsus*. As Ward properly says (*Old English Drama*) there is no evidence for determining the priority of either play.

⁴⁹ A. Wagner's quibble that the opening speech by Machiavel, in which this allusion is found, may possibly have been written subsequently to the rest of the play does not deserve consideration, unless one wishes to interpret the mention of Guise's death as hinting at Marlowe's Tragedy of the Guise (*Massacre at Paris*), first acted January 30, 1593.

explain the violence of plot which *The Jew of Malta* shares with *Tamburlaine*.⁵⁰

It is not to be supposed that the extant text represents very faithfully the play of Marlowe. Certain alterations were probably introduced on the occasion of the revival in May, 1601, when Henslowe records the purchase of 'divers thinges for the Jewe of Malta.' Changes of a more serious character were presumably made by Thomas Heywood a quarter century or more later, when he prepared the play for revival at court and at the Cockpit Theatre. Whether on this occasion Heywood introduced a hand or merely 'a main finger' into Marlowe's work is not easy to determine. The first two acts seem to be nearly pure Marlowe.⁵¹ The item from the inventory of the Lord Admiral's Men, 'j cauderm for the Jewe,' is good evidence also that the final catastrophe has not been altered since Henslowe's time.

It is in the third and fourth acts that alien matter can most reasonably be suspected. The Bellamira scenes have rather the air of an interpolation, and do not resemble Marlowe's work. They have been ascribed to Heywood by Fleay.⁵² W. Wagner (*Sh.-Jb.* xi. 74 f.) sees particular traces of Heywood in one passage from them, lines 1716-1852. A connection with Heywood is certainly established by the Friars' scenes in the fourth act. Fleay noted the similarity of the last of these (lines 1623-1715) to the underplot in Heywood's

⁵⁰ The reference to the Jew of Malta in one of Harington's epigrams is supposed by Collier to date from 1592 (Collier's Dodsley viii. 243-45); but Harington's words only prove that the play was then well known:

'Of a devout Vsurer. . . .

Was euer Iew of Malta or of Millain

Then this most damned Iew, more Iewish villain?' (*Epigrams*, bk. iii.16)

⁵¹ Hallam's words have been frequently quoted with approval: 'The first two acts of *The Jew of Malta* are more vigorously conceived, both as to character and circumstance, than any other Elizabethan play, except those of Shakespeare.'

⁵² 'In the scenes with Bellamira and Pilia Borza there is a good deal not by Marlowe. This is not due to original collaboration, but to alteration by Heywood c. 1632. Compare *The Captives* (the part with the friars).' (*Biog. Chron. Engl. Dr.* ii. 61, 62.)

play, *The Captives*. Aronstein (*Anglia* xxxvii. 255) agrees that lines 1638-1715 are by this evidence proved to be Heywood's. I can find no verbal resemblance between *The Captives* and *The Jew of Malta*; but it seems reasonable to suspect at least a large infusion of Heywood in all the passages just referred to.

6. *Tamburlaine*

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries *Tamburlaine* was not always ascribed to Marlowe. Milton's blundering nephew, Edward Phillips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675) asserted that it was written by Thomas Newton.⁵³ Anthony Wood (*Athenae Oxonienses*, 1691, i. 288), in speaking of Newton, remarks that he 'was author, as a certain⁵⁴ writer saith, of two Tragedies, viz. of the first and second parts of *Tamerline the great Scythian Emperor*, but false. For in *Tho. Newtons* time the said two parts were performed by Christop. Marlo, sometimes a Student in Cambridge; afterwards, first an actor on the stage, then, (as *Shakespeare*, whose contemporary he was), a maker of plays, tho' inferior both in fancy and merit.' Langbaine writes in a similar strain: 'I know not how Mr. Philips came (pag. 182) to ascribe *Tamburlaine the Great* to this Author [i.e., Newton]; for tho' Marloe's Name be not printed in the Title-page, yet both in Mr. Kirkman's and my former Catalogue printed 1680 his Name is prefix'd.'

Elsewhere, however,⁵⁵ Langbaine says of Marlowe's claim to *Tamburlaine*: 'Had I not Mr. Heywood's Word for it, in the fore-mentioned Prologue [i.e., to the *Jew of Malta*], I should not believe this Play to be his.'

Farmer and Malone vacillated considerably in their beliefs. In his first edition of Shakespeare (1790), Malone took it

⁵³ Phillips advances no proof of this statement; nor can any reason for it be conceived save that Newton is author of *A Notable Historie of the Saracens* (1575), an apparent source of the play.

⁵⁴ Footnote: 'Edw. Phillips in his *Theatrum Poetarum*.'

⁵⁵ *Some Account of English Dramatick Poets*, 1691, p. 344.

for granted that the play was Marlowe's.⁵⁶ Later he inserted the following manuscript note in his copy of *Langbaine*, now in the Bodleian: 'My friend Dr. Farmer thinks that *Tamburlaine* was not written by Marlowe. A passage in *The Black Book* by T. M., 1604, seems to insinuate that Thos. Nashe was the author.'⁵⁷ The substance of this note is found in the Boswell-Malone Shakespeare (iii. 357). Shortly before his death, Malone added another note, dated Feb. 28, 1811, in his *Langbaine*: '*Langbaine's* assertion that Heywood attributes *Tamburlaine* to Marlowe in his prologue to the *Jew of Malta* is founded in a mistake and a false punctuation. Heywood only asserts that Alleyn was famous in the part of *Tamburlaine*, not that Marlowe wrote the play. *Tamburlaine*, I now believe, was written by Nich.^s Breton, the author of the *Three Bold Beauchamps*, & *England's Joy*.'⁵⁸

Robinson, editor of the 1826 Marlowe, quotes with approval both the conjecture that *Tamburlaine* was written in whole or part by Nashe, and also another by Farmer,

⁵⁶ Cf. vol. iv. p. 567.

⁵⁷ In another note, written in his copy of the 1605/6 *Tamburlaine*, Malone repeats the passage in the *Black Book*: 'the spindle-shanke spyders, which shewed like great leachers, with little legs, went stalking ouer his [Thomas Nashe's] head, as if they had been conning of *Tamburlayne*'; and adds: 'Does not this seem to insinuate that Nashe was either the author of this play, or at least assisted Marlowe in writing it?' Dyce properly points out that the passage does not support Malone's reasoning: 'It means, I have no doubt, that the spiders stalked with the tragic gait of an actor practising the part of *Tamburlaine*.'

Hallam, who calls the piece 'the production wholly or principally of Marlowe,' yet remarks that 'Nash has been thought the author of *Tamburlaine* by Malone, and his inflated style, in pieces known to be his, may give some countenance to this hypothesis.' Bullen observes that Nashe's derogatory remarks in his preface to *Menaphon* about the type of drama represented by *Tamburlaine* prove that he could not have been responsible for it.

⁵⁸ Evidently Malone was led to this strange conclusion by the references in Suckling's *Goblins* and Davenant's *Playhouse to be Let*. See *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe*, *Trans. Conn. Academy* xxv, p. 372, 383 f.

'that the play, Tamburlaine, praised by Heywood, might be different from the bombast one, and that written by Kyd.' James Broughton, in his privately printed edition of the play in 1818 and in his manuscript notes on Robinson's edition, expresses similar incredulity regarding Marlowe's authorship;⁵⁹ and the anonymous writer of the account of Marlowe prefixed to an edition of *Doctor Faustus* of about the same period⁶⁰ has the following remarks:

'In compliance with the received opinion, Tamberlaine the Great is introduced into the following list of Marlowe's dramatic works: indeed, if external evidence be refused, we have not any sufficiently strong to warrant its rejection; although a very inferior production, unworthy the genius to whom it is ascribed: but it should be mentioned that Langbaine thinks it questionable; and Mr. Oldys⁶¹ observes: "it has been suspected that the great character given the author by his contemporaries, drew impositions of works upon him that he never wrote."'⁶²

It stands to the credit of J. P. Collier that he positively reasserted Marlowe's authorship of *Tamburlaine*, and with such authority as finally to set to rest the doubts and cavils of his contemporaries. Appreciation of this unquestionable service in the cause of truth is, however, tempered by the fact that Collier sought to make assurance doubly sure by introducing in evidence an entry relating to 'Marloes Tam-

⁵⁹ In his first article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1830) Broughton says that the question of Marlowe's authorship of *Tamburlaine* remains doubtful, and adds: 'but for my own part, after again attentively perusing the play, comparing the style with that of Marlowe's acknowledged productions, and carefully weighing the evidence *pro* and *con*, I am inclined to believe that he was *not* the author.'

⁶⁰ Printed, without date by Whittingham and Rowland; ascribed by the Bodleian catalogue to the year 1814.

⁶¹ Note: 'MS. notes on Langbaine.'

⁶² Further, Lowndes records that 'In the British Museum Catalogue, *Tamburlaine the Great*, 1605, is attributed to John Marston.' It is of course not so attributed at present. When it was, and on what grounds, I do not know.

belan' in Henslowe's Diary (Dec. 20, 1597), which is an undoubted forgery;⁶³ and by decidedly straining the evidential value of Heywood's squinting reference to *Tamburlaine* in his Prologue to the *Jew of Malta*.

Regarding the style of *Tamburlaine*, the one perfectly convincing criterion of its Marlovian origin, Collier writes rather perversely: 'The most reasonable ground for resisting the claim of Marlow to the two parts of *Tamburlaine the Great*, arises out of some obvious defects in its style—that it is turgid and bombastic—that the language is not pure, and that the thoughts are sometimes violent and unnatural.'⁶⁴ This, Collier explains, is because *Tamburlaine* was an experiment: it was written with the definite purpose of supplanting prose and rime by blank verse, the 'swelling bombast' being a kind of substitute for the attraction of rime. 'Many lines "full of sound and fury,"' Collier continues implausibly, 'were not inserted in his experimental play because he thought them good, but because he hoped the audience would think them so: he wrote *ad captandum*, and it is unfair to try him by the ordinary rules of good taste and sound criticism.'

It is very doubtful whether any critic would now go with Collier in ascribing the extravagances of *Tamburlaine* to deliberate consideration of expediency; but none now doubts that internal evidence positively establishes Marlowe's authorship. Dyce, who accepted Collier's external evidence at its face value, and Bullen, who brusquely asserted that there is no external evidence of authorship, were equally certain that Marlowe wrote the play; nor is it conceivable that dissent will ever again be expressed by reputable judges.

Though the external testimony associating Marlowe with *Tamburlaine* may safely be waived, it is not absolutely negligible. One of the points cited by Collier—Heywood's mention of *Tamburlaine* along with *Hero and Leander* and

⁶³ Cf. Warner, *Dulwich Library Catalogue*, 159, 160; and Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*.

⁶⁴ *Hist. Engl. Dr. Poet.* iii. 115.

The Jew of Malta in his praise of Marlowe and Alleyn can hardly be thrown out without casuistry.⁶⁵ The passages from Anthony Wood and Langbaine, already quoted, evidence a seventeenth century tradition in favor of Marlowe's authorship, which is the stronger inasmuch as it is not based upon the testimony of any title-page. The record of the performance of the two parts by the Lord Admiral's Company harmonizes with the idea that they are Marlowe's work, whereas no evidence which has survived points to any other author.

Collier's statement that *Tamburlaine* was the first play to introduce blank verse upon the public stage would appear to be correct, unless priority of date be assigned to *The Spanish Tragedy*. Earlier dramas in blank verse, such as *Gorboduc* and Gascoigne's *Jocasta*, were for private representation only. It is therefore of particular interest to determine the year in which *Tamburlaine* was produced. Malone properly argued from the allusions in the preface to Greene's *Perimedes* (licensed March 29, 1588) that the play must have been acted before 1588. Greene's words, 'daring God out of heauen with that Atheist *Tamburlan*,' show, moreover, that he had in mind particularly the second part of the play (see lines 4284 ff.).⁶⁶ Since the prologue to *Tamburlaine II* (lines 2317-19) specifically states (what the structure of the second part confirms) that the poet began the later drama only as a result of the confirmed success of

⁶⁵ Collier's citation of the line in Gabriel Harvey's *Gorgon* 'sonnet': 'Weepe, Powles; Thy Tamberlaine voutsafes to die,' must however be thrown out, I think. It is not likely that Harvey was referring to Marlowe's death in this poem.

⁶⁶ Another indication of Greene's familiarity with the second part of *Tamburlaine* is found in *Menaphon* (licensed Aug. 23, 1589): 'Stand not in doubt man, for be she base, I reade that mightie *Tamburlaine* after his wife *Zenocrate* (the worlds faire eye) past out of the Theater of this mortall life, he chose stigmaticall trulls to please his humorous fancie.' (Grosart's *Greene* vi. 84. Cf. *Tamb.* 2570). Collier's assertion that *Menaphon* was printed in 1587 (which would further push back the date of *Tamburlaine*) is incorrect.

the first part on the stage, production of part two before the end of March, 1588, would imply that part one can hardly have been written later than the beginning of 1587. It probably belongs to Marlowe's last year at Cambridge.

B. NON-DRAMATIC WORKS

1. *Hero and Leander*

'A book entitled *Hero and Leander*, being an amorous poem devised by Christopher Marlow,' was licensed for publication, September 28, 1593, by John Wolf. The poem is clearly mature work, and is evidently incomplete in the form in which Marlowe left it. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume, as has commonly been done, that it is one of Marlowe's latest works, left unfinished at his death.⁶⁷ We may infer that the author was impelled to take up non-dramatic writing by the fact that the Privy Council recommended the closing of playhouses (on account of plague) on January 28, 1593. Henslowe's entries cease in fact on February 1, and do not begin again till the end of the following December. Thus it would seem that during the last four months of Marlowe's life he can have had no immediate incentive to the writing of plays.

Notwithstanding Wolf's entry, no edition of *Hero and Leander* is known to have been published earlier than 1598; nor do there seem to be any literary allusions to the poem that point to its having been generally known before that year. The continuations of Chapman and Petowe, Meres's mention in *Palladis Tamia*, quotations by Jonson in *Every Man in his Humor* and Shakespeare in *As You Like it*, all belong to this year or the next. Malone imagined that the poem had been printed in 1593, reasoning from the Stationers' record and also, doubtless, from the fact that there is a suggestion of recent loss about Blount's mention of the

⁶⁷ Malone says (MS. note): 'This was, I believe, Marlowe's *last* work; and it appears to me his most finished performance: I mean the two first Sestiads, for which alone he is answerable. Many of the lines remind one of Dryden.'

deceased poet, in his dedication to Walsingham, not very easy to reconcile with the idea that five years had elapsed.⁶⁸ It is certain, however, that Blount cannot have addressed Walsingham under the title of Sir Thomas earlier than 1597, since it was only in consequence of Elizabeth's visit to Walsingham in that year that he was knighted.⁶⁹ That Blount's publication of the Marlowe fragment should have synchronized so exactly with the appearance of both Chapman's and Petowe's continuations, and that Blount's edition should have appeared in 1598, when the Stationers' Register shows that he had disposed of his copyright in the work in 1597,⁷⁰ are circumstances largely explainable by the close connection between the different publishers concerned. Blount, Linley, and Flasket, successive publishers of the poem, were intimately associated: they all did business at the sign of the Black Bear in Paul's Churchyard, to which Blount and Flasket had succeeded on the death in 1594 of Thomas Woodcock, the publisher of *Dido*.⁷¹

The division of *Hero and Leander* between Marlowe and Chapman is clear enough. Marlowe wrote what is contained in Blount's edition of 1598. This Chapman divided into two 'Sestiads,' adding an argument to each, and wrote himself the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Sestiads. There would be no need to speak of this, had Malone not made a false inference at a time when he had not seen the original quarto edition of Marlowe's part of the poem. In one of his manu-

⁶⁸ Opposite the first page of the dedication in his copy of the edition of 1600, Malone wrote: 'This was, I believe, the Dedication to an edition of the two first Cantos of this poem by Marlowe, printed as I imagine in 1593. From this dedication it should seem that there had been an edition of that part of this poem which was written by Marlowe, soon after his death, which happened in 1593. See the Entry at Stationer's Hall.'

⁶⁹ Cf. D. N. B.

⁷⁰ *I.e.*, by Elizabethan reckoning. The record is dated March 2 (1597/8), and reads: 'Paule Lynlay. Assigned ouer vnto hym from Edward Blount, by the consent of the Wardens, A booke in Englishe called HERO and LEANDER, vj^d.'

⁷¹ Cf. McKerrow, *Dictionary of Publishers and Booksellers*.

script notes, he says: 'It appears from *England's Parnassus*, 1600, p. 379, that Marlowe wrote but the two first Sestiads and about 100 lines of the third; for the description of *Ceremony*, beginning at the 105th line, is there ascribed to Chapman. The compiler of that book had probably the complete & the unfinished work before him.' The error of ascribing any lines beyond the first two cantos to Marlowe is evident on bibliographical and stylistic evidence;⁷² but Malone's mistake has been repeated,⁷³ and it led Cunningham into a further quite unjustifiable ascription:

'Malone told Thomas Warton that, in addition to the two first Sestiads, Marlowe left behind him "about a hundred lines of the third"; which, however, in my opinion are not to be looked for in the place assigned to them, where all is manifestly Chapman's, but in the episode of Teras, and other portions of the fifth Sestiad, where the higher hand of Marlowe seems to me easily discernible.'⁷⁴

2. *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love*

A manuscript note by Malone collects the essential facts about this poem:

'Four stanzas of this Sonnet were first printed in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599, 8^{vo}, where it is ascribed to Shakespeare; in the following year the whole was printed in *England's Helicon*, and subscribed with Marlowe's name. Isaac Walton, who has introduced it in his *Complete Angler*, written about 1640, expressly says it was Marlowe's; "that smooth song (he calls it) which was made by Kit Marlowe, now at least fifty years ago." One of the lines is found in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*; and not marked as a quotation:

Thou in those groves, by Dis above,
Shalt live with me and be my love.

⁷² Malone himself later gave up the idea. See the two notes previously quoted.

⁷³ Cf. Thorpe's Catalogue, no. v for 1835, p. 124: 'The first two Sestiads, and about one hundred lines of the third, were written by Marlow, and the remainder by Chapman.'

⁷⁴ Introduction to his edition, p. xvii.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that it was his composition. This Sonnet was answered by Sir Walter Raleigh in his youth. The Answer is inserted in *England's Helicon*, 1600, in the *Complete Angler*, and in Percy's *Reliques*, Vol. I. p. 219.'

The implied ascription of the verses to Shakespeare in *The Passionate Pilgrim* may be an act of carelessness or of deliberate fraud; but it should be noted that they occur in the second part of the *Passionate Pilgrim* volume, which has a separate title-page, *Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Music*, whereon there is no mention of Shakespeare's name. Besides four stanzas of Marlowe's poem one stanza from the reply ascribed to Raleigh is there given.

Percy derived his versions of the poem and the reply from a broadside in the Roxburgh Ballads (vol. i, p. 205), where the two are printed in parallel columns. The first is headed: 'A most excellent Ditty of the Louers promises to his beloued. To a sweet new tune called, *Liue with me and be my Loue*,' and the second: 'The Ladies prudent answer to her Loue. To the same tune.' The date of the Roxburgh ballad can be approximately fixed by the imprint: 'Printed by the Assignes of Thomas symcock.' In 1618 Symcock received a patent for thirty-one years granting him a monopoly of all things printed on one side only. He then appointed assigns to work the patent. Protests and litigation followed, and on June 30, 1629 this patent was ordered cancelled.⁷⁵

There seems to be no clue to the date at which Marlowe wrote the song of the Passionate Shepherd, except the parody of the first line in the *Jew of Malta* (l. 1816). Whether the remarkable passage in which this parody occurs was in the play as Marlowe originally composed it is however doubtful.

3. Fragment: '*I walkt along a stream*'

The fragment describing a woodland brook, which was printed in *England's Parnassus* (1600) over the name of

⁷⁵ Cf. McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*.

Ch. Marlowe, is the only extant work of the poet to employ an elaborate stanzaic form. The metre is the *ottava rima* (a, b, a, b, a, b, c, c):⁷⁶ lines 5-12 and 13-20 are complete stanzas, while 1-4 form the latter half of one and 21-24 the first half of another. It is evident, therefore, that the lines preserved neither begin nor end the poem from which they are taken. The versification of the piece is perfect, and at least five of the twenty-four lines have the run-on movement.⁷⁷

Dyce thought it safe to conclude from a belief (now discredited) that the editor of *England's Parnassus* never made use of manuscript material, that the lines 'were extracted from some printed piece, of which not a single copy now remains.' Charles Crawford⁷⁸ proposed the theory that Marlowe wrote a poem in elaboration of *Come Live with me*, of which the present fragment may be a part, and that this was used in Marlowe's own plays and imitated in Richard Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepherd* (1594) and *Cynthia* (1595).

Dyce's warm praise of this fragment is well justified by its felicity both of phrasing and metre. 'Most probably,' he conjectures of the complete work, 'it was a composition of no great length: but the stanzas in question present so fine a picture of objects seen through a poetic medium, that, in exchange for the rest, every reader of taste would willingly part with a dozen of those long and tedious productions which are precious in the estimation of antiquaries alone.' Ingram, on the contrary, expresses a wanton agnosticism regarding both the poetic beauty of the lines and their ascription to Marlowe.⁷⁹ It seems to me that they must be accepted as

⁷⁶ This is the metre of Daniel's *Civil Wars* and Drayton's *Barons' Wars*. *Venus and Adonis* has the corresponding six-line stanza: a b a b c c.

⁷⁷ Lines 2, 3(?), 8, 10, 16, 24. Why the anthologist chose to break off in the midst of a clause is hard to imagine.

⁷⁸ 'Richard Barnfield, Marlowe, and Shakespeare in *Collectanea*.'

⁷⁹ 'The lines, "I walked along a stream for pureness rare," may be an extract from a charming poem, but in themselves the verses scarcely seem

work of the poet's full maturity, parallel in date as in tone with *Hero and Leander*. They are a valuable evidence of Marlowe's versatility, for they indicate the possession of an aptitude for graceful stanzaic verse after the Spenserian fashion which no other extant production of his attests.

4. *Lucan's First Book*

The translation of the first book of Lucan's *Pharsalia* is remarkable for containing a far higher percentage of eleven-syllable lines than any other work of Marlowe. Bullen's count of 109 double endings in the 694 lines is at least approximately correct; but whether this indicates, as Sidney Lee believes,⁸⁰ that the work was produced late is perhaps doubtful. Freedom in the employment of eleven-syllable lines is not so sure an index of maturity with Marlowe's work as with Shakespeare's; and it may be that the frequency with which the eleventh syllable appears in the Lucan is in part due simply to the translator's earnest effort to pack into each English verse the whole content of a Latin hexameter. The boast that Lucan is 'translated line for line' is well justified, and the achievement is decidedly interesting; but it is accomplished often at so great a cost to English idiom and at such sacrifice of the translator's individuality as to make it seem more likely the work of Marlowe's apprentice days than of the period of *Hero and Leander*. There is not much plausibility in Bullen's suggestion that this translation was probably intended as a metrical experiment, possibly for a projected epic; just as the translation of the *Amores* was a prelude to *Hero and Leander* (*sic*)—unless indeed one dates it very early in Marlowe's career.

to call for the admiring comments they have lately received. It would not be surprising to discover that this fragment, fathered on Marlowe after his decease, whilst his name was one to conjure by, owes its origin to Michael Drayton.' (*Marlowe and his Associates*, 220). Ingram goes on to say that the lines are much like the description of Queen Isabel's chamber in 'The Tower of Mortimer' in *The Barons' Wars*.

⁸⁰ 'The author displays sufficient mastery of the metre to warrant its attribution to his later years.'

The first reference to Marlowe's Lucan is a notice in the Stationers' Register, September 28, 1593, when John Wolf entered for his copy 'a book entitled Lucan's first book of the famous civil war betwixt Pompey and Caesar, Englished by Christopher Marlow.' On the same day Wolf entered also Marlowe's part of *Hero and Leander*. The title to both works appears to have passed to Edward Blount, though no record of the transfer exists. In 1600, the only known early edition of Lucan was published, as printed by P. Short and offered for sale by Walter Burre. The interesting dedicatory epistle is signed by Thomas Thorpe⁸¹ and addressed to Blount, whose 'old right in it' is acknowledged.⁸²

5. Ovid's Elegies

Marlowe's version of the three books of Ovid's *Amores* has always been printed in conjunction with the epigrams of John Davies (who was knighted in 1603). There is no inherent reason for associating the two works, and their different authorship is made clear on all the title-pages. Six early editions are known, all undated, but as typographical evidence shows, covering a period of forty or fifty years (ca. 1600–1640). Four give the complete text both of Elegies and Epigrams, while two contain selections only. All were surreptitious publications, containing no indication of publisher or printer, beyond the words 'At Middleburgh' at the foot of each title-page.⁸³ The two abridged editions

⁸¹ Thorpe, the famous publisher of Shakespeare's sonnets, does not appear to have published anything on his own behalf before 1604. See McKerrow, *Dictionary of Publishers and Booksellers*.

⁸² In the same year (1600) John Flasket published a complete edition of *Hero and Leander* (Marlowe's and Chapman's parts) with the curiously erroneous title-page: 'Hero and Leander: Begunne by Christopher Marloe: Whereunto is added the first booke of Lucan translated line for line by the same Author.' See the discussion of *Hero and Leander* for the relations of the various publishers concerned.

⁸³ In connection with the publication of English books at Middleburgh in Zealand (Holland) see J. D. Wilson, 'Richard Schilders and the English Puritans,' *Trans Bibl. Soc.*, 1910. Schilders printed a large number of Puritan tracts at Middleburgh between 1580 and 1616. He appears to have been the only printer in the place.

give the full name of the translator of the *Elegies*: 'C. Marlow'; the others content themselves with the initials, 'C. M.'

It is impossible to determine when the *Elegies* first appeared. The four surviving complete texts all give, in addition to Marlowe's rendering of the last elegy of the first book, the entirely different translation of the same which Ben Jonson made for his *Poetaster*, and so cannot be earlier than the date of that play (acted in 1601, printed in 1602). The abridged editions do not contain this, but neither of them can be regarded as the *editio princeps*. That an edition existed in 1599 is positively proved by a well-known decree of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London (June 1, 1599), commanding the destruction among other works of 'Davyes Epigrams, with Marlowes Elegyes,' and specifying 'That no Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter.' On June 4, accordingly, 'Davies Epigrams' were burned in Stationer's Hall. The particular wrath of the authorities appears to have been directed against Davies' work rather than Marlowe's, but as the two were bound together, the latter was naturally included in the holocaust. One copy at least may be presumed to have escaped, to serve as progenitor of the Middleburgh series of editions. As early as 1594, in his *Unfortunate Traveller*, Nashe quotes Marlowe's version of two lines of the *Amores* (II. iii. 3, 4), but Nashe's connection with *Dido* in this same year makes it likely that he had at hand Marlowe's manuscript rather than a printed copy.

That Marlowe intended the translation to be printed is highly improbable. There is every reason to believe, on metrical and stylistic grounds, that it was made early in the poet's career—doubtless at Cambridge—when his taste, his learning, and his talent were all undeveloped. The *Elegies* find their natural place in his evolution beside, or rather antecedent to, the *Dido* and the lost rendering of Coluthus, which he is said to have produced in 1587.

II. SPURIOUS WORKS

A. PLAYS

1. *Troublesome Reign of John*

The Troublesome Reign of John King of England, published in two parts in 1591, contains a prologue clearly intended to link the work with *Tamburlaine*:

You that with friendly grace of smoothed brow
Have entertained the Scythian Tamburlaine,
And given applause unto an infidel,
Vouchsafe to welcome with like courtesy
A warlike Christian and your countryman.'

Malone was inclined to attribute this play to Marlowe;¹ and Broughton (*Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1830) asserted temerarily: 'That Marlowe, if he wrote "*Tamburlaine*," wrote also the old "*King John*," is incontestably proved by the Prologue to that play.'² Dyce, further influenced by two parallels between the close of the old *King John* and the early versions of 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, felt himself forced to an admission of Marlowe's partial concern, which evidently did violence to his judgment. 'But, on the other hand,' he concludes, 'there are many things throughout *The Troublesome Raigne* so materially at variance with the style of Marlowe, that, while I admit the probability of his co-operation in the play, I cannot assent to the critical dictum which would attribute the whole of it to him.' Fleay (*Biog. Chron. Engl. Dr.*, ii. 65) invokes Dyce's authority a little loosely in support of his opinion that the work 'was in the end portion partly written by Marlow.'³

¹ Boswell-Malone Shakspeare, ii. 313: 'some circumstances which have lately struck me, confirm an opinion which I formerly hazarded, that Christopher Marlowe was the author of that play.'

² Broughton doubtless ventured this statement the more lightly because of his disbelief in Marlowe's authorship of *Tamburlaine*.

³ In Fleay's *Shakspeare*, p. 27, he says that the old *King John* plays 'were written for the Queen's Men in 1589 by Peele, Marlowe, and Lodge.' Sidney Lee (D. N. B., Marlowe) offers doubtful homage to Fleay when he remarks that the work 'may in its concluding portions be by Marlowe, but many of his contemporaries could have done as well.'

The association of Marlowe's name with the old *King John* seems quite unwarranted. Bullen's words on the subject are not, I think, too severe: 'Earless and unabashed must be the critic who would charge Marlowe with any complicity in the authorship.' Regarding the Prologue, Bullen continues: 'So far from indicating that the author of *Tamburlaine* had written the piece that was about to be presented, these lines rather show that the "warlike Christian" was intended to oust the "infidel" from popular favour,—that the new play was the production of some obscure rival of Marlowe's.' That is, the relation of the prologue of the *Troublesome Reign* to *Tamburlaine* is analogous to the relation of the prologue of *The First Part of Sir John Oldcastle* to Shakespeare's *Henry IV*.

Even less justified is the suggestion that Marlowe may have had a hand in the rewritten *King John* by Shakespeare. Ingram writes cloudily on this subject (*Chr. Marlowe and his Associates*, 169): 'The general opinion is that Greene was the part-author of the older play, and that it was the work, or one of the works, he referred to in his attack on Shakespeare. . . . Much of the old play, however, is too vigorous, too manly, and too straight-forward to have been the composition of Greene, so that if he had anything to do with the work, it must have been as a partner with a better man, but who that man was is too speculative a subject to hazard a suggestion about. That the greatly revised and much improved version of *King John* by Shakespeare contained some of Marlowe's work no one thoroughly acquainted with his mannerisms can doubt, but the suggestion that he wrote the whole of it is preposterous.'⁴ I am not aware that the last truly preposterous suggestion was ever made.

⁴ Compare the similarly vague words of Courtney:

'It is possible that Shakespeare and Marlowe worked together on *The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England* (though Greene probably had a hand in it, hence his sneers about Shakespeare's plagiarism), and while the character of The Bastard is undoubtedly all Shakespeare, *King John* contains many Marlowe passages' (*Fortnightly Review*, Oct., 1905).

2. *Arden of Feversham*

The most probable author of the anonymous *Arden of Feversham* (licensed April 3, 1592) is Thomas Kyd, whose claims to the tragedy have been forcibly indicated by Charles Crawford (*Collectanea* i. 101-130). Mr. E. H. C. Oliphant argues in a manuscript letter that the play should rather be regarded as the joint production of Kyd and Marlowe. The verbal similarities between *Arden* and *Edward II* and in one case between *Arden* and *The Jew of Malta*, which Crawford interprets as plagiarisms by Kyd, are taken by Oliphant as rather marking the presence of Marlowe's hand. He then adds:

'Correspondences might also be cited between the two *Contention* plays and *Arden*; but it is not mere verbal parallels that have impelled me to regard Marlowe as part-author of *Arden*: it is rather the run of the verse in places, for now and then it seems to me of a quality distinctly Marlovian, and, so far as we know, beyond the capacity of Kyd. Consider, for instance, in III. v. the two long speeches covering lines 80 to 134: if these be not Marlowe's, whose are they? I do not wish to speak with positiveness, since it seems to me that the actual verse-construction of all the leading dramatists of the beginning of the last decade of the sixteenth century is much the same, however the achievement may vary. All I say is that the impression made on me by the verse in the passage I have adduced and others is that it possesses the indefinable something that sometimes distinguishes the work of Marlowe from that of his fellows; but that it is unfortunately incapable of proof. I admit that the resemblances between *Soliman* and *Edward II* may be due, as Crawford supposes, to imitation of Marlowe by Kyd, and therefore that the resemblances in *Arden* may also be attributable to imitation by Kyd; but I do not think that Kyd could so successfully attain the Marlovian music. I conclude then that *Soliman* is Kyd's, that *Arden* is Kyd's and Marlowe's, and that the *Contention* plays are probably

by the same two men (this, however, being an opinion that I have not put to a detailed test).'

Olyphant adds that the choice of ejaculations (e.g., Zounds, tush) and abusive epithets (knave, slave, peasant, churl, cur, groom, carle, coystiril, hind) suggests Marlowe even more than Kyd; and points out that the theory of collaboration between Marlowe and Kyd finds support in Kyd's reference to his writing in one chamber with Marlowe in 1591.

I believe the possibility that Marlowe may have assisted Kyd in *Arden of Feversham* comparable with the possibility that Kyd may have assisted Marlowe in *Lust's Dominion*. The traces of Marlowe's influence are undeniable both in the parallels to his acknowledged plays and in the general effect of certain passages such as that cited by Olyphant. The plot and tone of the play as a whole seem to me so unlike Marlowe, however, as to leave imitation by Kyd a more likely hypothesis than partnership between the two poets.

3. *Titus Andronicus*

The idea that Marlowe was author of *Titus Andronicus*, first printed in 1594, was advanced with confidence, but without arguments, by James Broughton (*Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1830). William Hazlitt had previously (*Lectures on Writers of Age of Elizabeth*, 1820) remarked that it was more like Marlowe than Shakespeare. Fleay (*Life of Shakspeare*, 1886, 281) says: 'That it was written by Marlowe I incline to think. What other mind but the author of *The Jew of Malta* could have conceived Aaron the Moor? . . . Nevertheless, I think the opinion that Kyd wrote this play of *Andronicus* worth the examination, although, with such evidence as has yet been adduced, Marlowe has certainly the better claim.' And Sir Sidney Lee repeats (Marlowe article, D. N. B., 1893): 'Internal evidence gives Marlowe some claim to be regarded as part author of *Titus Andronicus*, with which Shakespeare was very slightly, if at all, concerned. Aaron might have been drawn by the creator of the

Jew of Malta, but the theory that Kyd was largely responsible for the piece deserves consideration.' Bullen expresses positive conviction of Marlowe's authorship: 'As I re-read this play after coming straight from the study of Marlowe, I find again and again passages that, as it seems to me, no hand but his could have written.'⁵

W. C. Hazlitt (*Shakespeare*, 2nd. ed., 1902, p. 237) avowed his 'personal view' that the play is a work of Marlowe left incomplete at his death.⁶ The best recent critics of *Titus Andronicus*, however, are disposed to leave Marlowe out of their calculations; and there seems in fact to be nothing in the play which justifies any theory affirming his connection with it.

4. *Richard III*

In a passage in which hypothesis takes the place of argument (*Shakspeare*, 1886, p. 278, 279), Fleay imposes upon Marlowe a large part of the responsibility for *Richard III*: 'There can be little doubt that in this, as in *John*, Shakspeare derived his plot and part of his text from an anterior play, the difference in the two cases being that in *Richard III* he adopted much more of his predecessor's text. I believe that the anterior play was Marlowe's, partly written for Lord Strange's company in 1593, but left unfinished at Marlowe's death, and completed and altered by Shakspeare in 1594'⁷ . . .

⁵ Swinburne demurs in a letter to Bullen, Jan. 14, 1885: 'I hardly agree with you about *Titus Andronicus*. The third and fourth scenes of the fourth act have always seemed to me hardly unworthy of the (very) young Shakespeare, and not very like any one else—unless, perhaps, Kyd; certainly not Marlowe. And in the rest of the Play there are only here and there lines—never, (or hardly ever) a Scene—good enough for *our* poet.'

⁶ In his fourth, revised, edition, 1912, Hazlitt silently cancelled this statement.

⁷ In his study of the Dutch *Richard III* play, O. J. Campbell says of this passage: 'None of these conjectures finds corroboration in the *Rooede en Witte Roos* except that the play clearly shows a formative influence upon the early Senecan treatment of the Chronicle material like that which Marlowe indubitably exercised.' (*The Position of the Rooede en Witte Roos in the Saga of King Richard III*, Univ. Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, 1919, p. 57.)

I do not think it possible to separate Marlowe's work from Shakspeare's in this play—it is worked in with too cunning a hand.'

In an address read before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution in 1883, J. R. Lowell doubted Shakespeare's authorship of *Richard III*, but he did not specifically refer it to Marlowe. The undoubted traces of Marlowe's influence in the play seem by no means such as to imply his handiwork.⁸

5. *The Taming of a Shrew*

The Taming of a Shrew, printed in 1594 as acted by the Earl of Pembroke's Company, contains a great number of parallels with *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus*,⁹ which by a few critics have been interpreted to signify identity of authorship. James Broughton (*Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1830) 'felt confident' that the play proceeded from Marlowe's pen; Grant White ascribed it to Greene, Marlowe, and possibly Shakespeare; and Fleay to Marlowe and Shakespeare conjointly. Dyce has very satisfactorily pointed out that the borrowed passages evidence plagiarism of Marlowe and nothing more. The matter is well discussed, in the same spirit, by Boas in Appendix I of the *Shakespeare Classics* edition of the play (1908).

6. *Selimus*

Mr. Charles Crawford has attempted to prove by means of parallel passages that the *First Part of the Tragical Reign of Selimus, sometime Emperor of the Turks*, published in 1594,

⁸ Marlowe's authorship is championed in a recent paper, by Mr. S. S. Ashbough and in Mr. Robertson's book, *The Shakespeare Canon* (1922).

⁹ Marlowe's authorship is championed in a recent paper, as yet unpublished, by Mrs. S. S. Ashbough.

⁹ The existence of these was apparently first noted specifically by an anonymous American correspondent of Charles Knight, who based thereon an argument for Marlowe's authorship. Cf. Knight's *Library Shakespeare*, 1842, ii. 114 ff. Broughton alludes only generally to 'particular passages, where the language is verbatim the same as in his acknowledged works.'

is 'the eldest of Marlowe's works.'¹⁰ The theory has very little to recommend it. It depends, among other things, upon acceptance of Crawford's argument that *Selimus* is earlier than the related play of *Lochrine*, whereas the fact seems to be that *Lochrine* is the earlier.¹¹ Greene's authorship of *Selimus*, argued by Grosart and others, remains far more probable than that of Marlowe.¹²

7. *Edward III*

Fleay is very positive in his championship of the anonymous *Edward III* (published, 1596) as a play by Marlowe, later revised by Shakespeare. '*Edward III*, by Marlowe, was, with alterations by Shakspeare, acted about the city in 1594,' he asserts in his *Life of Shakspeare* (p. 23). Later in the volume (p. 118, 119) he repeats: 'About the same time (1594) an earlier play of Marlowe's originally acted ca. 1589, was altered and revised by Shakspeare. . . . The original date and authorship will appear from the following quotations.'¹³

8. *A Larum for London*

A Larum for London, or The Siege of Antwerp, published in 1602 as acted by the Lord Chamberlain's Company, was ascribed (in part) to Marlowe by Collier, on the testimony of the following lines of manuscript 'written by some early possessor on its title-page':

Our famous Marloe had in this a hand,
As from his fellowes I doe vnderstand.

¹⁰ Crawford's paper was first published in *Notes and Queries*, 1901. It is reprinted in *Collectanea* i. 47-100 (1906).

¹¹ Cf. Malone Society *Collections* I. 2. 108-110 (1908) and F. G. Hubbard, *Lochrine and Selimus* (p. 17-35 of Shakespeare Studies by Members of the Department of English of the University of Wisconsin, 1916).

¹² The case for Greene's authorship is considerably stronger than Dr. Grosart recognized when he advanced it. Cf. H. Gilbert, *R. Greene's Selimus*.

¹³ Sidney Lee admits, doubtless under the influence of Fleay's arguments, that 'Evidence of style also gives Marlowe some pretension to a share in *Edward III*.' No such evidence appears to the present writer. The quotations which Fleay points to have no evidential value.

The printed copie doth his Muse much wrong;
 But natheles manie lines ar good and strong:
 Of *Paris' Massaker* such was the fate;
 A perfitt coppie came to hand to late.

Dyce quotes these lines unsuspectingly from Collier; Bullen dubs them 'a very ridiculous piece of forgery.'¹⁴ Neither Dyce, nor any other critic than Collier, has found in the play credible evidence of Marlowe's workmanship, though it does contain a few trivial resemblances to *The Massacre at Paris*.

9. *The Maiden's Holiday*

The books of the Stationers' Company record that on April 8, 1654, 'Master Mosely Entred . . . a comedie called *The Maidens Holiday* by Christopher Marlow and John Day.' This was a period of reckless ascriptions. In 1653 Moseley entered *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* as a play by Shakespeare. On Sept. 9, 1653, plays called *Henry I* and *Henry II* were entered as 'by Wm. Shakespeare and Robert Davenport.' No edition of *The Maiden's Holiday* seems to have been published, and the manuscript is supposed to have been destroyed by the cook of John Warburton.

Any real collaboration between Marlowe and Day is out of the question, since Day's literary career seems only to have begun in 1599; and the idea that Marlowe left a comedy later completed or revised by Day has nothing to support it but Moseley's unconfirmed registration notice.

10. *Lust's Dominion*

Metrical evidence renders it impossible to take very seriously the claim of the title-page that *Lust's Dominion* was written by Marlowe. Rime abounds to an extent altogether disproportionate to that found in Marlowe's blank verse: I count 561 riming lines. Hemistichs, rare in Marlowe, are so frequent in *Lust's Dominion* as to constitute a distinct

¹⁴ A suspicious-looking motive for forgery is offered by the fact that the last two lines confirm Collier's discovery of an 'improved' manuscript version of a scene in *The Massacre at Paris*. I do not know where the copy of the *Larum for London* quarto with the lines in question is now to be found.

mannerism. There are 199 lines in which the pentameter is divided between two speakers and thirty-five others in which three or even four speeches combine to form a metrical verse.¹⁵ The tendency to run-on and eleven-syllable lines is also rather more marked than one would expect to find in a work by Marlowe. There are at least 47 run-on and 24 eleven-syllable verses in the first three hundred lines of the play, 45 run-on and 15 eleven-syllable verses in the last three hundred.

The influence of Marlowe is, however, clearly evident, both in structure and characterization and in phraseology. The Queen-Mother and Eleazar are replicas of the Queen-Mother and Guise in *The Massacre at Paris*. Compare the plot against the Queen's younger son in II. ii with *MP* 517 ff. and 637 ff. The employment of the Friars recalls both the *Massacre* and *The Jew of Malta*. Compare Eleazar's words in II. ii.

Their holy callings will approve the fact
Most good and meritorious

with *MP* 1147. The early part of the prose scene, III. v., recalls *MP* 812 ff., and the later part *JM* 1529 ff.

¹⁵ *E.g.*, (I. i.) *Q.-M.* Why dost thou frown? at whom?

Ele. At thee.

Q.-M. At me.

(IV. ii) *Phil.* You will not?

Car. No.

Phil. Coward!

Car. By deeds I'll try.

(V. v) *Ele.* Zarack.

Zar. My lord.

Ele. Where's Balthazar?

Zar. A-drumming.

Edward II has a single clear example of the line divided between three speakers (2193-95)

Matr. It shall be done my lord.

Mor. iu. Gurney.

Gurn. My Lorde.

2228-30 might be considered another instance, but the three speeches do not here form a regular pentameter.

The latter part of the Queen-Mother's speech, (I. i. 45-58) seems based on Gaveston's speech in *Edward II*, 50 ff.; while Eleazar's last speech in I. ii suggests Guise's soliloquy, *MP* 91 ff.; and Eleazar's threat in III. iv recalls that of Barabas in *JM* 2308-24. So in the first scene of the last act, Eleazar's third speech is clearly reminiscent of *Tamburlaine* 762-9 and 369, 370.

Echoes of Marlowe are frequently discernible also in single lines; e.g.,

Whose was that screech-owl's voice that, like the sound
Of a hell-tortur'd soul, rung through mine ears
Nothing but horrid shrieks, nothing but death?
Whilst I, vailing my knees to the cold earth . . . (198-201)

I see him live, and lives (I hope) to see
Unnumber'd years to guide this empery (210, 211)

Shall they thus tread thee down, which once were glad
To lacquey by thy conquering chariot wheels? (I.iv)

Why stares this devil thus, as if pale death
Had made his eyes the dreadful messengers
To carry black destruction to the world? (II. i. p. 113)

Laugh'st thou, base slave! the wrinkles of that scorn
Thine own heart's blood shall fill. (p. 115)

Murder, now ride in triumph. (II. iii. p. 124)

and ere the hand of death
Should suck (sack?) this ivory palace of thy life (II. vi. p. 131)

Lust's Dominion contains many eloquent speeches and some fine scenes, of which the best are I. ii, II. i, II. v, III. iv, III. vi, and V. i. The last is a great scene, full of the most admirable suspense and dramatic irony. Eleazar's six-fold repetition of the Cardinal's line, 'Spaniard or Moor, the saucy slave shall die,' is remarkably effective. The frequent reminiscences of Marlowe here as elsewhere are in general, however, not such as to suggest his authorship. For example, Eleazar's third speech in V. i is not at all in Marlowe's style. Out of twenty-nine lines, twelve have a distinct run-on movement, and eight rime. Of the twenty-two lines of the Queen-

Mother's speech in I.i six run-on and six rime. The scene which it is most easy to imagine Marlowe to have written is II. i. The speeches in this scene, particularly those of Mendoza, do have the genuine ring. Of 105 lines, ten here rime and twenty run on.

Marlowe's authorship of *Lust's Dominion* was hardly questioned before the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Malone in a note on *King John* V.vii.37 (Malone's Shakespeare, 1790, iv. p. 567) cites parallels from *Tamburlaine* and *Lust's Dominion*, assuming both to be by Marlowe. The *Biographia Dramatica* ascribes it unquestioningly to him. Thomas Campbell in the notice preceding his selection from Marlowe in *Specimens of the British Poets*, 1819 (ii. 160 f.) comments at large on 'Marlowe's tragedy of "Lust's Dominion."' Hazlitt in the second lecture of his *Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (1820) quotes numerous extracts from this play which he takes to be particularly characteristic of Marlowe. The author of the preface to the Singer reprint of *Hero and Leander* in 1821 claims *Lust's Dominion* as genuine, though rejecting *Tamburlaine*; and Robinson, the editor of the 1826 edition of the poet takes a like position.

In 1825, in the prefatory note to his edition of *Edward II* (Collier's Dodsley ii. 311 f.) J. P. Collier first called attention to the two pieces of external evidence which tend to discredit Kirkman's ascription of *Lust's Dominion* to Marlowe. He noted that the King Philip who dies in the third scene of Act I is Philip II of Spain, whose death (Sept. 13, 1598) followed that of Marlowe by over five years, and that the scene in question contains several unquestionable parallels in wording with an English pamphlet published in 1599.¹⁶

¹⁶ 'A briefe and true Declaration of the Sicknesse, last Wordes, and Death of the King of Spaine, Philip, the Second of that Name; who died in his Abbey of S. Laurence at Escuriall, seven Miles from Madrill, the Thirteenth of September, 1598 . . . 1599.' See the 1809 edition of the *Harleian Miscellany*, ii. 395-7.

In the second place, Collier called attention to a payment of £3 made by Henslowe on February 13, 1600 to Thomas Dekker, William Haughton, and John Day for 'a book called the Spanish Moor's Tragedy.'¹⁷ The title of this play suits the subject of *Lust's Dominion* so well, and the date accords so admirably with the employment of the pamphlet of 1599, that Collier believed the question of the play's authorship to be finally settled. His arguments were accepted with little question by Dyce, Fleay, Ward, and Bullen. In fact *Lust's Dominion* has found a place in no edition of Marlowe since that of Robinson.

The ascription of the play in its present form to Dekker, Haughton, and Day agrees well with the metrical evidence. Plays known to have been written by these authors about the year 1600 show frequent rimes and hemistichs,¹⁸ and in other regards tend to justify Collier's identification.

That Day wrote the curious episode of Oberon and the Fairies at the close of III. ii (which can hardly be imagined to have antedated *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) is evident—as Fleay and Greg have remarked—from its similarity to the Oberon passage at the end of *The Parliament of Bees* (Characters xi and xii), where similarly riming tetrameter verse is substituted for pentameter. The tetrameter speeches of the friars in II. iii and iv very likely point likewise to Day. Fleay assigned III. i-iv and IV to Day; II. ii-v and III. v-vi to Haughton; I, II. i, and V to Dekker. Greg writes that 'III. i-iv are certainly by one hand (? Day's) and II. iii-iv by another (? Haughton's), and the rest may be by one hand (? Dekker's), though this is doubtful.'¹⁹ Such efforts to

¹⁷ Henslowe's *Diary* F 67^v (ed. Greg, p. 118): 'Layd out for the company the 13 of febrearye 1599 (1600) for a boocke called the spaneshe mores tragedie vnto thomas deckers wm harton John daye in pte of payment the some of . . . iij^{li}.'

¹⁸ Day's *Parliament of Bees* is entirely in rime. Day's *Humour out of Breath*, Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money*, and Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and *Shoemaker's Holiday* contain large blocks of riming verse. All contain frequent hemistichs.

¹⁹ Henslowe's *Diary* ii. 211.

partition the play are of very dubious value, for though there is a considerable disparity in literary worth—Acts I and IV being on the whole a good deal poorer than the others—the scenes are well pieced together and the plot is coherent. The play appears to be the result of genuine collaboration, not a conglomerate of three styles.

Notwithstanding a very general disposition to assign at least the lion's share in *Lust's Dominion* to Dekker, Haughton, and Day, some distinguished critics have been unwilling to renounce wholly the idea of Marlowe's connection with the play. Swinburne wrote in a letter to Bullen (Jan. 14, 1885): 'Even if I did not differ *toto caelo* from your estimate of its merit [that of Horne's *Death of Marlowe*], I should no less feel bound to protest against the introduction of his play into an appendix which might have been made more valuable by a reprint such as you would have given (for the first time) of the hitherto worse than unedited *Lust's Dominion*—which, though of course spurious (at least as it now stands) in the main, has things in it well worthy of Marlowe, and so much in his style that they might reasonably be taken for parts of an unfinished or remodelled Play originally (if but partially) from his hand. The impossibility of his authorship applies only to certain passages which we know he could not have written, and which may well have been added to his manuscript by Dekker, Haughton, or Day.'²⁰

Greg remarks: 'There is certainly a good deal that is Marlowan and which sorts ill with the date of *The Spanish*

²⁰ In reference to a reply by Bullen, Swinburne writes (Jan. 19, 1885): 'I dare say you are right about the authorship of *Lust's Dominion*. I took its identity with *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* on trust from Dyce and Collier. But I think it deserves a decently careful edition.' I do not know upon what grounds Bullen may have discredited the identification of the two plays. Mr. J. LeGay Brereton writes (private letter, 1909): 'There's not a trace of Marlowe's hand in it, tho' it shows Marlovian influence in structure, characterisation and style. Collier and his followers identified it with *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* on insufficient evidence; but further study convinces me that they are right. Dekker wrote the greater part of the piece.'

Moor's Tragedy.' Fleay and Ward also hold the view that the Marlovian groundwork of the piece is still recognizable.

Along with the traces of Marlowe, there is, it seems to me, in *Lust's Dominion* evidence of the style, possibly of the actual workmanship, of Thomas Kyd. The gruesome complexity of horror at the close (mitigated perhaps by the revisers into an unsatisfactory 'happy' ending); the notable tendency to moral epigram;²¹ the similarity of the rôles of Zarack and Balthazar to those of Pedringano and Cerberine in *The Spanish Tragedy*; perhaps also the interest in wars of Spain and Portugal, suggest Kyd much more than any of the authors hitherto associated with the play. There is a good deal in *Lust's Dominion* to support the fancy that the tragedy may have had its inception in 1591, when Marlowe and Kyd were by the latter's testimony 'wrytinge in one chamber.'

11 *Dialogue in Verse*

A dramatic dialogue or 'jig,' preserved in a manuscript at Dulwich (Henslowe Papers f. 272), was first printed by Collier on page 8 of his *Alleyn Papers*. It consists of a single page of writing, all but the last eight lines being run together as if prose. On the back of the sheet is written 'Kitt Marlowe' in what Warner (Dulwich Catalogue) characterizes as 'a later, and perhaps modern, hand.'²² Dyce reprinted, without much belief in its genuineness, this bit of doggerel, 'which, mean as it is, I have not chosen to exclude,' throwing out the suggestion that it may possibly be a portion of the lost comedy of *The Maiden's Holiday*, ascribed to Marlowe and Day.

That the lines in question were written by Marlowe is thoroughly improbable. They are, however, an interesting relic of the 'jig' type of drama, and as such were produced

²¹ *E.g.*, Tyrants swim safest in a crimson flood
True misery loves a companion well
In extremities choose out the least

²² Collier also admitted that the endorsed name is 'in a more modern hand.'

on the stage at Chicago University in 1916, in an entertainment illustrative of various phases in the evolution of English drama. Professor C. R. Baskervill of that university has favored me with the following remarks concerning the piece: "Though I did not take the fact into account in producing the verses, they may have come from the body of a play as Dyce suggests, for the last lines are couplets. But the context shows that the verses must have been accompanied with dance, and there is little doubt that they were written to be sung, so that the piece seems to be a dramatic jig, whether performed at the end of a play or not. It seems to belong to a type of jig that developed out of folklore. A group of rival suitors of varied callings and social ranks is found in the Revesby play printed by Manly and in the various ploughboy plays of Lincolnshire. In these the clown is the victor in the contest. The one early representative of the type is the scene in the Induction to Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* (Bannatyne MS.) where a farcical use of the material for an intrigue appears. The same grouping of four or five wooers with the success of the clown is here. One ballad entered on the Stationers' Register, Aug. 13, 1591, must have been a jig and closely related to Marlowe's specimen: "A new northerne Dialogue betwene Will, Sone, and the warriner, and howe Reynold Peares gott faire Nanye to his Loue." It was in this year that the ballad dialogues began to be entered with the additional designation of "jig." One of the earliest, probably carried to Germany by Kemp where it had a great vogue (see Bolte, *Die Singspiele d engl. Kom.*), was "Rowland and the Sexton," entered Dec. 16, 1591. This is preserved in a German form as published in Keller's *Fastnachtspiele*, II. 1021-1025. Here the rival suitors appear, but both are clowns and the farce interest is developing, or has already developed. At any rate it is seen in *Rowlande's Godsonne* and *Attowels Jigge* (both in Clark's *Sherburn Ballads*). . . .'

B. NON-DRAMATIC SPURIA OR LOST WORKS

1. *Coluthus*

A manuscript note by the antiquary Coxeter stated that Marlowe translated Coluthus's *Rape of Helen* into English rime in 1587. The assertion is repeated, on Coxeter's authority, by Warton in his *History of English Poetry*, and by Malone (MS. note prefixed to *Dido*, Malone 133). Nothing whatever is known of this work. Warton suggested that the version of Coluthus 'was probably brought into vogue, and suggested to Marlowe's notice, by being paraphrased in Latin verse the preceding year by Thomas Watson.'²³

2. *Dedication of Watson's Amintae Gaudia*

A collection of original Latin verse by Thomas Watson published in 1592 is preceded by a Latin dedication addressed to the Countess of Pembroke and signed: 'Honoris tui studiosissimus, C. M.' The initials have been conjecturally expanded into 'Christopher Marlowe' in the catalogue of the John Rylands Library. There is small reason to suppose that Marlowe ever belonged to the Countess of Pembroke's circle.

3. *Manwood Epitaph*

In a note appended to his *History of the English Stage to the Time of Shakespeare* (Collier's Shakespeare, 1844, vol. i. p. xlv), J. P. Collier inserted the following information:

²³ Malone has the note: 'In 1595 was entered by R. Jones (his printer) "a booke entituled *Raptus Helenae*, Helen's Rape, by the Athenian Duke Theseus." The same had been paraphrased in Latin Verse by T. Watson in 1586—in wch. year it was printed in 8°.' Warton similarly confounds with Coluthus's poem on Helen and Paris the clearly different work on Helen and Theseus; and is rebuked by Dyce. In fact the Stationers' entry of 1595 relates to a poem by John Trussell, of which the only known copy was lately in the Britwell library: '*Raptus Helenae*. The first Rape of faire Hellen. Done into a Poeme by I. T. Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the signe of the Rose and Crowne . . . Holborne. 1595.' (Cf. Hazlitt's Handbook, p. 616.)

English translations of Coluthus were later made by Sir Edward Sherburne (1618-1702) and by Francis Fawkes (1720-1777).

'In a manuscript note of the time, in a copy of his version of "*Hero and Leander*," edit. 1629, in our possession, it is said, among other things, that "Marlowe's father was a shoemaker at Canterbury," and that he had an acquaintance at Dover whom he infected with the extreme liberality of his opinions on matters of religion. At the back of the title-page of the same volume is inserted the following epitaph, subscribed with Marlowe's name, and no doubt of his composition, although never before noticed:

"In obitum honoratissimi viri
ROGERI MANWOOD, Militis, Quaestorii
Reginalis Capitalis Baronis.

Noctivagi terror, ganeonis triste flagellum,
Et Jovis Alcides, rigido vulturque latroni,
Urnâ subtegitur: scelerum gaudete nepotes.
Insons, luctifica sparsis cervice capillis,
Plange, fori lumen, venerandae gloria legis
Occidit: heu! secum effoetas Acherontis ad oras
Multa abiit virtus. Pro tot virtutibus uni,
Livor, parce viro: non audacissimus esto
Illius in cineres, cujus tot millia vultus
Mortalium attonuit: sic cum te nuncia Ditis
Vulneret exanguis, feliciter ossa quiescant,
Famaeque marmorei superet monumenta sepulchri."

'It is added, that "Marlowe was a rare scholar, and died aged about thirty." The above is the only extant specimen of his Latin composition, and we insert it exactly as it stands in manuscript.'

Dyce accepted the twelve hexameters as one of the latest writings of Marlowe (Sir Roger Manwood, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, died December 14, 1592); and he offered the suggestion, not supported by what has since been learned of the circumstances of Marlowe's career at Cambridge, that the poet's education at the university may have been due to Manwood's liberality.

It is not clear whether Dyce himself examined the manuscript insertions in Collier's copy of *Hero and Leander*, or whether, as seems more probable from what he says, he

made use simply of Collier's transcript of them.²⁴ No later student appears to have seen the volume, which is now, unfortunately, inaccessible. This being the case, it is impossible to say how seriously Collier's statement that the epitaph is 'subscribed with Marlowe's name' should be taken. Even if altogether *bona fide*, this evidence for Marlowe's authorship cannot of course date earlier than 1629, and presumably not earlier than Feb. 10, 1640, which is the date affixed to the other manuscript notes quoted by Dyce. It is hard, however, not to suspect bad faith. The manuscript writer, as originally quoted by Collier, says: 'Marlowe was a rare scholar, and died aged about thirty.' In the version which Dyce received, he says: 'Hee was a rare scholar, and made excellent verses in Latine. Hee died aged about 30.' It looks as if the additional statement, which I have italicized, may have been concocted to give plausibility to the ascription of the epitaph. The subject matter of the verses in question, which praise Manwood as the stern upholder of law and order, has nothing in common with Marlowe's habitual manner of thinking, and does not suggest the authorship of a poet.

The presence of the epitaph in a copy of *Hero and Leander* can be most naturally explained in a way which does not at all connect it with either of the authors of that poem. Complimentary dedicatory epistles to Sir Thomas Walsingham and to his wife are printed in the book. Their son, Sir Thomas Walsingham (who died in 1669), married as his first wife Elizabeth, granddaughter of the Sir Roger Manwood celebrated in the epitaph.²⁵ If the quarto was in the possession of the Walsingham family at about the period of the civil wars, it may easily have occurred to some member of it to add this eulogy of one Elizabethan ancestor to those of two others which the volume contained.

²⁴ Note Dyce's acknowledgement of Collier's assistance in his Preface to the edition of 1850.

²⁵ Dyce (p. xiii. note †.) erroneously states that Elizabeth Manwood married the elder Sir Thomas Walsingham, Marlowe's friend.

4. *Infortunatus Ch. M.*

Certain manuscript poems signed in this way are mentioned in *Notes and Queries*, Ist. Series, i. 469 (May 18, 1850). I do not know where the manuscript in question now is. The specimen lines printed by no means suggest Marlowe.

TUCKER BROOKE

XX. THE MEANING OF *ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL*

The poet needs a ground in popular tradition on which he may work, and which, again, may restrain his art within the due temperance. It holds him to the people, supplies a foundation for his edifice, and in furnishing so much work done to his hand, leaves him at leisure and in full strength for the audacities of his imagination. (Emerson, Essay on Shakspeare, in *Representative Men*)

It has often seemed strange to lovers of Shakspeare that the most genial of dramatists should have written plays which, while not attaining the horror and pathos of tragedy, arouse distaste and even repugnance. *Troilus and Cressida* and *Measure for Measure*, despite superb poetry and marvellous delineation of character, are so repellent in theme and treatment that they are seldom represented on the stage today, and seldom lie close to the affection of readers of Shakspeare. This is even more the case with *All's Well that Ends Well*. "Everyone who reads this play," says the editor of the *Arden Shakespeare* volume, "is at first shocked and perplexed by the revolting idea which underlies the plot . . . it leaves so unpleasant a flavour with some people that it is not tasted again."¹ Barrett Wendell put it even more strongly: "There is no other work of Shakspeare's which in conception and in temper seems quite so corrupt as this. . . . There are other works of Shakspeare which are more painful; there are none less pleasing, none on which one cares less to dwell."² The nature of the plot has kept *All's Well* almost completely from representation on the modern stage; Kemble, in his acting version, omitted the central episode of the main action altogether.

Not less disagreeable than the plot are many of the characters. Few people can "reconcile their hearts" to Bertram any more than could Dr. Johnson, who found him

¹ W. Osborne Brigstocke; Introduction to *All's Well*, p. xv.

² *William Shakspeare*, N. Y., 1901, p. 250.

"a man noble without generosity, and young without truth; who marries Helen as a coward, and leaves her as a profligate: when she is dead by his unkindness, sneaks home to a second marriage, is accused by a woman whom he has wronged, defends himself by falsehood, and is dismissed to happiness." The Clown is one of the least amusing and most foul-mouthed of Shakspeare's comic characters, even with all due license for Elizabethan looseness of language. Parolles is certainly a most unsavory fellow; generally accounted a kind of degraded Falstaff, without the fat knight's wit and charm. And Helena herself has aroused the sharpest condemnation, which may be contrasted with Coleridge's famous remark that she is Shakspeare's "loveliest character," or Hazlitt's contention that in her conduct "the most scrupulous nicety of female modesty is not once violated." Dunlop said of Helena that "considering the disparity of rank and fortune it was, perhaps, indelicate to demand as her husband a man from whom she had received no declaration nor proof of attachment; but she certainly overstepped all bounds of female decorum, in pertinaciously insisting on the celebration of a marriage to which he expressed such invincible repugnance . . . she ingratiates herself into the family of a rival, and contrives a stratagem, the success of which could have bound Bertram neither in law nor in honor."³ Andrew Lang, whose taste and common-sense need not be emphasized, wrote much the same thing in a more vivacious way. "Everyone would prefer to see the worm in the bud feed on the damask cheek rather than to see 'Venus toute entière à sa proie attachée', as Helena attaches herself to Bertram. A character in many ways so admirable is debased when Helena becomes a *crampon* . . . Had Helena regained her lord in a more generous and seemly way, we would still have to pardon the original manner of the wooing."⁴ Lounsbury, in a criticism well worth reading, remarks "Nor can any excellence in Helen's

³ *History of Prose Fiction*, London, 1888, Vol. II, p. 86.

⁴ *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. LXXXV (1892) p. 213.

character counterbalance the fundamental fact that she has been untrue to her sex. She persistently pursues a man who is not merely indifferent but averse."⁵ John Masefield goes still further; he believes that Shakspeare deliberately meant to make Helena despicable. "Helena's obsession of love makes her blind to the results of her actions. She twice puts the man whom she loves into an intolerable position, which nothing but a king can end. The fantasy is not made so real that we can believe in the possibility of happiness between two so married. Helena has been praised as one of the noblest of Shakespeare's women. Shakespeare saw her more clearly than any man who has ever lived. He saw her as a woman who practises a borrowed art, not for art's sake, nor for charity, but, woman fashion, for a selfish end. He saw her put a man into a position of ignominy quite unbearable, and then plot with other women to keep him in that position. Lastly, he saw her beloved all the time by the conventionally minded of both sexes."⁶

Even if we do not agree with Helena's detractors, the plot in which she has so prominent a part is difficult to reconcile with probability. The very title of the play may seem a misnomer. *Does all end well?* Can a marriage so arranged, an agreement between husband and wife so fulfilled, end happily? "The very nobility of Helena's nature," says Lowes, "renders the story which Shakespeare retained less plausible."⁷ "It needs all the dramatist's power to hold our sympathy and to force us to an unwilling assent to the title," remarks Neilson.⁸ Oliver Elton expresses a similar thought in a graceful sonnet.⁹

All's Well!—Nay, Spirit, was it well that she
Thy clear-eyed favorite, the wise, the rare,
The 'rose of youth,' must her deep heart lay bare,
And Helen wait on Bertram's contumely?

⁵ *Shakespeare as Dramatist and Moralist*, N. Y. 1901, p. 390.

⁶ *William Shakespeare*, N. Y., 1911, p. 147 f.

⁷ Introduction to *All's Well*, Tudor Shakespeare, p. xiii.

⁸ Neilson and Thorndike, *The Facts about Shakespeare*, N. Y., 1913, p. 83.

⁹ *A Book of Homage to Shakespeares*, London, 1916, p. 161.

Must Love's own humble, dauntless devotee
 Make Night accomplice, and, a changeling, dare
 The loveless love-encounter, and prepare
 To tread the brink of shame? May all this be

And all end well?

On the other hand, if those who condemn Helena are right, if, in Andrew Lang's phrase, she is "the thief, not of love, but of lust," the chances for a really happy ending seem even smaller. And Bertram is quite as hard to explain psychologically as Helena. After treating his wife with the greatest harshness, setting what he believes impassable barriers to their union, engaging in an intrigue with another woman, and "boggling shrewdly" to lie himself out of a tight place, he is apparently transformed in the twinkling of an eye into a model husband.

If she, my liege, can make me know this clearly,
 I'll love her dearly, ever, ever, dearly.

But are things going to end well for Bertram any more than for Helena?

Many other features of the play might be cited which are unsatisfactory to modern feelings. There seems little need, however, to linger over these at present. Clearly, for us of today, *All's Well* perplexes more than it satisfies, and repels more than it attracts. The important thing for us to consider is how such a state of affairs has come about.

Two separate issues are involved in the attempt to answer this question: one, the effect of the play upon Shakspeare's audiences and readers; the other, its effect upon modern audiences and readers. These two points have been constantly confused. Shakspeare's marvellous power of making his creations seem real has misled many critics into judging their actions and dispositions as they would those of persons of their own century, or of a timeless immortality belonging to no century, instead of as Elizabethans in various disguises, with all the conventions and traditions of the days of the Virgin Queen. Transcendent as his genius was, it was in no sense independent of his time; on the contrary, it reflected

with fidelity the characteristics of his own day. His artistic methods were not those of a modern dramatist, nor were the reactions of an audience in the Globe Theater those of an audience today. Any criticism which fails to take account of these facts is bound to come to shipwreck sooner or later.

Most explanations of the alleged faulty psychology of the play, and of its disagreeable tone, completely ignore differences between Elizabethan and modern conditions. The reader will find the much-venerated Gervinus treating the whole piece as a moral allegory on the theme that "merit goes before rank."¹⁰ In allegory, of course, one expects some violence to reason and probability. He will find Dr. Johnson, on the other hand, arguing that Shakspeare "sacrificed virtue to convenience," and in his desire to please, wrote with no moral purpose whatever. He will find Raleigh¹¹ and Schücking¹² attributing the apparent psychological shortcomings of the play to Shakspeare's carelessness or creative opulence, "a part of his magnanimity, and a testimony to his boundless resource." Elton believes that the solution lies in remembering that love is not governed by reason, and that nature works in a wonderful way. In the closing lines of the sonnet from which quotation has already been made, Shakspeare defends his work thus:

That Spirit, from his seat
Elysian, seems to murmur: 'Sometimes know
In Love's unreason hidden, Nature's voice;
In Love's resolve, Her will; and though his feet
Walk by wild ways precipitous, yet, so
Love's self be true, Love may at last rejoice.'

Seccomb and Allen frankly give up the problem: "The plot is a fanciful imbroglio, and the situations, even when they seem most threatening, have no more reality than arabesques; to regard the characters too seriously is merely to court delusion."¹³

¹⁰ *Shakespeare Commentaries*, tr. by F. E. Bunnett, N. Y., 1875, p. 180.

¹¹ *Shakespeare* (English Men of Letters) N. Y., 1907, p. 140.

¹² *Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare*. Leipzig, 1919, pp. 196 ff.

¹³ *Age of Shakespeare*, London, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 81 f.

The object of the following pages is to examine *All's Well* from the point of view of Elizabethan story-telling and Elizabethan social conventions. Widespread and favorite narrative material forms the basis of the main plot; by studying this material we may gain some idea of its probable effect when put into dramatic form. We say that the play is disagreeable, but it was at all events liked well enough to be subjected to a process of revision, which shows clearly a lapse of time, and, in the alterations, the deepening of interest in character which marks Shakspeare's later years.¹⁴ A play that found no favor would hardly have been so treated. Again, it is necessary to observe how far the supposedly disagreeable qualities are inherent in the story, and how far they are due to Shakspeare, or heightened by him. Before we can accuse Shakspeare, as Barrett Wendell did, of "treating the fact of love with a cynical irony almost worthy of a modern Frenchman," we must be sure that the seemingly ironical quality in his work is not susceptible of another explanation. We must reckon with a very different attitude towards moral issues, and a different popular psychology, and we must pay particular attention to what was liked on the stage at the time when *All's Well* was written. Moreover, the artistic quality of a piece on the stage, as of a picture on canvas, is often heightened by deepening the shadows; may it not be true that some of the gloom of the play is for dramatic effect?

¹⁴ The most thorough study of this process of revision has been made by Professor J. L. Lowes, to whom I am indebted for friendly counsel. Through his kindness, I have been privileged to examine the unpublished MS. of this study, and to utilize some of its results here. It is noteworthy, in connection with the point made above, that according to Professor Lowes, Bertram, the most unpleasant character in the main plot, was not retouched. The chief alterations made Helena more womanly and less girlish. Some of the conclusions of Professor Lowes are summarized in his edition of the play for the *Tudor Shakespeare* (pp. vii ff.). He believes that the play was first written "from 1598 to 1600 or 1601," and worked over "at a date very near that of the latest tragedies, and not long (if at all) before the Romances—say 1606-1608."

The final results of a critical examination of *All's Well* from this point of view are striking. I think it will be clear that Helena was meant by Shakspeare to be wholly noble and heroic, and fully justified in her conduct, both in the winning of Bertram and in the manner of fulfilling his conditions for their union after marriage; that the sudden transformation of Bertram from a villain into a model husband was a convention of medieval and Elizabethan story-telling, which must be expected to follow Helena's triumph; that the blackening of the "hero" and the disagreeable qualities in the Clown and Parolles are explainable for reasons of dramatic contrast and dramatic motivation. It has already been suggested briefly by Thorndike that in the choice and treatment of the themes of the "problem plays" Shakspeare was much affected by contemporary literary fashions, on the stage and elsewhere; I hope to make this suggestion seem doubly convincing. I do not seek to prove that the play is a pleasant one, or that it seemed so to the playgoers for whom Shakspeare wrote. But I do believe that it is far more unsavory to us than it was to them, and that the effect which it was intended to create has been generally misunderstood. In the last analysis, I believe that it reveals quite the reverse of the pessimism with which it has so often been reproached, and justifies the conviction that Shakspeare is here, as elsewhere, fundamentally optimistic.

Such a study as is here proposed will perform a greater service, if successful, than for this one play alone. It will help to clear up puzzling questions in the sister comedies, *Measure for Measure* and *Troilus and Cressida*, which, with *Hamlet*, have been often called "problem plays." These may not be favorites (with the exception of *Hamlet*, of course), but they are all extraordinary dramatic achievements, written at the height of Shakspeare's powers, and significant for the light which they throw upon his other work. Through an understanding of the effect of these pieces upon the audiences for whom they were designed, we

shall be in a position to appreciate more justly the Roman plays and the supreme achievement of the great tragedies.

I

HELENA AND BERTRAM: THE FULFILMENT OF THE TASKS

The best approach to an understanding of *All's Well* from the Elizabethan point of view is through an examination of the character of Helena. The two chief indictments against her, as we have seen, are that she forces Bertram into a marriage against his will, and that she makes use of unsavory trickery to compel him, once more against his will, to receive her as his wife. We will consider for the present the second indictment, since this forms the chief theme of Shakspeare's play.

The main plot of *All's Well* is based on the ninth novel of the third day of the *Decameron*, which Shakspeare in all probability got from the faithful translation in Paynter's *Palace of Pleasure*.¹⁵ In brief, the story as told by Paynter is as follows:

Giletta, the daughter of Gerardo of Narbona, physician to the Count of Rossiglione, fell deeply in love with the Count's son Beltramo. Upon the death of the Count, Beltramo went to Paris, whither Giletta followed him. The King of France was suffering from an illness which no one could cure; Giletta offered to heal him, and if unsuccessful, to submit to being burnt alive. The King proposed, in case the cure were complete, to give her in marriage to some worthy gentleman, to which she assented, reserving, however, the right of choice for herself. The King was healed, whereupon Giletta

¹⁵ It does not seem likely that both Shakspeare and Paynter would independently have called the people of Sienna "the Senois." Attempts have been made to show that Shakspeare used the *Virginia* of Bernardo Accolti (eds. 1513, 1535), an Italian tragi-comedy based on Boccaccio. Cf. Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, Leipzig, 1866, IV., 546-589; Bodenstedt, ed. Shakspeare, Leipzig, 1871, XXXIV, v-xii; H. von der Hagen, *Über die altfranzösische Vorstufe des Shakespear'chen Lustspiels Ende Gut, Alles Gut*. Halle diss. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, VIII, 636) does not think that Hagen has made out a case for the dependence of Shakspeare upon Accolti. Lowes (*Tudor Shakespeare*, p. x) says that "the evidence for it is entirely unconvincing." In the present study no further mention will be made of Accolti's play.

demanded Beltramo as husband. The young count, "knowing her not to be of a stocke convenable to his nobilitie," objected, but the King insisted that the marriage be celebrated. After this was over, the Count obtained permission to return to his own country, but instead went to Tuscany, and entered the service of the Florentines against the people of Sienna (the Senois). Giletta returned to Rossiglione, where she set the Count's affairs in order, and then sent two knights to tell him that if it were on her account that he was absenting himself from home, she would herself leave. He replied that she might do as she pleased; that he did not purpose to live with her until she should get upon her finger a ring which he wore, and have a son begotten by him. When this reply was made known to Giletta, she told it to the chief men of Rossiglione, and said that she was unworthy to cause the exile of the Count, and that her purpose was to spend the rest of her life in pilgrimages and devotions. She then made her way to Florence, and lodged in the house of a poor widow. The widow told her that Beltramo was in love with the daughter of a gentlewoman of the city, a neighbor. Giletta went to this gentlewoman, and telling the whole story of her marriage, proposed that the daughter should consent to the Count's advances, and demand his ring as a pledge, while she herself should take the daughter's place in bed, and so, by the grace of God, be got with child. So the affair was arranged. The gentlewoman and her daughter were rewarded with a large sum for the latter's dowry, and rich jewels, and thereupon retired into the country. Beltramo, being called home by his subjects, and hearing that Giletta had left, returned to Rossiglione. Giletta stayed on in Florence, where two sons were born to her. After causing them "carefullie to be noursed and brought up," she repaired to Montpellier, where Beltramo, on All Saints Day, was entertaining many knights and ladies at a great feast. In pilgrim's weeds, Giletta entered the hall, her two sons in her arms, and made herself known to her husband, showing him his ring, and claiming the fulfilment of his conditions. The Count asked her to tell how it had come to pass, and she related the whole story. "For whiche cause the counte knowyng the thynges she she had spoken to be true (and perceivng her constaunt minde and good witte, and the twoo faier yonge boies to kepe his promise made, and to please his subjectes, and the ladies that made sute unto him, to accept her from that time forth as his lawfull wife, and to honour her) abjected his obstinate rigour: causyng her to rise up, and imbraced and kissed her, acknowledgyng her againe for his lawfull wife . . . and from that tyme forth, he loved and honoured her, as his dere spouse and wife."

Shakspeare altered many details of this story,¹⁶ and made it more elaborate by the introduction of Parolles and the

¹⁶ For the reader's convenience, I quote the following from Lowes's edition of the play: "The Countess, Parolles, the Clown and Lafeu are all added; Giletta of the story is rich, has refused many suitors, and has kins-

sub-plot, of the Countess and the Clown and Lafeu, and of a second ring in the final episode. Compared with the ending of the tale, Shakspeare's fifth act is exceedingly complicated.

The main theme of the Boccaccio *novella* enjoyed in the Middle Ages considerable popularity, to which its various forms in prose and verse bear witness. There are many analogous stories which are instructive in forming conclusions as to its significance. This theme is briefly as follows: A wife is deserted by her husband, to be taken back on the fulfilment of apparently impossible conditions, one of which is to get a child by him. She performs these tasks, and wins her husband.¹⁷

folk of her own; on her arrival in Paris, her first step is to see Beltramo; the King and not Giletta suggests as her reward the bestowal upon her of a husband, whom Giletta merely requests, thereupon, that she may choose; the choice of Beltramo is not made in his presence, but he is called in later to hear of it; after Beltramo's desertion (which is not motivated beforehand, as in the play), Giletta returns to Rossiglione, and devotes herself to the care and improvement of Beltramo's estate, rendering herself greatly beloved by his subjects; as Beltramo does not return, Giletta sends him word that she is willing to leave Rossiglione, should that insure his return, and it is in reply to this message of Giletta that Beltramo writes his letter; when Giletta leaves, she does so publicly, telling her subjects that she has determined to spend the rest of her days in pilgrimages and devotion; the widow at whose house she stays in Florence is not Diana's mother, but a neighbor of her mother, who is also a widow and a gentlewoman; Giletta remains in Florence, after Beltramo has returned home, until the birth of twin sons; in the dénouement neither Diana nor the King is present, but Giletta simply appears, in poor apparel, with her two sons in her arms, at a feast which Beltramo is giving, and weeping, claims her rights; there is no mention whatever of a second ring." Professor Lowes is in error in saying that Beltramo's desertion is not motivated beforehand; it is clearly due to Giletta's lower birth, which was not "convenable to his nobilitie."

¹⁷ The sources of Boccaccio are discussed by M. Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, and A. C. Lee, *The Decameron: its Sources and Analogues*, London, 1909. Neither book is satisfactory. Landau's analyses of tales are so brief as often to be misleading, and the relationships of such tales to each other and to the main story are often too superficially disposed of. It is impossible to give such complicated questions brief treatment with satisfactory results. Lee's book, which is heavily indebted to Landau, suffers in a similar way. Both are useful for bibliographical refer-

According to Gaston Paris, the source of the story is to be found in the Orient. The following tale, which I summarize, is therefore of special interest.

A clever woman was married to a husband who said to her one day, "I cannot stay at home any more, for I must go on a year's journey to carry on my business." And he added, laughing, "When I return I expect to find you have built me a grand well; and also, as you are such a clever wife, to see a little son!" The wife got the money by a series of ruses, and had the well dug. She then travelled a long distance in man's attire, until she found her husband. Then she disguised herself again as a cowherd's daughter. The husband was attracted by her beauty, but did not recognize her, and proposed marriage. So they were married. At the end of three months he said that he must return. She asked him to give her his old cap and his picture. She then went back to her home, where a son was born to her. On the husband's arrival, he was not pleased to see the baby, but she showed him the cap and the picture, and told him the whole story, pointing out the new well also. So all ended happily.¹⁸

Gaston Paris did not think that an Oriental parallel to the *All's Well* theme had been found, and he did not consider Landau's Indian analogs significant. "Les contes indiens qu'en rapproche M. Landau (*Die Quellen des Decamerone*, 2e. éd. p. 146 ss) ont une ressemblance plus ou moins éloignée, mais ne présentent pas le trait essentiel du conte, l'ordre, en apparence inéxecutable, donné par le mari à la femme, et exécuté par elle."¹⁹—But this *is* in the tale just given, though Landau's analysis does not show it. Perhaps Paris had not seen the full text of the tale, and was depending upon Landau's rather misleading outline. He thought the following Turkish story of special importance.

ences, and may be used to supplement the material here quoted. Landau has a particular fondness for tracing the origins of the *novelle* to India, sometimes on the basis of slight resemblances.

¹⁸ Maive Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, London, 1880. "The Clever Wife," Tale XXVIII, p. 216.

¹⁹ *Romania*, XVI, 98., note. Some discussion of Eastern parallels—not particularly satisfactory—will be found in *The Remarks of M. Karl Simrock on the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays*, with Notes and Additions by J. O. Halliwell, London, (The Shakespeare Society), 1850, pp. 95 ff.

A certain prince had a Vizier, who was the father of a twelve-year old daughter. Hearing the maiden's cleverness praised, the prince called the Vizier to him, and propounded a riddle, which the Vizier was to answer within three days, or lose his head. After three days had passed, and the Vizier could find no answer, his daughter gave him the solution. When the prince was told, he asked who had given the Vizier the answer. At first the Vizier asserted that he himself had guessed the riddle; then he admitted that his daughter had aided him. The prince answered, "If that is the case, the maiden will do for my wife." The girl demanded that before they were married, the prince should bring her a white elephant, and a man without sorrow. The elephant was procured, but the prince, after searching vainly for three years for a man without sorrow, returned home. He then married the Vizier's daughter, but did not live with her. Instead, he went off hunting, announcing that he should be gone nine years. Upon leaving he gave his wife an empty chest, the mouth of which was sealed with his seal, commanding her to fill it with gold and silver without opening it, and a mare who must give birth to a foal like his black horse. He also told his wife that she must bear a child, instruct him well, and send the child to him, mounted upon the horse.

After he had been gone three days, the wife attired herself like a king's son, dressed up four hundred maidens like men, and rode out after her husband. She pitched her tent near the place where he was staying, thus attracting his attention. Hospitalities were exchanged, the prince not recognizing his wife in disguise. They played checkers in the prince's tent. The pretended youth proposed that they should play for a stake. So each wagered his horse, saddle, trappings, and seal. The wife won, and retiring to her tent with the seal, she brought the horse and mare together. Opening the chest, she filled it with gold and silver, and sealed it with her husband's seal. She then sent horse, trappings and seal back to the prince. The next evening, the wife proposed that they play for a girl. She purposely lost, and told the prince that she would send him a beautiful female slave. Retiring to her tent, she then assumed that disguise, and came back to her husband. He was inflamed with love for the supposed slave, and lay that night with her. They drank spirits (Branntwein), and the slave gave the prince a box on the ear. Angry and drunken, he chased the slave away from his tent. The wife then collected her retinue, and returned home.

After nine months, nine days and nine hours, she bore a son, whom she had well instructed as he grew older. The mare also bore a foal. At the end of the nine years, the prince returned. His son was placed on the steed, and sent to meet his father. The prince was told that the boy was the son of the Vizier's daughter. At first he was angry, thinking that the child was not his own. Then the wife showed him the chest, told him that the steed on which the boy was riding was the issue of the mare and his own horse, and related the whole story.

"Then the prince was exceedingly joyful over what the maiden had done; because she was exceedingly clever and well-instructed, he exalted her above all his other wives. After he had lived with her a long time, he finally died."²⁰

The motivation of the husband's desertion varies. The Indian tale, "The Clever Wife," just cited from the collection by Stokes, is unusual in that the husband lays his commands upon his wife as a jest. In the Turkish story there seems to be no reason for the husband's departure for a nine-year stay, immediately after the marriage, but I am inclined to think that a fuller form of the tale would reveal it as pique for the tasks laid upon him by his wife,²¹—the procuring of a white elephant and a man who had known no sorrow. Oral circulation frequently obscures the motivation of popular stories. The introductory episode of the Turkish tale, in which the girl wins a husband by her cleverness, should be especially noted.

A pretty example of the theme comes from a collection of Norwegian ballads.²²

King Kristian goes off to war, and lays three tasks upon his wife. She must build a throne shining like the morning sun, construct a magnificent hall, and have a child by him. She gets advice from an old man. After the accomplishment of the first two tasks, she follows her husband to Scotland in disguise, and is gotten with child by him. The king gives her a ring with his name on it, which serves as a proof of the paternity of the child when he returns home.

The strange compilation known as the *Mágussaga* or the *Bragða-Mágus saga* well illustrates the introduction of the episode into a longer narrative. The material in the saga was in large part carried to Iceland by men who had listened to

²⁰ W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen türkischen Stämme*, Vol. VI, Dialect der Tarantschi. St. Petersburg, 1886. "Die Kluge Wesirs-Tochter," pp. 191-198.

²¹ Cf. the *Mágussaga*, below. Anger at the division of the cock, which is imposed upon Hlothver by his bride Ermenga, leads to his setting her the tasks which form the main theme of the episode.

²² M. B. Landstad, *Norske Folkeviser*, Christiania, 1853. "Kong Kristian og hans dronning," No. LXXIII, pp. 585 ff.

the tales of French minstrels, and after being further altered by oral transmission, was worked up into written form. In its present shape it cannot be earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century. The portion which is of interest for us may be briefly summarized.

Hlothver is king of Saxland. One day he asks his counsellor Sigurd whether there is a king equal to him on earth. Sigurd tells him that as long as he lacks a wife and children his power is not complete, and draws his attention to Ermenga, daughter of Hugon of Miklagarth. The marriage is arranged, and Hlothver goes to get his bride. Ermenga paints her face white with chalk-water, and brings Hlothver a roasted cock, asking him to divide it between her and her father and two brothers. Hlothver is annoyed, but divides the cock. He returns to his own land, but remembers the insult. A Danish army is besieging Treviris. Hlothver, on going to war, sets his wife, in revenge for the insult of the division of the cock, three tasks, to be accomplished within three years: she must build a hall, as splendid as that of her father; she must get a stallion, sword and hawk, as costly as those owned by Hlothver; she must show him a son of whom he is father and she the mother. She builds the hall. She then gives Sigurd the regency of Saxland, goes to Miklagarth, and brings back sixty warriors to Treviris, which is held by the Danes. She calls herself Jarl Iring of Alimannia, and enters the army of the Danish king. Her brother Hrolf, who is with Hlothver, tells him he has seen a fair maiden looking out of a window of the city. Ermenga, as the maiden, tells Hlothver that she is captive of Jarl Iring and that she is a princess of Frigia, and beseeches him to free her. The king sends for Iring, who consents to give up the captive for the king's stallion, sword and hawk. She then puts on women's clothes, and is conducted by Hrolf to the king, who keeps her three nights. She gets possession of the king's ring. With the help of Hrolf she returns to Saxland, where a son is born to her. The king returns also in due time, and finds that the tasks have been performed.

The anger of Hlothver at the division of the cock—a widespread folk-theme—is not a plausible reason for the imposition of the tasks. The whole saga, indeed, quite lacks the artistry which transforms varied materials into a unified whole, and is therefore not significant in a study of motivation in medieval story-telling.²³

²³ Cf. Paul's *Grundriss*, Strassburg, 1901-1909, II, 874. Especially useful is H. Suchier, "Die Quellen der Mágussaga," *Germania*, XX (1875), 273-291. For references to the division of the cock, see J. Bolte and G. Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder-und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig, 1915, II, 360. I have depended for the above summary on Suchier's fuller analysis, pp. 275 ff.

Far finer in every way is the charming prose romance *Le Livre du Très Chevalereux Comte d'Artois et de sa Femme*.²⁴ This graceful story, which reflects the full tide of chivalry, deserves especial attention. The hero and heroine are historical, but their adventures are fictitious. Philip I of Burgundy, born in 1323, the son of Eudes IV and Jeanne de France, Countess of Artois, married in 1338 the Countess Jeanne of Boulogne, who bore him an heir in 1342. Philip died in 1346. The title "Comte d'Artois" was never properly his; it would have passed to him on the death of his mother, who survived him. The romance appears to have been written in the later fifteenth century for Rodulf, marquis of Axberg, count of Neuchâtel, a friend of the Duke of Burgundy. Devices in the ornamentation make it probable that one manuscript was prepared for the wedding of Rodulf's son with Marie of Savoy in 1476. Rodulf himself died in 1487. The important point is that the romance affords a faithful picture of chivalric conventions of the later fifteenth century, and that its purpose is in effect a glorification and exaltation of an earlier Duke of Burgundy and his wife. The theme of *All's Well* is much expanded by descriptions of the "grans vaillances" of the noble count, after leaving his wife. These, with the introductory matter preceding the marriage, form considerably more than half of the whole work. The development of the main theme is thus greatly retarded.

²⁴ The edition by J. Barrois, Paris, 1837, is a joy to read, with its clear type approximating in form to the fifteenth-century letters, and its reproductions of the excellent drawings in the MS,—excellent despite obvious faults of perspective and proportion. A good idea of the distribution of the material may be gained from the summaries of the contents of each section of the romance. As to the character of the material, the editor remarks, "L'ouvrage qui nous occupe ne sauroit donc être considéré comme historique qu'en ce sens qu'il retrace les aventures d'un personnage réel, dont la plupart des actions ont été imaginées d'après ce qui se passoit sous les yeux de l'auteur, et narrées de manière à impressionner l'esprit de ses contemporains." (p. xxii) For biographical details, see the *Introduction*, pp. ix, xvii.

The Count of Artois was united in marriage to the daughter of the Count of Boulogne, with great pomp and rejoicing. Two or three years were happily spent by the couple in their city of Arras, but no child was born to them. This put the Count into a deep melancholy. One day, as he was leaning at a window thinking of this matter, the Countess approached, and asked the reason of his dejection. He replied, "realizing her devotion and good-will towards him," that he had formed a firm resolution. "This is, that I shall leave this country, and not return to be with you, until three impossible things are accomplished: first, that you be with child by me, and that I know it not; second, that I give you my steed that I love so much, and that I know it not; third and last, that I give you my diamond also, and that I know it not." Shortly thereafter the Count rode away, leaving his wife behind so sorely afflicted that it was long believed that life had left her body. The adventures of the Count are then related at length. After the first despair of her grief was over, the Countess cast about for means to accomplish the tasks laid upon her. Clad in man's attire, she set out to find her husband, attended by a faithful vassal named Olivier. Feigning that she was going on a pilgrimage, she followed her husband to Valladolid, where she recognized his lodgings by the arms outside the door. Taking the name of Philipot, she entered his service as page. Sleeping in his chamber, as was the custom, she overhears her husband sighing for the love of the daughter of the king of Castille. She reveals the Count's love to the duenna of the princess, and also tells the duenna her whole story. They arrange that the Count shall be told that the princess grants him her love, but that in reality the Countess shall be substituted in her place in bed. This is done; the trick is repeated secretly many times, and the Countess is got with child. In her disguise as page, she receives from her husband the diamond, as a reward for her services in the love-affair, and the horse as well, to heal the malady from which the page appears to suffer. The Countess then makes her way back to Arras, where she calls an assembly of the nobles and clergy, and tells them of her accomplishment of the tasks laid upon her by her husband. The Count is sent for by an embassy headed by the Bishop of Arras, who tells him of the fulfilment of the tasks. The Count is deeply impressed by the devotion of his wife, and returns to Arras, where a child is born to them. "There they lived in happy tranquillity for the rest of their lives."

The motivation of the story is not faultless. "The Countess of Artois is abandoned by her husband, who imposes the well-known conditions because, after three years of married life, she has given him no child. It is, therefore, absurd for her to run all the dangers to which she exposes herself, in order to pass one night with her husband, with so proble-

matical a chance of success."²⁵ This blemish is very effectually concealed by the charm with which the whole is narrated, however.

It is time to consider the bearing of these stories upon the interpretation of *All's Well that Ends Well*.

In the first place, they exalt the cleverness and devotion of the woman; the wits of the wife are more than a match for those of the husband, and her purpose is a happy reunion with him. There are analogous tales, of a similar significance, of a wife lying incognito with her husband without the imposition of tasks. A pretty Spanish poem²⁶ treats "del engaño que usó la reina doña Maria de Aragon, para qué el rey don Pedro su marido durmiese con ella." The husband is pleased,²⁷ and summons witnesses. The queen has a child in due course of time. An Egyptian folk-tale tells of the marriage of a girl of the Clever Wench type with a prince. After they are married he refuses to live with her. She disguises herself three times and has three children by him. When he learned the truth he "was very happy and recognized the superiority of his wife . . . and they lived in happiness and prosperity all their lives"²⁸ In many other analogs an unmarried woman must perform difficult tasks before a man will marry her. The tale of Diarmaid and Graidhne will serve as an illustration; I quote Professor Child's summary.

The Graidhne whom we have seen winning Fionn for husband by guessing his riddles . . . afterwards became enamored of Diarmaid, Fionn's nephew, in consequence of her accidentally seeing a beauty spot on Diarmaid's forehead. This had the power of infecting with love any woman whose eye

²⁵ Gaston Paris, *loc. cit.* It should be observed, however, that the intimacy of the Count and Countess extends over a considerable time in the romance, not a single night. Cf. Barrois, p. 171.

²⁶ F. J. Wolf, *Über eine Sammlung spanischer Romanzen in stiegenden Blättern auf der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Prag*, Wien, 1850, p. 42.

²⁷ El rey quedó del engaño con muy grande admiracion; pero como era discreto por ello no se enojó.

²⁸ Antin-Pacha: *Contes populaires de la Vallée du Nil*, Paris, 1895, "La Fille du Menuisier," tale XX, p. 239.

should light upon it: wherefore Diarmaid used to wear his cap well down. Graidhne tried to make Diarmaid run away with her. But he said, "I will not go with thee. I will not take thee in softness, and I will not take thee in hardness; I will not take thee without, and I will not take thee within; I will not take thee on horseback, and I will not take thee on foot." Then he went and built himself a house where he thought he should be out of her way. But Graidhne found him out. She took up a position between the two sides of the door, on a buck goat, and called to him to go with her. For, said she, "I am not without, I am not within; I am not on foot, and I am not on a horse; and thou must go with me." After this Diarmaid had no choice.²⁹

Very numerous are the tales in which the Clever Wench gives more than one proof of her wit; first, before marriage, and then after her union to the desirable husband, generally of high station, whom her adroitness has won for her.³⁰ Among these tales is, of course, the *novella* of Boccaccio which serves as a basis for Shakspeare's play. The immediate source of the *novella* remains to be discovered.

In the second place, the husband, in the tales of married heroines with which we are chiefly concerned, accepts the situation as an evidence of his wife's courage and love. Nowhere is there a suggestion that he regards himself as having been despicably tricked. Many of the tales emphasize his pleasure at the outcome. And his rejoicing has a good foundation, for all these couples seem, in the good old way, "to live happily ever after." The merits of the wife bring their reward. In the *Romance of the Count of Artois*, the duenna, whom the count interviews before returning home, in order to learn from her the whole truth, puts the matter plainly. "Par foy, sire, fait-elle, le celer ne vous vault riens; si vous jure en ma conscience qu'à la plus léale et meilleure dame de quoy l'en puist tenir parole estez-vous mariés; et bien

²⁹ *Engl. and Scot. Popular Ballads*, I, 8. The whole of this introduction to the ballad of the Elfin Knight may be read with profit.

³⁰ Cf. Bolte and Volfvka's analysis of Grimm's tale "Die kluge Bauern-tochter," *loc. cit.*, II, 349 ff., which tells of the girl's cleverness both before and after marrying the king. A very large number of variants are registered. The whole discussion of this story by Bolte and Volfvka serves to show how complicated a study of the sources of Boccaccio's *novella* might be made, and how impossible any such exhaustive study would be here.

l'a monsté quant pour vostre amour a enduré telle peine qui ne puet à dame estre pareille, durant sa queste ennuyeuse, laquelle jà n'eust achevée ne fust sa science et bonne conduite; si me fist son fait si grant pitié avoir au cuer, qu'à luy aidier ay mis l'onneur de ma dame et mon bien en adventure, dont il n'est en riens mesvenu, pour quoy je loue Dieu et la benoite vierge Marie sa précieuse mère, à qui je prie qu'ilz veullent changier vostre vouloir en telle manière que ce soit à la joye de ma dame la contesse d'Artois, qui si léalment vous ayme que bien vous en doit souvenir à toutes heures."³¹

In the sources of *All's Well*, then, we recognize a Virtue-Story, exalting the devotion of a woman to the man who so far forgets his duty as to treat her cruelly. Analogs of other kinds will occur to the reader immediately; the adventures of Griselda or Fair Annie, in which a husband comes to realize the fidelity of his wife after she has been subjected to the most trying of proofs, the ballad of *Child Waters*, in which the heroine, though pregnant, is forced to follow her lover's horse on foot before the man relents, the *Nut-Brown Maid*, which exhibits various tests of the woman's fidelity, ending with the moral,

Here may ye see that wimen be
In love, meke, kinde, and stable.

All this directly contradicts the argument that the actions of Helena in regaining her husband would not have seemed deserving of admiration. There is in Shakspeare's play, to be sure, no formal recognition of Helena's devotion and cleverness. The reason for this is clear; it has been crowded out in order to sustain the dramatic suspense by making things seem to go against the heroine up to the last moment. Of all this there is no suggestion in Boccaccio's tale. Bertram is betrothed to Lafeu's daughter, and gives a ring as a token. The King recognizes it as having belonged to Helena. Bertram denies this, saying it was thrown him from a window in Florence. He is led away, and a letter from

³¹ Barrois, pp. 188 f.

Diana is read, stating that Bertram promised to marry her. Bertram is brought back, and the Widow and Diana both pray that the King will have the marriage performed. With insulting words, Bertram denies any obligation to Diana. She then shows the ring, which Bertram admits was his, and offers to return it, if he will give her her own. She says it is like the ring upon the finger of the King, and that she gave it to Bertram in bed. Bertram confesses the ring was hers, and Parolles says that Bertram promised to marry Diana. The King asks Diana where she got the ring; she answers in riddles, and at last sends for Helena, who produces the ring.

This complicated series of mistakes is far more dramatic as material for a fifth act than the pretty scene in the French romance in which husband and wife are united, or the elaborate banquet-setting in Boccaccio's tale. After these mistakes are all resolved, the final reconciliation of Bertram and Helena is curiously brief and bald, even more so than in *Cymbeline*, when Posthumus and Imogen are at last united. Other reasons for this brevity of treatment in *All's Well* will appear presently. Here the point to observe is that for dramatic reasons the Virtue Story quality, so evident in the analogues, is somewhat disguised in Shakspeare's dénouement.

We are now in a position to refute the assertion that Helena is guilty of indelicate persistence in pursuing the man who has rebuffed her. Just such persistence, such single-eyed devotion to a good object, irrespective of all other considerations, was regarded as meritorious. It is one of the most striking features of the Virtue Stories. As Hales says of the tale of Griselda, "the story does not contemplate the virtue it celebrates in reference to other virtues. It does not concern itself with these; in its devotion to its one object, it may even outrage some of them."³² I have already pointed out the importance of a proper understanding of this matter, in a discussion of the wager-plot in *Cymbeline*.³³

³² *Percy Folio Manuscript*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, III, 422.

³³ *P. M. L. A.*, XXXV, 407.

That a virtue might be carried too far, or that it might transgress the most elementary demands of common-sense and decency in making for its goal, seems to have been little regarded in medieval story. Fantastic exaggerations were common, and due allowance must be made for these exaggerations when we find them woven into the fabric of Shakspeare's plays.

Equally untenable, in the light of early analogs, is the idea that the bed-trick is immodest, unworthy of a refined woman. There is never the least intimation in these analogs that the heroine, in thus proving her devotion, is doing an immodest thing. The answer would have been: she is lying with her husband, as any chaste wife has a right to do. The objection that delicacy would prevent her from doing so under false pretences would have been met by an Elizabethan, partly by the obvious point that she has to do so in order to fulfil her husband's conditions, and partly by the conviction, which we have just noted, that virtue should stick at nothing in pursuing its course. Would the elegant chronicler of the adventures of the Count of Artois, writing in the late fifteenth century, in order to compliment the houses of Burgundy and Artois, have attributed this ruse to the elegant and virtuous Countess if it had seemed indelicate? Would Shakspeare, in *Measure for Measure*, have made the ensky'd and sainted Isabella, the gentle forsaken Mariana, and the benevolent Duke use a similar stratagem if it had been felt repugnant to modesty?

What, now, as to the psychological adequacy of the ending of the play? Shall we conclude that "the triumph of Helena's love will be merely external," that a union so brought about will never be happy?

To argue thus is to miss the whole point of the Faithful Wife theme, whether in medieval and Renaissance analogs, or in Shakspeare. No matter how harsh the treatment of the woman by the man, no matter how unsuited they may seem to each other, it is a convention of the Virtue-Story that they "live happily ever after."

Ful many a yeer in heigh prosperitee
Liven these two in concord and in reste,

says Chaucer, after the trials of Griselda are over. After their reunion, the Count of Artois and his wife "vesquirent en bonne tranquillité le résidu du temps qu'ils avoient à vivre." So Beltramo lived with Giletta, "come sua sposa e moglie onorando, l'amò e sommamente ebbe cara." In the cold light of reason, these endings may not seem destined to bring happiness. So one may argue that Cophetua and the Beggar Maid would have had little in common; she might have longed to exchange palace etiquette for the delightful freedom of begging on the street. Would the Prince have really been happy with Cinderella, obviously of a very different social station, just because she happened to have a small foot? The answer is, of course he would; the cold light of reason is no guide in stories. The fulfilment of the task is not a logical settlement of the dislike or indifference of the man for the woman, but it has perfect validity in a tale. Bertram, in setting the tasks for Helena, was really only stating in picturesque fashion that he would never live with her. "When thou canst get the ring upon my finger, which never shall come off, and show me a child begotten of thy body that I am father to, then call me husband, but in such a 'then' I write a 'never.'" Dorigen in the *Franklin's Tale* sets an impossible condition, as she thinks, in order to get rid of an importunate wooer, like the ladies in the analogous tales in the *Filocolo* and the *Decameron*. But when the seemingly impossible is accomplished, the promise has to be kept. In the tales which we have just been examining, the accomplishment of the tasks, like the fitting of the slipper on Cinderella's foot, seems miraculously to melt away all reluctance on the part of the promiser. The inconsequence of fairy tales in this regard has been delightfully satirized by Barrie, in *A Kiss for Cinderella*. The Prince is very bored with the whole business, and as Cinderella advances for the trial he says, "Oh, bother!"

(These words are the last spoken by him in his present state. When we see him again, which is the moment afterwards, he is translated. He looks the same, but so does a clock into which new works have been put. The change is effected quite simply by Cinderella delicately raising her skirt and showing him her foot. As the exquisite nature of the sight thus vouchsafed him penetrates his being, a tremor passes through his frame; his vices take flight from him and the virtues enter. It is a heady waking, and he falls at her feet.)

"His vices take flight from him and the virtues enter." Could anything more perfectly describe what happens to Bertram at the end of the play than this? Or what happens to the men whom Julia, Hero, Mariana, Celia, Imogen, and other pure and beautiful heroines marry? "We are astonished," says Creizenach, "how easily in these closing scenes the wrong-doers are pardoned, even when through their criminal devices they have conjured up the greatest dangers. . . . Furthermore, it often happens that in the closing scenes attempts at poisoning and the like are no longer reprehended. The most unbelievable forgiveness in this regard is that of the innocent and suffering women, who in many such pieces are forsaken by their husbands for a mistress, or even pursued with attempt to kill. *Conclusions about the moral convictions and feelings of the dramatists cannot be drawn from these scenes:*³⁴ they are obviously a part of the style of the romantic and unrealistic drama, as in comedy, where all ends with general happiness; we shall also notice examples of such ready forgiveness in Spanish comedies."³⁵ The reason why occurrences of this sort in drama were confined to no one region is that the conventions of story-telling which produced them were the common traditions of the various countries of Western Europe.

I imagine that some readers of the preceding pages have questioned whether the general critical method here pursued is sound, whether the conventions of the Middle Ages may properly be applied to literature of the age of Elizabeth.

³⁴ Italics mine.

³⁵ Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Halle, 1909, IV, 306 ff. I am indebted for this reference to Schücking.

I would urge that in very large measure those conventions do hold, and that they may be properly applied in criticism. Indeed, I believe that they illuminate much which is otherwise difficult of explanation. The false connotations of the word "medieval" are still very potent, however. Many people still balk at the idea that anything medieval can really be significant for such a glorious "modern" as Shakspeare. The real modernity of the Middle Ages is only just coming to be fully understood. "The more we know of the conditions of those times," says Dr. Foakes-Jackson, "the plainer does it become that our problems are often the same under different names, and that even modern views, which pass for being advanced, have their counterpart in those days."³⁶ Certainly this must be even truer of the Elizabethan era, which was so much closer to the Middle Ages than we are. I will quote from a private letter from one of the most distinguished of English Shakspeare critics, in connection with medieval elements in Shakspeare. "It is only the best scholars (and some simple human beings quite unscholarly) who do not fall into the trap presented by the words 'Middle Ages' and 'Medieval.' The Middle Ages were inhabited, not by a strange people across a dark frontier, but by ourselves. The frontier was built (and the name invented) by the arrogance of the newly intoxicated Renaissance. There are differences, of course, but chiefly in the means and methods of civilization, and especially in the literary art. They accepted a story, and told it, as a story, without critical preoccupations."

I have already urged the importance of a study of the survival of medieval chivalric ideas, in criticising *Cymbeline* and *Troilus and Cressida*.³⁷ Posthumus Leonatus has been blamed by generations of critics for the wager which he makes on his wife's honor, yet when the story is carefully

³⁶ *An Introduction to the History of Christianity*, New York, 1921, p. vii.

³⁷ For the paper on *Cymbeline*, see above, note 33; for that on *Troilus and Cressida*, *Shakesperian Studies*, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1916, pp. 187 ff.

examined, it becomes clear that according to the social convictions of Shakspeare's day, Posthumus could have acted in no other fashion. Boas has well emphasized the medieval conception of "service" in *All's Well*. "[Helena] feels throughout that as a dependent of the great house she stands in a feudal relation to Bertram, and that in return for the protection extended to her, she owes him, in the technical sense, 'service.'"³⁸ The reader may follow the development of this argument at his leisure; he will note how completely it disposes of the conclusions of Gervinus. Due allowance has to be made for changes in the Elizabethan attitude towards chivalry; *Troilus and Cressida* marks a distinct shift in the point of view. But this does not mean that Shakspeare had reached anything like our modern convictions about social ethics. He was on the whole far nearer to the days of Chaucer than to those of Tennyson.

The traditions of the Middle Ages were just as strong in Shakspeare's day in popular as in chivalric tradition,—in tales transmitted orally in ballad form and in prose narrative among the unlettered, in narratives in the spirit of the *fabliaux*, in folk-lore, and in cheap printed texts preserving the favorite stories of earlier times. It is a commonplace that Shakspeare utilized much of this material. But he took over not merely "the story"; he was influenced very deeply by current traditions as to what the story meant, and how it was to be interpreted. The spirit as well as the substance of medieval narrative entered vitally into his plays. He was a man peculiarly close to the people, in birth, education, and the conditions of his craft as actor and author. He knew perfectly well what tales his audiences were familiar with, and when he put one of these, or an analogous story, upon the stage, he had to make his work conform in large measure to the way in which the spectators would naturally understand it. His part was not to alter radically events or motivation, but to make the personages in the

³⁸ *Shakespeare and His Predecessors*, p. 350.

story seem so real, by his marvellous power of characterization, and to set them in such effective dramatic action, that the whole gained new life, new vividness, new interest.

This goes far to explain the sharp contrast which the modern reader feels between the improbability of many of Shakspeare's plots, and his extraordinary knowledge of human nature. Are we to suppose that he did not perceive such incongruities? Not at all; he must have known that a girl like Portia would hardly have staked her life's happiness upon a silly business like the choice of the caskets, nor Viola, shipwrecked upon a foreign coast, have decided to serve the reigning duke in the guise of a eunuch. But the conventions of story were so strong with him and with his audience that these incongruities troubled him and them far less than they do us. They really disturb modern audiences but little, for we still have similar conventions in story and drama today. The poor girl who marries the rich youth who has tried to seduce her, and finally reformed, is a familiar type in cheap fiction and in melodrama, and the general conclusion is that she is extremely lucky to marry a man of better social station and abundant funds, no matter what his actions have been. The moral eighteenth century wept copiously over Pamela's trials, but envied her final good fortune. The "happy land, where things come right" on the stage and in romance³⁹ will probably be with us for a long time yet, and the critic, with all his devotion to logic and reason, must make his judgments conform in large measure to its accepted improbabilities.

The real objection of many critics to the conduct of Helena lies, I think, in having a heroine mixed up in what is to modern ideas an unsavory sexual intrigue. They are disturbed at Helena's badinage with Parolles about virginity, and even see in it a deliberate coarsening of her character. It seems rather trite to remark that the Elizabethan attitude towards such matters was quite different from our own.

³⁹ See the charming essay by Brander Matthews, "The Pleasant Land of Scribia," in *The Principles of Playmaking*. New York, 1919, pp. 133 ff.

A little reading of the contemporary drama of Webster, Middleton, Beaumont and Fletcher, and the rest is one of the best correctives to setting too high a standard of delicacy in this period. Even in Shakspeare, who is far more decent than any of them, one is often surprised at the tone of conversation and jesting in mixed company as to marital relations, the getting of children, cuckoldry, indecencies of dress, and the like. There really seems to be no need to collect a floralegium of unfragrant passages to prove the point. Perhaps the Elizabethans were no worse than ourselves, but their social conventions and taboos were quite different. We do not think a plot that turns upon the substitution of a woman in bed is very suitable matter for the stage today, nor that it is very pleasant to have the girl who engages all our sympathy made the center of it, but the frequency with which the theme was used in early times in narrative and in Elizabethan days upon the stage shows how very differently people then felt.

Many good critics have been led astray by forgetfulness of these considerations and of the social arrangements of the Elizabethan age. For example, Schücking, in the excellent book to which reference has already been made, is very severe with Mariana for accepting the proposal made to her by Isabella, at the suggestion of the Duke of Vienna.

Unheard-of, unspeakable demand upon the honor of a betrothed and forsaken girl! Does she not hesitate? Are not the others obliged to have recourse to conjurations and tears, to fall upon their knees and implore her? Not at all; she is immediately willing to catch the faithless Angelo in the bed of love at night as in a trap. One sees with astonishment how lightly the self-respect of a woman is here estimated. This solution corresponds to the convictions of the fourteenth century, when Boccaccio was alive. It arises, as far as its moral elevation is concerned, from the middle and lower social orders of the Middle Ages, but certainly not from the convictions of the seventeenth century, which was just then beginning, the ideas of which about woman, as they appear to us in Overbury, Hall, and others, reveal in comparison a noticeable elevation. Is one to suppose that Shakespeare, who shows in other places such immeasurably fine feeling for human dignity, had no sense of the riskiness (*Bedenklichkeit*) of this solution of the play?

Schücking's answer is that Shakspeare was guilty here, and in *Much Ado*, *All's Well*, and the *Winter's Tale*, of "neglect of his highest powers" and of seeking "the easiest solution."⁴⁰

It is to be remembered that Mariana, though not married to Angelo, was betrothed to him, and that this betrothal was then held to have much the binding force of a full marriage ceremony, and to confer certain of its rights.⁴¹ Again, a little

⁴⁰ See above, note 12, and cf. pp. 196, 199, 201, of Schücking's book.

⁴¹ Note what is said in the play: "She should this Angelo have married; was affianced to him by oath, and the nuptial appointed." But she lost her dowry, so Angelo "left her in her tears," pretending to find dishonor in her. Nevertheless, she still loved him. The Duke reassures Mariana,

Nor, gentle daughter, fear you not at all.
He is your husband on a pre-contract:
To bring you thus together, 'tis no sin,
Sith that the justice of your title to him
Doth flourish the deceit (Act IV, Sc. I).

and he tells Isabella that she may "most uprighteously do a poor wronged lady a merited benefit."

The importance of the betrothal in Shakspeare's plays has not been sufficiently recognized. I have already discussed it in connection with *Cymbeline* (*Publications*, loc. cit., p. 412, note). Furness conjectures that the union of Imogen with Posthumus was merely a betrothal or "handfasting," though it was to Imogen as holy as marriage, and it had clearly brought with it full marital rights, cf. Act II, Sc. V, I. 9. Furness's view is that if the couple had been united by the full marriage ceremony, the wooing of Cloten and the urging of his suit by the queen would have been impossible. In this connection the definition of "handfasting" cited by the *New English Dictionary* from Jamieson, 1808-1825, may be repeated. "*To handfast*, to betrothe by joining hands, in order to cohabitation [sic] before the celebration of marriage." Consider also Claudio's union with Juliet in *Measure for Measure*, which was to be regarded as legal according to the current practice.

upon a true contract
I got possession of Julietta's bed.
You know the lady, she is fast my wife,
Save that we do the denunciation lack
Of outward order.

They had waited on account of the dowry. Meanwhile the sudden revival of an ancient and neglected law resulted in Claudio's arrest. We do not need to take this statute too seriously; law in Shakspeare's romances is often queer

reflection on the themes of aristocratic literature in the Middle Ages will convince anyone that this ruse, to which Schücking objects, is not specially characteristic of the middle or lower social orders. We have just seen it attributed, in a medieval romance of the most courtly type, to a lady whom the writer particularly desired to compliment. Everyone knows that chivalric love sanctioned and even exalted much which would seem degrading to a woman today, and that many episodes in the most aristocratic of romances do not square with modern ideas of feminine purity. But

stuff. One thinks of Shakspeare's own union with Anne Hathaway, which may have been of the sort here discussed.

The comments of Dr. W. J. Rolfe (article *Shakespeare* in the *Encyclopedia Americana*, ed. of 1904) are worth quoting. "The marriage [of Shakspeare] had evidently been a hurried one, urged on by the relatives of the bride, but apparently not favored by those of the bridegroom, who could not honorably avoid it, and seems not to have been inclined to do so. Some biographers believe that the couple had been formally betrothed some months before the marriage, according to the custom of the time; and this is by no means improbable. The betrothal was then a legal ceremony, consisting in the interchange of rings, kissing, and joining hands, in the presence of witnesses, and often before a priest. Violation of the contract was punished by the ecclesiastical law with excommunication; and the betrothal was a legal bar to marriage with another person, except by the joint consent of the parties. In Shakespeare's time, at least among the common people, it was often regarded as conferring the rights and privileges of the more formal union that was to follow; but later in the century the Church authorities condemned this license. There may have been such a pre-contract, or betrothal, in the case of William and Ann. In the absence of any positive testimony to the contrary, it is no more than fair to allow them the benefit of the doubt.

It is an interesting fact that this ancient betrothal is introduced by Shakespeare in at least seven of his plays,—'The Two Gentlemen of Verona,' 'The Taming of the Shrew,' 'Twelfth Night,' 'The Winter's Tale' (twice), 'Much Ado,' 'Measure for Measure,' and 'King John.' In 'Twelfth Night,' Olivia, who has been betrothed to Sebastian, supposing him to be the disguised Viola, addresses the latter as 'husband,' and justifies herself by appealing to the priest before whom the ceremony had been performed, with the understanding that it was to be kept secret until the marriage should take place. Similarly, Robert Arden, the poet's maternal grandfather, in a legal document, calls his daughter Agnes the wife (*uxor*) of the man to whom she was married three months later."

this is not the main point. The important thing is that Shakspeare's plays are to be judged, not by the works of Hall or Overbury, who wrote for a small circle, and were in no wise representative of the general thought of their time, but by the literature with which the audiences of Shakspeare were familiar, literature which had proved its right to be remembered through generations of men, high and low, rich and poor. An admirable means of getting an idea of this literature is afforded by the list of books in Captain Cox's library, which may be conveniently found in Furnivall's delightful edition of *Robert Laneham's Letter*,⁴² a list which affords, as the editor puts it, "a view of the literature in which the reading members of the English middle class in Elizabeth's time were brought up." The good captain, who had "great ouersight in matters of storie," read chiefly romances and popular tales, like *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *The Squire of Low Degree*, *The Tale of the Widow Edyth*, *The Nutbrown Maid*, *Sir Eglamour*, a variety of traditional ballads and popular songs, a few "auncient playz," and miscellaneous material, ranging from *The Hy Wey to the Spithouse* to *Doctor Boord's breuiary of Health*. The plays of Shakspeare were written in large measure for the Captain Coxes of his day, and for the even less educated fellows who crowded the pit of his theater and upon whose pleasure the success of any public play largely depended. An appeal to the more cultured in the galleries and on the stage was no less possible; but such subtleties as appealed to them did not bother the vulgar, any more than they disturb people today who like *Hamlet* or *Othello* chiefly as melodrama. If the finest things in the plays of Shakspeare were not for the groundlings, the bone and sinew of them, the simple broad lines of the story, could be understood by just this class, and were meant to be. Some exception must, of course, be made in the case of plays obviously designed for court circles, but *All's Well* was not one of these. The

⁴² In *The Shakespeare Library*, New York, 1907. Cf. pp. v and xii.

piece which we are discussing did not mean one thing to Captain Cox and another to a man like the Earl of Southampton; it merely carried the more cultured man further, into a region of thought and emotion and artistic appreciation which the plainer citizen could not penetrate.

The artistic purpose of *All's Well* will be considered later more in detail. Meanwhile we may gather up the threads of the preceding argument. It is clear that, from the point of view of narrative traditions and social ethics in Shakspeare's day, the conduct of Helena in fulfilling the conditions set by Bertram for their union was admirable; that she showed cleverness, devotion and courage; that she was guilty neither of immodesty nor of unwomanly persistency; and that the "happy ending" was accepted as a convention of drama because it was also a convention of story-telling.

But what of the opening scenes? Does a similar method of investigation exonerate Helena from the charge of unworthy conduct in forcing Bertram into a marriage which he does not desire? Again, from the point of view of Shakspeare's own day, I think Helena is guiltless. The whole matter deserves separate consideration, and must be treated by itself, though fortunately it may be disposed of more rapidly than the episode which has just been analyzed.

II

HELENA AND BERTRAM: THE HEALING OF THE KING

For the sake of clearness I will call this opening episode the Healing of the King, to distinguish it from the Fulfilment of the Tasks, which has just been considered. These two themes, both of which belong to the general type known to students of popular story as "the Clever Wench," have been noted in combination, so far as my knowledge extends, only in Boccaccio and Shakspeare. Tales illustrating the cleverness of the heroine both before and after marriage are, however, very common. In a large number of these the girl wins a high-born husband by her adroitness, and then

gives other proofs of her shrewdness after her marriage. This is the case, for example, in the Turkish story of the Vizier's Clever Daughter, already cited.⁴³ The Healing of the King was obviously attached to the Fulfilment of the Tasks in a similar way, to explain how the heroine came to be married, and to illustrate her cleverness. Boccaccio probably found the two in a source not now known to us; it is possible, of course, that he made the combination himself.

Landau thinks the Healing of the King of Eastern origin. This may be true, but the best of his analogs, an Indian tale from the story-collection of Somadeva, bears, to my mind, only a slight resemblance to the incident in Boccaccio. I give a somewhat more detailed summary than he does, in order that the reader may judge for himself.⁴⁴

Kirtisenā, the wife of the rich young merchant Devasena, is ill-treated by her mother-in-law at home. Devasena goes away on a journey, after urging his mother to be kind to his wife. But the mother-in-law treats her with great cruelty, shutting her up in a dungeon, and giving her only a little rice each day. Finally Kirtisenā escapes, and putting on man's attire, joins a caravan, which is passing through the woods. She fears robbers and conceals herself in a hollow tree. The caravan is attacked by a robber band, and all are slain. Kirtisenā hears from her place of concealment in the tree a female demon (Rākshasī) telling her children about the illness of King Vasudatta. While he was asleep a centipede crawled into his ear, and multiplied in his brain. The demon goes on to narrate how the king may be healed. Kirtisenā, having listened to all this, determines to undertake the cure. Still disguised as a man, she goes to the court and announces her mission. The king promises her half of his kingdom if she succeeds. A night passes; on the next day Kirtisenā draws a hundred and fifty insects out of the king's head. She refuses half the kingdom, but accepts other rich rewards. She then hears that a caravan led by Devasena is passing through the city, and so finds her husband and tells the whole story to him and to the court. The king, deeply moved by this fidelity, gives her the honor of calling herself his sister (Dharmabhagini) and makes Devasena a citizen. In this

⁴³ See above, note 20. For analogs illustrating the union of these two themes, see Bolte and Polfvka.

⁴⁴ It will be remembered that Gaston Paris found Landau's citation to prove the Indian origin of the main theme unsatisfactory, and that Landau has a tendency to insist overmuch on the importance of Eastern sources.

city husband and wife settle down to enjoy happiness for the rest of their days.⁴⁵

I do not think that it has been observed that the Healing of the King, as found in Boccaccio and Shakspeare in the *All's Well* story, is merely a variation of one of the commonest of popular themes: a man wins the hand of a king's daughter by performing a difficult task, in which failure will cost him his life. Instances of this theme need hardly be cited. Shakspeare, or more probably the unknown writer whose work he touched up, utilized it in *Pericles*: the hand of the daughter of King Antiochus is promised to the man who guesses the king's riddle, but death is his portion if he fails. Pericles guesses the riddle. The reader may follow this at his leisure through the many versions of the Apollonius of Tyre story. In the *Mabinogion*, in the tale of *Kilhwch and Olwen*, Kilhwch seeks the hand of the maiden Olwen, the daughter of Yspadadden Penkawr, a fearsome giant, who has slain many ambitious youths. Difficult tasks are set Kilhwch which he must perform before the

⁴⁵ *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der kgl. säch. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Klasse. XII (1860), 125-128. Cf. Landau, *Quellen des Dekameron*, p. 148. A folk-tale recovered from the Roumanian gypsies is cited by Landau as a parallel, and summarized by him, p. 140. The reference which he gives is erroneous; after considerable searching I found the tale in another article than the one which he indicates. The correct reference is F. Miklosich, *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, Part IV, *Denkschriften der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band XXIII. The tale, "The Jealous Man," is on pp. 321-324. It begins with the Cymbeline wager-theme, with recognition by a mark beneath the heroine's left breast. The husband, on discovering the supposed infidelity of his wife, sets her adrift on a boat on the Danube, and himself takes service with the Jews as a water-carrier. Upon coming to land, the wife disguises herself as a man. She tarries in a city where the Emperor is blind. It is revealed to her in a dream, as she sleeps beneath a tree, that he may be healed, and how this may be done. She performs this service, the Emperor gives her his entire kingdom, she finds her husband, and makes him emperor, while she reigns as his consort.—This little tale is instructive in showing how easily such a theme as the one under discussion may be combined with another episode, here the Cymbeline-motive.

maiden may be his, which are accomplished with the aid of Arthur and his heroes. Closer to the situation in *All's Well* is a parallel from Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*,⁴⁶ which, in spite of its modern dress, is obviously old folk-material.

Farquhar, a drover in the Reay country, gets supernatural wisdom. The King is sick, and no doctors can heal him. Farquhar knows that the doctors are keeping a black beetle in the wound, and himself undertakes the cure, which is successful. The doctors are hanged, and Farquhar is offered lands or gold or whatever he desires as a reward. He asks for the hand of the King's daughter, and a grant of land, to which the king assents.

The variation of the theme in Boccaccio and Shakspeare consists in having it told of a woman instead of a man. The type tale would run something like this: a girl heals a sick king, her life being forfeit if she fails, and is rewarded with the hand of the king's son. Themes of this sort, which attained great popularity, could be applied either to a man or a woman. The Clever Wench tales, according to Benfey, go back to stories of a minister who assisted his sovereign in riddle-guessing. Afterwards these proofs of wisdom were attributed to a maiden helping her father, or to a wife aiding her husband. The Choosing of the Caskets theme in *The Merchant of Venice* appears in the *Gesta Romanorum* with a female Bassanio. The maiden selects the leaden casket. "And then said the emperour, O my deere daughter, because thou hast wisely chosen, therefore shalt thou marry my sonne."⁴⁷ In an interesting collection of Filipino popular tales, many of which go back to Occidental sources, there is a variant of the Clever Wench theme, in which the heroine gets the prince as a reward. "Then the king . . . said, 'Marcela, as you are so clever, witty and virtuous, I will give you my son for your husband.'"⁴⁸ In Shakspeare's play we are close to this situation. Helena

⁴⁶ No. XLVII, Paisley and London, 1890, II, 327 ff.

⁴⁷ *Variorum Shakspeare*, Philadelphia, 1888, p. 316.

⁴⁸ *Filipino Popular Tales*, collected and edited by D. S. Fansler, Lancaster, Pa., and New York, for the American Folk-Lore Society, 1921, p. 55.

is given a man as husband of whom the king says "My son's no dearer." It will be noted that she forfeits her life if she is unsuccessful in healing the king, proposing the extreme penalty herself, "With vilest torture let my life be ended." So in Boccaccio. "'Sire,' saied the maiden: 'Let me be kept in what garde and kepyng you list: and if I doo not heale you within these eight daies, let me bee burnte.'"

In the popular tales there was, we may be sure, no reluctance to reward the girl by bestowing upon her the king's son. No one would have inquired whether he liked it, any more than whether a princess liked being married off to a prince who had done her father a favor, or performed certain difficult tasks. Common folk are always pleased, as the ballads abundantly testify, when a woman of low station marries a man of high degree. So when the king gives a nobleman to the heroine who has cured him of a grave disease, the business of that nobleman, according to the ethics of popular story, is to take her cheerfully, for better or worse.

This was in agreement with the customs of royalty, especially in the earlier and ruder period, before the doctrines of chivalric love and *fine amor* had established themselves. The *chansons de geste* afford various illustrations of the power of a king to marry a lady off at will to one of his knights. Frequently the lady was allowed to make the choice herself. This custom arose from actual conditions in the political arrangements of the times, which made it necessary for an heiress to marry, and wise for the king to act as mediator in the arrangement. The action of the king in Boccaccio and Shakspeare, then, is not to be regarded as a strange anomaly of romantic story, but the exercise of a well-recognized royal prerogative. A noble lady might demand a husband without being thought too forthputting. Gautier, who gives a most interesting discussion of this whole matter, cites the case of Helissent, daughter of Yon of Gascony. "She . . . enters into the spacious hall, inclines herself before the king, and says, without hesitation or cir-

cumlocution, 'My father has been dead two months. I want you to give me a husband.'"⁴⁹ It is easy to see how this custom would affect a popular tale, in which a girl like Giletta or Helena, not noble, but one who had performed the greatest of favors for the king, might demand a husband as a reward. In the more primitive of the romances, as in the *chansons de geste*, the lady is not ashamed to do the wooing for herself. We all remember the princess Rymenhild, who certainly displays no shyness.

'Horn,' heo sede, 'wiþute strif
þu shalt haue me to þi wif;
Horn, haue of me rewþe
and pliht me þi trewþe.'

In the highly artificial and aristocratic society portrayed in the *Decameron*, conceptions of rank and of the conduct proper for a lady had undergone a change. The ruder fashions of popular story and *chanson de geste* had been left behind. The young people who gathered amid the delights of country life to listen to one another's stories were well versed in the subtleties of courtly tradition, in a period of the sharpest class distinctions. In their eyes, a nobleman would naturally resent being expected to marry a girl beneath him in station. They would have looked for just the line of conduct which Beltramo adopted.

The Counte knewe her well, and had alreadie seen her, although she was faire, yet knowing her not to be of a stocke convenable to his nobilitie, disdainfullie said unto the King, "Will you then (sir) give me a physicion to wife? It is not the pleasure of God that ever I should in that wise bestowe myself." To whom the Kyng said: "Wilt thou then, that we should breake our faithe, which we to recover healthe have given to the damosell, who for a rewarde thereof asked thee to husband?" "Sire (quoth Beltramo) you maie take from me al that I have, and give my persone to whom you please, bicause I am your subject: but I assure you I shall never be contented with that mariage."

The repulse of the heroine is thus admirably motivated in the *Decameron*, far better than in the analogs studied in

⁴⁹ L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, Paris, 1884, Chapter IX. For Helissent, see p. 343.

the preceding section. Beltramo is sympathetically presented as a man unwilling to lower his social station by marriage with a physician or a physician's daughter, much as a modern aristocrat might object to an alliance with the daughter of a barber. He is rather a good fellow; there is little suggestion about him of the cruelty, deceit and viciousness of Bertram.⁵⁰ In Boccaccio's tale of the patient Griselda, the husband puts away his wife on the ground that his subjects resent his having married beneath him, and made a peasant's daughter his consort. Griselda illustrates the strength of meekness and patience; she regains her husband by lamb-like acceptance of every indignity. But this is not the virtue illustrated in the Giletta-Helena story. There the heroine is not passive; she bestirs herself very actively to gain the man she loves, by putting her life at hazard in the curing of the king. This is apparently contradictory to the conventions of courtly love so prominent in the medieval romances, and so noticeable in the *Decameron*. The earlier and ruder love-making had been displaced by the code which decreed that the man should do all the wooing, and that the lady should allow herself to be won only after suitable delay. Giletta does not proceed according to these laws. But it is to be remembered that she is not a noble lady of Beltramo's own rank, and that her courtship is not of the approved aristocratic sort. She is a poor physician's daughter, who loves a man out of her sphere with a passion which drives her to desperate means, "oltre al convenevole della tenera età." Boccaccio's formula, then, is something like this: A girl loves with consuming passion a man above her in rank, and twice overcomes his natural opposition to marrying beneath him by signal proofs of her cleverness and devotion.

⁵⁰ Except perhaps in his telling the king that he is going to return to his own country, and then riding off to Italy, and in his reply to the messengers later sent from his wife: "Alli quali esso durissimo disse: 'Di questo faccia ella il piacer suo, io per me vi tornerò allora ad esser con lei, che ella questo anello avrà in dito, et in braccio figliolo di me acquistato.' " Paynter renders "durissimo" as "chorlishlie," which gives a somewhat different meaning.

The blackening of the character of Bertram is one of the most sweeping changes made by Shakspeare in the story as a whole. As we have noted, Boccaccio's hero is not of this sort, and the medieval analogs to the Fulfilment of the Tasks story never exhibit a man so disagreeable. It is significant that in the retouching of the play, in which Shakspeare's chief interest was in the revision of character, Bertram was left with all his imperfections on his head. The Helena of the later draft is much more mature and sententious, but Bertram was not altered.⁵¹ The dramatic justification for giving Bertram so bad a character is clear, however; it makes his rejection of Helena and his incapability of understanding her finer nature more plausible, it explains his willingness to commit adultery, which the plot absolutely requires, and it creates added sympathy for the heroine, who is repulsed with singular cruelty and rudeness. In Boccaccio's day, when adultery was sanctioned, and even demanded, by the code of courtly love, no such explanation of Bertram's act would have been necessary. But the people of Shakspeare's day, as we have seen in examining *Troilus and Cressida*, thought very differently. They would not have condoned the violation of the marriage vows of a man wedded to a girl like Helena, even though he had been united to her against his will. And Shakspeare still further utilizes the baseness of Bertram for dramatic effect in Act V. The interest at the end of the play is sustained by the young Count's frantic efforts to wriggle out of the complications of the Diana intrigue by lying and slandering the girl to whom he had sworn eternal fidelity. All this could not have happened had Bertram been a sympathetic character. The difficulty for the modern dramatist would lie in making plausible the final union of such a cad and villain with the heroine. But this, as we have had occasion to remark earlier in this study, was a thing which bothered Shakspeare and his contemporaries very little indeed.

⁵¹ See above, note 14.

To the deliberate degradation of Bertram, which naturally makes the main plot far less pleasant, is due a good deal of the apparent cynicism in the treatment of Parolles, who is, after Bertram, one of the least agreeable of all the people in the play. On first thought, a sub-plot presenting so despicable a rascal as Parolles might seem to reflect bitterness on the part of the dramatist. But if the whole matter is carefully considered, I think it becomes clear that Parolles could not be represented otherwise without weakening the main plot. He is the boon companion of Bertram, as Falstaff of Prince Hal. With so genial and agreeable a misleader of youth as Falstaff, Prince Hal's wild nights in the London stews seem excusable. No one can wonder at his falling under the spell of a character who fascinates everyone about him. But there is nothing of Falstaff's personal charm or lovable quality about Parolles. He is a cad, through and through, whose associates heartily despise him. We instinctively feel that only a boy of weak character and vicious tendencies would select him as a bosom friend. Were Parolles an attractive person, we should insensibly be led to feel more tolerance for Bertram's shortcomings. But Shakspeare does not make this mistake. In order to keep the baseness of Bertram constantly before us, he makes his most intimate companion a despicable rascal.

The Clown, too, is a thoroughly unsavory fellow; his frivolities, as Andrew Lang says, "are coarse and stupid, even beyond the ordinary stupidity of Elizabethan horse-play." But this very coarseness serves a dramatic purpose, especially the banter in the first act. What Lavache says later on may be dismissed as rather poor comic relief. The Steward is about to reveal to the Countess that Helena is in love with her son, when the Clown thrusts himself into the company. He begs her to favor his marriage with her woman Isbel, and the Countess, allowing herself to be diverted by this licensed wit-monger, listens to some pretty unsavory japes about marriage. The Steward then asks her to send the Clown to bid Helena come to her, and the Clown catches

up the name "Helen" with a reminiscence of Helen of Troy.

Was this fair face the cause, quoth she,
Why the Grecians sacked Troy?

ending with the reflection that there is one good woman in every ten, then reducing the number, on second thought.

One in ten, quoth a'! An we might have a good woman born but for every blazing star, or at an earthquake, 'twould mend the lottery well: a man may draw his heart out ere a' pluck one.

Countess You'll be gone, sir knave, and do as I command you!

Clown That man should be at woman's command, and yet no hurt done! Though honesty be no puritan, yet it will do no hurt; it will wear the surplice of humility over the black gown of a big heart. I am going, forsooth: the business is for Helen to come hither. *Exit.*

Dowden, in a passage which is sometimes quoted with approval, comments as follows: "A motto for the play may be found in the words uttered with pious astonishment by the clown, when his mistress bids him to begone, 'That man should be at woman's command, and yet no hurt done.' Helena is the providence of the play; and there is 'no hurt done,' but rather healing—healing of the body of the French king, healing of the spirit of the man she loves."⁵² The Clown's remark about man being at woman's command clearly refers, however, not only to the fact that the Countess is sending him off, but to what he has just been saying about good women in the world. The next sentence carries out this cynical jesting: Even if a chaste woman be no stickler for purity, she will do no harm; she will cloak her pride under humility.⁵³ The implication is: If Helen of Troy

⁵² *Shakspeare, a Critical Study of his Mind and Art*, 1881, p. 76.

⁵³ "Honesty" may mean either upright conduct, honorableness, decency, or chastity (Schmidt). Since the word is here used of woman, the meaning "chastity" seems most probable. "Puritan" has of course an unfavorable connotation in Shakspeare. "A big heart" signifies pride. "The puritans abominated the surplice as a rag of iniquity, and were great sticklers for the black gown, which was to them the symbol of Calvinism. Some of them, however, yielded so far as to wear the surplice over the gown, because their consciences would not suffer them to officiate without the latter, nor the law of the church without the former." (Herford, quoted by Brigstocke, in

acted as we know she did, why not Helen of Rousillon? Through the lips of the Clown we are given the cynical view of woman; the cheap and facile reproach that "chastity is no Puritan" is what might be expected of this "foul-mouthed and calumnious knave." The real beauty of devotion and sacrifice such as Helena exhibits, and the main theme of the piece illustrates, is set in sharp contrast to the view of the low-minded and vulgar. To make the Clown's words a motto for the play seems to me to miss their whole point; they are a motto, in the sense in which they are uttered, only in that the whole play contradicts them. The Clown is not so much moved by "pious astonishment" as by impertinent cynicism.

Much of the disagreeable atmosphere of the play, then, is due to the desire of the dramatist to contrast with the bright virtue of Helena the evil in the corrupt society about her, the weakness and badness of Bertram, the cowardice and treachery of Parolles, the vulgar cynicism of the Clown. So in *Measure for Measure*, the purity and nobility of Isabella are thrown into higher relief by the background of corrupt Vienna, with its bawdy-houses, panders, and libertines so much in evidence. In *Troilus and Cressida* and *Hamlet*, again, Shakspeare chose to dwell, in a somewhat different way, upon unpleasant characters and scenes for the sake of their effect upon the portraiture of the principal characters. We shall examine his method in these two plays more in detail in a moment. The important fact is that he adopted in all these problem plays a method which he had never

Arden ed., p. 31). I do not think the alternative explanation, making "honesty" refer to the Clown, is admissible: an honest man like myself, though he be no sanctimonious fellow, will do no hurt when woman's commands are laid upon him; he will cloak his pride under humility. The possibility of "doing hurt" in the opening sentence is clearly that woman might do it to man, not man to woman; the whole tenor of the Clown's preceding meditations shows that plainly enough.

before⁵⁴ employed in comedy or tragedy. Moreover, he seems to have deliberately selected plays which would lend themselves readily to this gloomier treatment.

How is this to be explained? Despite the dramatic effectiveness of these darker touches, are we to agree with Dowden and the many critics who have followed him that the gloomier atmosphere is a reflection of Shakspeare's personal feeling?⁵⁵ This theory has been frequently challenged in recent years, as for example by Neilson, in commenting upon Dowden's division of Shakspeare's artistic work into four categories: "In the Workshop," "In the World," "In the Depths," and "On the Heights."

In the terms used of the three later periods . . . there is an implication that the tone and mood of the plays in each are a direct reflection of the emotional experiences through which the poet himself was passing at the period of their composition. But this is to take for granted a theory of the relation between artist and production which has against it the general testimony of creator and critic alike. It is not at the pitch of an emotional experience that an artist successfully transmutes his life into art, but in retrospect, when his recollective imagination reproduces his mood in a form capable of being expressed without being dissipated. Of course, Shakespeare must have lived and enjoyed and suffered intensely; but this does not commit us to a belief in an immediate turning to account of personal experience in the writing of drama. His boy, Hamnet, died in 1596, about the time that

⁵⁴ The dates of the composition of the plays under discussion are of course largely conjectural. According to the editors of the *Tudor Shakespeare*, the best evidence points to the following results: *All's Well*, first written 1598 to 1600 or 1601, and reworked 1606-08; *Troilus and Cressida*, 1601-2, with some portions perhaps later; *Measure for Measure*, about 1602, with possible revision about 1604; *Hamlet*, Q1 1600, Q2 1602-04. For the "cheerful comedies," according to the same edition, we may accept these dates: *Taming of the Shrew*, 1594-7; *Much Ado*, 1599; *As You Like It* and *The Merry Wives*, 1599-1600; *Twelfth Night*, 1601.

⁵⁵ In this period "Shakespeare had known sorrow: his son was dead; his father died probably soon after Shakespeare had written his *Twelfth Night*; his friend of the *Sonnets* had done him wrong. Whatever the cause may have been, the fact seems certain that the poet now ceased to care for tales of mirth and love, for the stir and movement of history, for the pomp of war; he needed to sound, with his imagination, the depths of the human heart; to inquire into the darkest and saddest parts of human life; to study the great mystery of evil". (Dowden, *Shakespeare Primer*, p. 59)

he was writing *The Merchant of Venice* and the rollicking farce of *The Taming of the Shrew*, and just before he conceived Falstaff; it was fourteen years later that he gave us the pathetic figure of the young Mamillius in *The Winter's Tale*. From all that we know of his personal life, the years of *King Lear* and *Othello* were years of abounding prosperity. The *lacrimæ rerum* that touch the mind in these stupendous tragedies are the outcome of profound meditation and vivid imagination, not the accompaniment of a cry of instant pain. However we are to reconstruct the spiritual biography of Shakespeare, it is clear that it is by no such simple reading of his life in terms of his treatment of comic or tragic themes.⁵⁶

The solution offered by Neilson is that "the change in type of play perceptible from period to period is more safely to be explained by changes of theatrical fashion and public taste than by conjectures as to the inner life of the dramatist. I believe that a careful study of the problem plays confirms this explanation. The effect of contemporary theatrical fashions upon the plays written about the opening of the century has been particularly noted by Thorndike,⁵⁷ a recognized authority in this line of investigation, through his brilliant studies of the influence of Beaumont and Fletcher upon Shakspeare's dramatic romances. He observes that a reaction set in against romantic comedy and history near the close of the century, and that new tendencies became manifest.

⁵⁶ *The Facts about Shakespeare*, N. Y., 1913, pp. 84 ff. Note what is said of her cheerful work by Christine de Pisan, writing with a sad heart.

Je chante par couverture
Mais mieulx plourasset mi oeil,
Ne nul ne scet le travail
Que mon povvre cuer endure.

.
Pour ce plainte ne murmure
Ne fais de mon piteux dueil.
Ainçois ris quant plourer vueil,
Et sans rime et sanz mesure
Je chante par couverture.

(Cited by Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française*, Paris, 1896, II, 360.)

⁵⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 103.

Comedy tended to become more realistic and satiric. Chapman, Marston, Middleton, and Jonson, all began writing romantic comedy, but changed shortly to realistic. Jonson, in *Every Man in His Humour* (1598), announced his opposition to the lawless drama which had preceded—whether romantic comedy or chronicle history—and proposed the creation of a new satirical comedy of manners. He was moved partly by a desire to break from past methods in order to bring comedy closer to classical example, and partly by a desire for realism, a faithful presentation, analysis, and criticism of current manners. The growth of London and the increase in luxury and immorality seem to have encouraged such a movement, and for the decade after 1598 there were many comedies of London life, mostly satiric, and nearly all realistic. Many varieties are to be found, from gross representation of the seamy side of city life to serious discussion of social questions, and from sympathetic picturing of certain trades to satiric exposure of the evils of society.

Professor Thorndike informs me that he has never worked out this important matter in detail, and I do not know of any study which has done so. Such analysis would carry us far beyond the limits of the present investigation,⁵⁸ but the main issues must be noted.

The contemporary theatrical fashions just emphasized appear in the problem plays of Shakspeare mainly in gloomily realistic treatment of romantic stories, and in the selection of such themes as would lend themselves to this treatment. Shakspeare did not turn, like Dekker or Heywood, to naturalistic representation of scenes of contemporary life, nor, like Jonson or Middleton, to satiric lashing of the vices of the times. He satisfied the current demand for exposure of human weaknesses by sharply realistic treatment of tales which by their very nature are not realistic at all, and at the same time contrived to make his plots more effective by deepening the shadows. In *Measure for Measure*, the darkly etched Hogarthian figures in the brothels of Vienna contrast sharply with the improbabilities of the action, the sudden wickedness and sudden repentance of Angelo, the masquerading of the Duke, the old-wives-tale episode of the substituted bride, and the like, while at the same time throwing the purity of Isabella into higher relief. In *Troilus and*

⁵⁸ I hope later to publish a more extended study of the problem plays.

Cressida the grimly disillusionized picture of the Greek and Trojan camps and of the false love of Cressida is in quite a different key from the artificial romanticism and chivalric apparatus of the play, both in the machinery of courtly love in the main plot, and the parade of military heroics elsewhere. *Hamlet*, an old melodramatic story, is transformed, despite its romantic setting in the Elsinore of long ago, into a biting picture of a rotten court, in times which are "out of joint." The tragedy of an essentially noble soul, like Hamlet, faced with the dreadful duty of revenge, is deepened by his heartsick disgust at the corruption about him. In *All's Well*, as we have just seen, an essentially romantic and unrealistic plot is made striking and plausible by realistic emphasis upon the vicious characters of the story it portrays, so that the devotion and goodness of the heroine shine forth all the more clearly.

In all these plays I believe that the telling of a familiar romantic story for the story's own sake was Shakspeare's prime object, just as it was in *Much Ado* or *As You Like It*. He had occasionally worked earlier with plots which would have lent themselves admirably to the more realistic and gloomy method which we have just noted. How easily *Much Ado* might have been so treated! But the accusation of unchastity against Hero and the sinister figure of Don John are completely overshadowed by the brilliant wit of Benedick and Beatrice, and the merry-making at the court in Messina. If in such a play as *All's Well* Shakspeare chose to paint a romantic subject with the brush of a Rembrandt rather than of a Rubens, the ultimate artistic purpose seems to be no different. This was to tell an interesting and moving story of a heroine passing through great afflictions which have a happy issue at the end. There was no change in the main point of the tale, however much the details might be altered. Shakspeare followed absolutely in traditional lines, making a play exalting the virtue of Helena out of existing literary and dramatic material which had presented this sorely-tried lady as doing what she conceived to

be right. He did the same thing for Isabella in *Measure for Measure*. *Hamlet* follows in its main features the lines laid down by Kyd, so far as we can judge, and the fashion of contemporary revenge tragedies. The power of tradition upon Shakspeare is most strikingly shown in *Troilus and Cressida*. Cressida was to the Elizabethans a wanton. Shakspeare could not make her a heroine. But the plot, by its very nature, gave such admirable opportunities for the gloomy realism then in vogue, that Shakspeare told the story just as his age interpreted it. The issue of the plot was not of his making.

The problem plays, then, were written with the solutions fixed in advance, and fixed by the convictions of the Elizabethan Age. Shakspeare was free to alter the details, to make Helena's husband a cad, to alter Isabella's relations with Angelo, and doubtless to reconstruct much in *Hamlet* (the absence of the immediate source makes it impossible to speak with confidence), but not to whitewash Cressida or blacken Helena or Isabella or keep Hamlet alive at the end. I have urged this point at some length in discussions of other plays.⁵⁹ Only by a realization of it, I believe, can the artistic purpose of Shakspeare be fully understood.

It has been repeatedly said by critics, however, that the impelling force behind such plays as *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure* was irony, that Shakspeare chose to make of Helena and Isabella women whose show of virtue covers the gravest faults of character and conduct. This view seems to be holding its own bravely at the present time. An anonymous writer, in a leading article in a recent number of the *London Times Literary Supplement*,⁶⁰ expresses himself as follows: "The treatment of love in [*Measure for Measure*] is as near to pure cynicism as Shakespeare could get. . . . Whatever may be the dramatic purpose of this singular 'comedy,' the condition of mind from which it

⁵⁹ See articles on *Cymbeline* and *Troilus and Cressida* already referred to. Schücking has independently emphasized the same thought, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁰ October 31, 1921 (No. 1030) p. 650.

sprang is manifest. Life is hateful and contemptible, and as for love, your bawd is your only honest man. In *All's Well that Ends Well*—supremely cynical title—Shakespeare seems deliberately to take revenge on his own idealism of love. He deliberately makes Bertram detestable and shows that the bragging coward Parolles is the better man. Then he makes Helena fall in love, passionately, tenderly, delicately, with the unpleasant young nobleman, builds her up as surely as Beatrice or Rosalind, puts into her mouth the divinely hesitating reply to Bertram's purely brutal 'What would you have?'

Something, and scarce so much: nothing, indeed.

I would not tell what I would, my lord.

Faith, yes.

Strangers and foes do sunder, and not kiss.

Yet after all this she plays the Mariana trick. One wonders what can be the conception of the poet in the minds of those who imagine that he had written a romantic comedy with a happy ending. The self-torturing mood of the play, the bitter mood of 'I'll show you a happy ending,' is only too apparent."

The present essay has been written partly to show the fallacy of such a view of the problem plays as this. It will be observed that this view assumes a direct break with earlier tradition. No one will maintain, I think, after the evidence of the preceding pages, that there was any ironical intent in the mind of Boccaccio or of the other tellers of the *All's Well* story in its earlier forms. No one will maintain, in considering the theme of *Measure for Measure*, that the heroine of Cinthio or Whetstone was meant to be a caricature of female virtue. Whetstone's position is neatly summed up in three lines given to the King.⁶¹

Cassandra, take comfort in care, be of good cheere:

Thy forced fault was free from evil intent.

So long, no shame can blot thee any way.

⁶¹ *Historie of Promos and Cassandra*, Part II, Act III, Scene 2.

The psychology is clumsy, but the main issue is clear: Cassandra makes a great and noble sacrifice to save her brother. We have already seen that, in both parts of the plot of *All's Well*, the actions of the heroine are to be considered virtuous in the light of the immediate source and of the medieval analogs. If we agree with Masfield and other critics whose views have been quoted already, we must assume that Shakspeare, for his own artistic purposes, deliberately altered the whole purport of the play. The situation with *Measure for Measure* is precisely the same.

It is of the highest importance to recognize that Shakspeare was not free, as is a dramatist or novelist of today, to make such sweeping changes in the meaning of traditional stories, in situations made familiar to people by centuries of oral narrative. In modern times, Anatole France is at liberty to turn the tale of Bluebeard inside out, and maintain, with the touches of delightful satire with which his readers are well acquainted, that Bluebeard "fut bon et malheureux, et que sa mémoire succomba sous d'indignes calomnies." In *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, Schiller could make the glorious maid die on the battlefield, rather than at the stake. But does anyone seriously suppose that Shakspeare could do this sort of thing? He was writing, not for a public which delighted in clever perversions of familiar tales, like the readers of Anatole France, nor for a public which had forgotten medieval traditions, like the spectators of Schiller's plays in the eighteenth century. He could not have made a wanton out of Helena any more than he could have made Richard III kill Richmond on the battlefield. He had to make his appeal to the lower classes as well as to the more cultured, in order to insure the success of his theatrical ventures. A very considerable part of his audience were people of no education or literary training, but with a good acquaintance with traditional story. They looked to the stage to tell them the tales which they knew, and resented, just as children do today, any radical alterations. A perversion of old folk-tale situations, like those in *All's Well*, would

merely have perplexed and baffled them. The case was quite different with plays like *Bartholomew Fair* or *The Alchemist*, which did not involve situations of this sort. When Shakspeare chose to satirize love, he did it in quite another fashion than by the irony which critics find in *All's Well*,—in incidentals which do not affect the main romantic plot, as in *Twelfth Night*, or in a court piece, like *Love's Labor's Lost*. But even in the latter play he did not take a familiar story and stand it on its head. The plot is perfectly straightforward, not ironical. What traces of irony there are lie in the dialog and characterization. Only in *Troilus and Cressida*, which by its very nature is an exposure of the hollowness of love-making, did he undertake the perversion of a romantic tale. But, as has so often been emphasized here, that treatment was not of his own choice. From the point of view of his own time, it was not perversion.

Ironical intent in a play is exceedingly difficult to disprove—or to prove. Nothing is easier than to make it seem plausible to the modern reader, who forgets the source and the social and dramatic conventions of Shakspeare's own day. I do not imagine that anyone would call *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* "as near to pure cynicism as Shakespeare could get" in the treatment of love. Yet it is very easy to make out a case for it, by the methods of the critics who discover this in *All's Well*. As thus: Valentine is the hero of the play. Yet,—supremely cynical touch!—he is willing to throw over Silvia, who has sacrificed everything for him, on account of a Quixotic devotion to Proteus. And Proteus is equally willing to throw over Julia. This is what love amounts to, in Shakspeare's mind.—The true answer to such a theory is, of course, that the play is built in medieval fashion about the virtue of friendship, according to which the perfect friend must sacrifice everything, including his lady-love, to the demands of this virtue, and that this exaggerated affection of one man for another, which seems to us today so absurd, was still a potent force in Shakspeare's

time. The focus of the play is not on love at all, but on friendship. A student of mine recently spoke of the "fine irony" of the erection of golden statues to Romeo and Juliet by their afflicted kinsfolk at the end of the play. One needs only to observe that the Montagues and Capulets put up a costly tomb, in the source from which Shakspeare chiefly drew. Arthur Brooke will hardly be credited, I imagine, with introducing "fine irony" at this point. In his view, the suffering families were doing what they could,

. . . lest that length of time might from our minds remove
The memory of so perfect, sound, and so approved love.

Tennyson's lines at the end of *Enoch Arden*,

And when they buried him the little port
Had seldom seen a costlier funeral,

seem, with that delicious word "costly," somewhat out of key. There are reasons enough for thinking that the poet would not have allowed irony to intrude upon pathos at this point. But who can *prove* it, one way or the other? So one cannot prove that ironical intent does not exist in the plays which we have been discussing, but still less can one prove that it does. The burden of proof, with so direct and straightforward a writer as Shakspeare is in general, seems to me to lie upon those who would seek to establish the presence of irony in *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure*.

A happy ending was imposed upon Shakspeare for the relations of Helena and Bertram by the traditions of the story. The reconciliation is managed, however, with singular abruptness, as is often the case with Shakspeare's final unravelling of the tangled fortunes of his characters. He seems to have been far more interested in their trials than in their deliverances. Perhaps he recognized that an audience is likely to lose interest when the end of the piece has obviously arrived,—we all know the restlessness in the modern theater in the last five minutes of the average play. But the same hurried endings appear also in the work of great masters of prose narrative. Andrew Lang, in commenting

upon the novels of Scott, speaks of "the haste of fatigue which set him, as Lady Louisa Stuart often told him, on 'huddling up a conclusion anyhow, and so kicking the book out of his way.' In this matter of *dénouements* he certainly was no more careful than Shakespeare or Molière."⁶² Whatever be the cause of it, the hurried ending does not, to my mind, alter the impression that things have really come out right. Virtue triumphs in the end over the baser elements in human nature; the purity and devotion of Helena shame the cruelty and neglect of Bertram, and the vulgar cynicism of railers against women like the Clown. In the sub-plot the cowardice and treachery of Parolles are exposed in their full ugliness. Even if the Devil mutters behind the leaves "supremely cynical title," the play *was* named *All's Well that Ends Well*, and the closing couplet echoes the thought.

All yet seems well; and if it end so meet,
The bitter past, more welcome is the sweet.

WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE

⁶² Introduction to *Waverly*, Boston, 1892, p. lxxxiv.

XXI. DID SHAKESPEARE KNOW *LEO AFRICANUS*?

Is Othello a puppet, an Englishman, or a Moor? No less estimable a Shakespeare scholar than Professor Stoll has pointed out what he has called the "great heap of contradictions"¹ in the character of Othello and has come to the conclusion that Shakespeare is merely following a dramatic jealousy tradition in the play of *Othello*—that he "but leans on the convention of slander and 'diabolical soliciting'. . . . Only, in order to expedite matters, Shakespeare leans hard, and Othello presents little or no resistance to temptation, is eager, excited, is, for all his protestations of faith, won over in a trice."² One cannot help feeling, according to Stoll, that Othello is "wrenched and altered" by the dramatist in the temptation scene.³ A. C. Bradley, on the other hand, whose opinions I cite as typical of the opposite point of view, insists that "*any* man situated as Othello was, would have been disturbed by Iago's communications, and I add that many men would have been made wildly jealous."⁴ Othello, in other words, is behaving like a normal human being of our own race. Bradley repudiates the "mistaken view" that Othello "retains beneath the surface the savage passions of his Moorish blood."⁵ His nationality is incidental, and "in regard to the essentials of his character it is not important." He even goes so far as to say that "if anyone had told Shakespeare that no Englishman would have acted like the Moor, and had congratulated him on the accuracy of his racial psychology, I am sure he would have laughed."⁶

¹ *An Historical and Comparative Study, U. of Minn. Studies in Language and Literature*, (Minneapolis, 1915) p. 1-3.

² *Op. cit.* p. 17.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 18.

⁴ *Shakespearian Tragedy*, (London, 1916) p. 194.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 186.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 187.

Ever since the time of Schlegel⁷ critics have argued for and against the proposition that Othello's temperament was typically Moorish or Ethiopian, but oddly enough not one of them has attempted to settle the argument by endeavoring to discover whether Shakespeare, in his portrayal of Othello, may have built upon any conventionalized ideas of the Moor or Ethiopian current among the Elizabethans. Did Shakespeare follow Cinthio in the matter of Othello's nationality without making that nationality a factor in his characterization? Or was he influenced by an Elizabethan dramatic convention in the representation of Moorish character? Or, finally, may he have been influenced in his portrait of Othello by some non-dramatic source? I propose to let the answer to the second and third questions determine the answer to the first.

While the Moor was a popular figure in pageants and plays before the time of Othello,⁸ it must be admitted that there is no dramatic convention—at least in the plays that are left to us—adequate to explain the combination of essential nobility of character, valiant soldiership, and sudden violent jealousy that one sees in Othello. Of the eight extant plays before *Othello* in which the Moor appears, in five he is either almost entirely uncharacterized or is merely the soldier, and not a particularly noble soldier at that. In *Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, for instance, Arcastus, King of the Moors, is not individualized at all. In *Tamberlaine*, likewise, the King of Fez and the King of Morocco are colorless characters, subordinated to the pomp and pride of Bajazeth. There is slightly more characterization of the Moorish soldier with his "bombast circumstance" and his pride in the *Famous History of the Life and Death of Captain*

⁷ *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*. The passage is quoted in the *Variorum Shakespeare*, p. 431 ff.

⁸ See L. Wann, "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama," *Mod. Phil.* XII, 163 ff.; R. Withington, *English Pageantry* (Cambridge, 1918-1920) I, 40 n. 5; 73-4; 215; 218 n. 7; II, 23 f.; and C. R. Baskervill, *An Elizabethan Eglamour Play*, *Mod. Phil.* XIV, 759 f.

*Thomas Stukeley*⁹ but even here there is little that is even remotely related to Othello. In Peele's somewhat earlier play on the same subject, *The Battell of Alcazar fought in Barbarie*, the characters of Abdelmelec, Muly Mahamet, and their associates are allowed to storm through scenes of crude barbarity and speeches of rage, defiance, and righteous indignation. There is, it is true, some idealization of Abdelmelec—

Lo, this was he that was the people's pride,
And cheerful sunshine of the subjects all—¹⁰

but such is the general crudity of characterization that, even on the side of soldiership, the Moors of the *Battell of Alcazar* could scarcely have offered a prototype for Othello.

The two plays in which the theme of passion is dominant are *Lust's Dominion* and *Titus Andronicus*. One does not care to see much connection between the "noble Othello" and the malignant and cruel Eleazar and Aaron, and, indeed, there is scarcely a similarity to be found. In both, the Moor is pictured as a man of passion but one in whom the illicit passion has practically run its course—more so in *Lust's Dominion* than in *Titus Andronicus*—and in whom the main motive is now vengeance and thirst for power. Eleazar cries:

Now, purple villany,
Sit like a robe imperial on my back,
That under thee I closelier may contrive
My vengeance. . .
 . . . I care not, I,
How low I tumble down, so I mount high.¹¹

And Aaron:

Vengeance is in my heart, death in my hand,
Blood and revenge are hammering in my head.¹²

⁹ Edited by Richard Simpson in *The School of Shakspeare* (London, 1878) Vol. I. Cf. 1. 2305 ff. and 2393 ff.

¹⁰ *The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Robert Greene and George Peele* (London, 1861) p. 440, V, i.

¹¹ *Dodsley's Old English Plays* (London, 1875) XIV, 103-4.

¹² *Cambridge Shakespeare* (London, 1892) Vol. VI, II, iii, 37.

The jealousy theme does not enter into the story of Aaron at all, and so far is jealousy from being a motive force in Eleazar that he sees in the forced unfaithfulness of his wife only an advantage to himself:

I thank my sovereign that you love my wife;
I thank thee, wife, that thou wilt lock my head
In such strong armour to bear off all blows;
Who dare say such wives are their husbands' foes?¹³

From the stage convention of the Moor, then, Shakespeare could have got but little. So far as we can tell from the plays that have been preserved, it offered merely a general tradition of the Moor as a soldier on the one hand, and on the other, of the Moor as a man of passion with an endless capacity for villainy. Shall we be forced to agree therefore that racial considerations did not play a part in determining the character of Othello; that the change in the type of Moor seen in *Othello* was merely an adaptation to fit the exigencies of the plot with no concern for the fidelity of the picture? It is true that Shakespeare had a hint to work on in Cinthio's *novelle*, but it was only the barest hint, for almost the only formal characterization of the Moor comes in the first sentence in which he is described as "very valiant and of a handsome person," and in the words of Desdemona—not made use of by Shakespeare—that "you Moors are of so hot a nature that every little trifle moves you to anger and revenge."¹⁴ We have still to explain not only the simplicity, frankness, and nobility of the character of Othello in spite of his sudden fit of passionate jealousy, but the whole colorful background of Othello's past: his connection with "men of royal siege," his wanderings from country to country that made it possible for Roderigo to describe him as "an extravagant and wheeling stranger Of here and everywhere;" his conversion to Christianity; and his captivity and "most disastrous chances." Is there any source for all this? I think there is.

¹³ *Op. cit.* I, iv, p. 113.

¹⁴ Variorum ed. p. 377, 380.

There were a number of descriptions of Africa written by travelers before the time of Othello. Azurara's *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné* was not accessible in translation in the sixteenth century,¹⁵ but Francisco Alvarez's *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia* was put forth frequently in both Italian and French translations from the time of Ramusio on.¹⁶ There was a Latin work by John Thomas Frigius called *Historia de Bello Africano*, 1580. In English there were, moreover, a number of extracts on Africa in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, where, as editors have pointed out, Shakespeare may have picked up his famous allusion to the "Anthropophagi and men whose heads Do grow beneath their shoulders."¹⁷ The readiest, best known, and most compendious source that Shakespeare could have turned to, however, was John Pory's English translation of Leo Africanus under the title of *A Geographical Historie of Africa Written in Arabicke and Italian by Iohn Leo a More . . . translated and collected by Iohn Pory . . . Londini*, 1600. The book had attracted considerable attention even before Pory's translation. Leo had originally written his book in Arabic but at the suggestion of Pope Leo rewrote it in Italian, completing it in 1526.¹⁸ This Italian version was included by Ramusio in the numerous editions of his *Primo Volume delle Navigationi* (1550, 1554, 1563, 1588, etc.), and was in turn translated into Latin by Florian in 1556 and into French by Jean Temporal in the same year. It is not improbable that Pory's translation, which contained considerable

¹⁵ *Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* (Hakluyt Soc. edition) I, lv ff.

¹⁶ For a list of 16c. editions see the Hakluyt Soc. edition p. v-vi.

¹⁷ Hakluyt Soc. edition, VI, 169-70. There is an early English book on Africa entitled *The description of the contrey of Aphrique, the fyrst part of the worlde with the citation of al the countreys together with the particular maners, lawes, and ceremonies of dyvers people inhabityng in the same part. Trans. out of Frenche into Englyshe by W. Prat.* London, 1554. This is rather puzzling for I find no French book of which this could be the translation. Both Alvarez and Leo Africanus were first translated into French in 1556.

¹⁸ Hakluyt Soc. edition, I, lii.

additions of his own which he compiled largely from Alvarez, should have come to Shakespeare's attention, for the book is said to have brought its author "considerable notoriety" (DNB). Pory, moreover, was a kind of disciple of Hakluyt, who protests somewhat proudly in his commendatory letter prefaced to the translation that "my selfe was the first and onely man that perswaded him to take it in hand."¹⁹ Now Gayley, in his discussion of Shakespeare's use of Strachey's letter from Virginia in the *Tempest*, has shown how closely Shakespeare must have been associated with Hakluyt and the other three "adventurers nominated as principals in the earliest charter of the London Company, 1606."²⁰ If Gayley is right—and his arguments do not seem to leave much room for doubt—Shakespeare may possibly have been introduced to Pory's work through Hakluyt. But, however this may be, the book contains so much which throws light on the character of Othello that it is hard to believe that Shakespeare was not acquainted with it.²¹ There is, it is

¹⁹ Op. cit., I, 103.

²⁰ *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America* (N. Y., 1917) Ch. III, cf. especially p. 75-6.

²¹ There are several passages in the *Geographical Historie* of interest in connection with the *Tempest* also. The most specific is the reference to Carthage and Tunis. Gonzalo, when reminded that "Widdow Dido" belonged to Carthage, not Tunis, defends himself with, "This *Tunis* Sir was *Carthage*" (Variorum Edition, II, i, 86). The surprise and derision with which his remark is greeted seem to indicate that this was no mere current idea at the time. It is possible that the thing that put the idea into Shakespeare's mind was the description by Leo of the decay of Carthage and the founding of Tunis which shows in what sense Tunis was Carthage: "For the inhabitants of Carthage were loth to remaine any longer in their owne towne . . . wherefore they repaired unto Tunis, and greatly enlarged the buildings thereof" (III, 715-6). There follows an elaborate description of the King of Tunis and his court (III, 722-725). For the rest, there are descriptions of witches and enchanters who practice raising storms (III, 1002-1003), descriptions which are of some interest but little significance for the idea is common in folklore. Even the description of the conspiracy against the good Gonsalvo who was represented to King Sebastian as being "a Magician, who by witchcraftes and inchantments could turne kingdomes topsie turvie" (III, 1062) does not connect closely enough with the story of Prospero to

true, no indubitable proof that Shakespeare knew the book. External evidence is lacking and the internal evidence is of a more or less general nature. His use of the book can be regarded only as a possibility, but it seems to be altogether too much of a possibility to be ignored.

Pory's version of Leo Africanus supplies not only a general correspondence with the character of Othello but a parallel also between the early career of Othello and the career of Leo Africanus, as told by Pory and Leo himself. But before we enter the discussion of these points of similarity I should like to add a note to the problem of whether Shakespeare intended Othello for a Moor or an Ethiopian. Critics have long pointed out the contradictory evidence within the play: the fact that he is called a Moor, a "Barbary horse" (I, i, 124, Variorum Edition),²² and is said to be going to Mauritania (IV, ii, 220); while at the same time he is termed "the thick-lips" (II, i, 66), and is described as black. The epithet thick-lips is a term of abuse and need not be taken much more seriously than Brabantio's derisive implication that Othello was pagan (I, ii, 99) which we can prove to be untrue (II, iii, 319-320), but the blackness of Othello seems to be too firmly established by Othello's own words, "be-grim'd and black As mine own face" (III, iii, 387-8), to be denied. Some critics have made of this contradiction a proof that Othello was a negro while others have argued that he was a Moor. Bradley, however, points out other sixteenth century examples of a similar confusion between the negro

be of much significance. Of slightly more interest is the long section at the beginning of the work which deals with the islands off the coast of Africa (I, 85-102). The inhabitants of some are described as very primitive (I, 87, 99-100); near to some "as unto that of Bermuda, there are continual stormes and tempestes" (I, 92); and the inhabitants of others are "addicted to Magick and enchantments, and doe bring to passe matters incredible" (I, 87). Current interest in strange and remarkable islands, fostered by the tales of the travelers, may well have played a considerable part in determining the choice of an island setting for the story of the *Tempest*.

²² My references are to the Rolfe, 1907 edition, unless otherwise specified as here.

and the Moor;²³ and to his list may be added an example from Hakluyt—"the Blacke Moores, called Ethiopians or Negros"²⁴—as well as examples from Leo Africanus himself. In the *Geographical Historie of Africa* the Moors are divided into two classes, the "white or tawnie Moores, and Negros or blacke Moores" (I, 20), but there seems to be not merely a confusion in name but even, to the casual reader at least, in characteristics. Leo writes, "But whatsoeuer difference there be betweene the Negros and the tawnie Moores, certaine it is that they all had one beginning" (I, 130). And in his characterization of the Moor he summarizes in one passage the traits of the inhabitants of all parts of Africa and heads his sections: *The commendable actions and vertues of the Africans*, and *What vices the foresaid Africans are subject unto* (I, 182, 185). Within these sections, it is true, there is some slight attempt to distinguish between the inhabitants of the various regions of Africa but the differentiation is so hazy that a person reading the passage as a whole would carry away with him only a general conception of "the African." The evidence would seem to point to the conclusion that Shakespeare was describing neither a Moor nor a negro in our modern conception of the terms but a confusion of the two types.

The early career of Othello, of which Shakespeare gives us hints here and there, is, as I have said, parallel in general to the career of Leo Africanus before he came to Italy. Othello was of noble descent—"I fetch my life and being From men of royal siege" (I, ii, 21-2)—and so was Leo. Pory writes of him in the section *To the Reader*: "First therefore his Parentage seemeth not to haue bin ignoble. . . . Now as concerning his Emploiments, were they not such as might well beseeeme a man of good worth? For (to omit how many courts and campes of princes he had frequented) did not he, as himselfe in his third booke witnesseth, personally serue king Mahumet of Fez in his wars against Arzilla? And was

²³ *Op. cit.* p. 198-200.

²⁴ *Princ. Nav.* VI, 143.

he not at another time, as appeareth out of his second Booke, in seruice and honorable place under the same king of Fez, and sent ambassadour by him to the king of Maroco?" (I, 4, 5-6). Othello had been a great traveler, an 'extravagant and wheeling stranger Of here and everywhere' who even yet was jealous of his "unhoused free conditions," and Leo likewise had been an insatiable traveler. At some time in his career Othello had been converted to Christianity and so had Leo. Othello had been captured, sold into slavery, and re-deemed thence, and so had Leo.

Othello's story runs thus:

Wherein I spake of most disastrous chances,
Of moving accidents by flood and field,
Of hair-breadth scapes i' the *imminent* deadly breach (I,
iii, 134-6).

Pory writes, "Moreouer as touching his exceeding great Trauels. . . . I maruell much how euer he should haue escaped so manie thousands of *imminent* dangers. And (all the former notwithstanding) I maruel much more, how euer he escaped them" (I, 6. The Italics are mine). Othello continues:

Of being taken by the insolent foe
And sold to slavery, of my redemption thence
And portance in my travel's history (I, iii, 137-9).

And Pory tells how Leo was delivered "into the hands of certaine Italian Pirates, about the isle of Gerbi, situate in the gulfes of Capes, betweene the cities of Tunis and Tripolis in Barbarie. Being thus taken, the Pirates presented him and his Booke unto Pope Leo the tenth" (I, 7). In another part of the book Leo tells of narrowly escaping the clutches of the Arabians between Barbarie and Aegypt, of whom he writes, "If any stranger fall into their hands, depriuing him of all that he hath, they presently carry him to Sicilie, and there either sell or exchange him for corn" (I, 160-1).

The succeeding lines in Othello's speech are:

Wherein of antres vast and deserts idle,
Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven
It was my hint to speak,—such was the process (I, iii, 140-2).

Pory has, "For how many desolate cold mountaines, and huge, drie, and barren deserts passed he? How was he in hazard to haue beene captiued, or to haue had his throte cut by the prouling Arabians, and wilde Mores?" (I, 6). There are other passages in *Leo Africanus* that may have lent color to these lines in Shakespeare. The "hills whose heads touch heaven" may be a reflection of the description of Mount Atlas "whose tops of incredible height rising out of the midst of sandy desertes, exalt themselues aboue the cloudes" (I, 15), or Shakespeare may have recalled the picturesque allusions to the "mountaines of the moon" (I, 66). It goes without saying, perhaps that there are countless references to "deserts idle" (I, 12, 12-14, 124, 127; III, 797-800, 820, 828, 832, 834, 855, 973, etc.). There are also many descriptions of "antres vast," such as "That sandie, barren, and desert part of Africa" is inhabited by *Troglodytae*, "a people so called, bicause of their dwelling in caues under the ground" (I, 26), or "Neere vnto this towne standeth a certaine hill full of mighty caues, wherein the common people say, that giants inhabited of olde" (III, 710-1). There is also a very elaborate description of a great cavern or pit "of so great a depth that the bottom thereof can in no wise be seen." (II, 555-557). There are several descriptions of cannibals (cf. I, 60, 61, 76-7) but Shakespeare's allusion to them in the next few lines of this speech is probably to be traced—if indeed it owes its origin to anything more than hearsay—to the passage in Hakluyt already indicated.

In the latter part of Othello's speech he refers again to his early life of wandering:

. . . a prayer of earnest heart
That I would all my pilgrimage dilate,
Whereof by parcels she had something heard,
But not intently. I did consent,
And often did beguile her of her tears,
When I did speak of some distressful stroke
That mv youth suffer'd (I, iii, 152-8).

Leo also alludes to the fact that his journeys were made in his youth. He promises to describe "Arabia Deserta,

Arabia Petrea, Arabia Felix, and the Asian part of Egypt, Armenia, and some part of Tartaria; all which countries I sawe and passed through in the time of my youth. Likewise I will describe my last voïages from Constantinople to Egypt, and from thence vnto Italy" (I, 6, and III, 904-5).²⁵

More vital than these resemblances in the career of Leo Africanus and Othello is the similarity in traits of character between the Moor, as described by Leo, and Othello. Othello is continually commended for his soldiership. "The man commands Like a full soldier," says Montano (II, i, 35-6) and even Iago is forced to admit that "Another of his fathom they have none To lead their business" (I, i, 142). Over and over again he is given the epithet of brave and valiant. Montano calls him "brave Othello" (II, i, 38), a Senator, "brave Moor" (I, iii, 48). He is announced at the council chamber as "the valiant Moor" and the Duke greets him as "valiant Othello" (I, iii, 47, 48). The Herald in Cyprus speaks of him as "our noble and valiant general" (II, ii, 1). Desdemona says "And to his honours and his valiant parts Did I my soul and fortunes consecrate" (I, iii, 252-3), and finally at the end Othello himself echoes pathetically his former title:

I am not valiant neither,
But every puny whipster gets my sword (V, ii, 242-3).

Now the Moors, in innumerable passages in the *Geographi-call Historie*, are praised as brave and noble soldiers. Is it only a coincidence that the word valiant is used so frequently in connection with them also? "The people called Ruche," writes Leo, "haue very small dominions . . . howbeit they are most valiant soldiers, and exceeding swift of foote" (I, 145-6). The people of eastern Mauritania are "noble and honest persons, and endued with all kinde of humanities and Ciuilitie. . . . These also are a most

²⁵ The idea that the Moors were great travelers is reinforced by two other passages in Leo Africanus, I, 184, and III, 727. In I, 21, Leo speaks of the "vagrant and roguish life" of the Arabians.

valiant nation" (I, 148). Again, in the general description of the Africans, Leo writes: "Likewise they are most strong and valiant people, especially those which dwell vpon the mountaines" (I, 183). And of the Arabians who live in tents he writes further, "They are in their kinde as deuout, valiant, patient, courteous, hospitall, and as honest in life and conuersation as any other people. . . . They are reported likewise to be most skilfull wariours, to be valiant, and exceeding louers and practisers of all humanitie" (I, 184). These passages might be matched with many others of the same kind.

Further, Othello is characterized not only by valiantness but by a certain nobility and assured integrity of soul illustrated by such comments as "Is this the noble Moor whom our full senate Call all in all sufficient," (IV, i, 250 ff.), and Othello's own quiet self-assurance—"My parts, my title, and my perfect soul" (I, ii, 30). There is a marked simplicity and frankness in his nature. "This Moor is of a free and open nature That thinks men honest that but seem so," muses Iago, and later he repeats that "The Moor . . . is of a constant, loving, noble nature" (I, iii, 393-4, II, i, 275-6). This fact is born out also not only by Othello's own statements—"Rude am I in my speech" et cetera, and, "Haply, for I am black, And have not the soft parts of conversation" (I, iii, 81, and III, iii, 263-4)—but by the essential simplicity and naivité of his mental processes (Cf. the rest of the soliloquy, III, iii, 258). Precisely the same characteristics are ascribed to the Moors by Leo: "Also, the Moores and Arabians inhabiting Libya are somewhat ciuill of behaviour, being plaine dealers, voide of dissimulation, fauourable to strangers, and louers of simplicitie" (I, 184). "Most honest people they are, and destitute of all fraud and guile; not onely imbracing all simplicitie and truth, but also practising the same throughout the whole course of their liues: albeit certaine Latine authors, which have written of the same regions, are farre otherwise of opinion" (I, 183). And again,

"They keepe their couenant most faithfully, insomuch that they had rather die than breake promise" (I, 183).

Othello is pictured as trusting his two friends so implicitly that the supposed duplicity of the one only makes him more dependent on the other. So Leo describes the "tawney Moores" as being "stedfast in friendship" (I, 184). If Othello seems unusually credulous to us, so were the Moors described by Leo: "Their wits are but meane, and they are so credulous, that they will beleeeue matters impossible, which are told them" (I, 185).

In the matter of love, jealousy, and wrath Leo's characterization has a bearing also. The restraint and sanctity of Othello's love for Desdemona we have already shown to be a grateful contrast to the hideous lasciviousness of Eleazar and Aaron of *Lust's Dominion* and *Titus Andronicus*. In this regard Leo's testimony is of interest. "They haue alwaies beene much delighted with all kinde of ciuilities and modest behauiour: and it is accounted heinous among them for any man to vtter in companie, any bawdie or vnseemely worde. . . . Whatsoeuer lad or youth there lighteth by chaunce into any company which discourseth of loue, no sooner heareth nor vnderstandeth what their talke tendeth vnto, but immediately he withdraweth himselfe from among them" (I, 184). At the same time the Moors are described as extremely jealous of the chastity of their wives, so much so that "whomsoeuer they finde but talking with their wiues, they presently goe about to murther them;" and "by reason of iealousie you may see them daily one to be the death and destruction of another; . . . they will by no means match themselues unto an harlot" (II, 233, and I, 154). "No nation in the world," Leo writes further, "is so subiect vnto iealousie; for they will rather leese their lives, then put vp any disgrace in the behalfe of their women" (I, 183; see also II, 238, 259, etc.). While it is clear that Shakespeare did not intend to go quite to this length, for Othello's dying words about himself, that he was one "not easily jealous," must surely be taken seriously, yet the passages go a long way to

explain Othello's violence in his jealousy. Any other trial but the unfaithfulness of Desdemona he could have borne: "Had it pleas'd heaven To try me with affliction . . ." (IV, ii, 46 ff.). "I had rather be a toad And live upon the vapour of a dungeon," he exclaims, "than keep a corner in the thing I love For others uses;" and later:

If there be cords, or knives,
Poison, or fire, or suffocating streams,
I'll not endure it (III, iii, 270-3, and III, iii, 388-390).

It never occurs to him that there is any solution but murder, and such is the impetuosity of his wrath that there is no diverting it. On this latter score Leo again has an interesting comment: "being also very proud and high-minded, and woonderfully addicted vnto wrath. Insomuch that (according to the prouerbe) they will deeply engraue in marble any iniurie be it neuer so small, and will in no wise blot it out of their remembrance" (I, 185). Compare this with Othello's vow that his vengeance shall know no ebb:

Now by yond marble heaven,
In the due reverence of a sacred vow
I here engage my words (III, iii, 187-9).

Thus not only do practically all the suggestions for the early life of Othello find their counterpart in Pory's version of Leo's *Geographical Historie of Africa*, but, what is more important, almost every trait of his character as well.²⁶

If it had only been one of Shakespeare's contemporaries who said that his Othello was nothing but a "great heap of contradictions," Shakespeare could have silenced him by pointing to the best authority then available on the characteristics of the Moor. Possibly Shakespeare would have laughed, as Bradley thinks, if someone had complimented him on the accuracy of his racial psychology but I am inclined to doubt it.

LOIS WHITNEY

²⁶ The argument from names is too unimportant to be insisted on but for the sake of completeness I might mention that the name Iago appears in three different places in Leo Africanus (I, 97-8; III, 1050; III, 1065), the name Roderigo in two places (II, 509; III, 1050), and in one of these passages the name Iago Diaz and Roderigo are associated together (III, 1050).

XXII. THE AUTHORSHIP OF HENRY THE EIGHTH

The problems connected with the authorship of *Henry the Eighth* are in some ways different from those usual in the doubtful plays. In the first place, the external evidence is singularly exact and definite and in no way contradictory. That a play dealing with the reign of Henry the Eighth and bearing either the title or the sub-title *All Is True* was being acted June 29, 1613 at the Globe Theatre is attested by at least three contemporary documents which tell of the fire which destroyed the theatre that day.¹ The publication of the play in the Folio of 1623 is, however, the only direct attribution to Shakespeare. According to one of the ballads written about the Globe fire, Heminge and Condell, the Folio editors, were both present at the time of the fire;² their later inclusion of the play in the Folio must, therefore, have been with full knowledge of its authorship. In the second place, the play is so evidently by two hands that, even as early as 1758, Roderick pointed out peculiarities of metre which did not seem to him Shakespearean.³ A chance remark of Tennyson's that 'many passages in *Henry the Eighth* were very much in the manner of Fletcher,' combined with his own impressions, led Spedding to investigate the matter more fully, with the result that in 1850 he published his paper, 'Who wrote Shakespeare's *Henry the Eighth*?'⁴ As a result of this investigation and of the application of metrical tests, in the results of which his investigations were

¹ Wright, *Henry the Eighth* (Clarendon Press), p. vi; *The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England, begun first by Mister John Stow continued unto the ende of this presente yeere by Edmond Howes*, 1615, p. 926; *Reliquiae Wottonianae* third edition, 1672, pp. 425, 426.

² Stanzas on 'the pittifull burning of the Globe playhouse in London' in *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1816; reprinted in Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines* pp. 310-11.

³ Edwards, *Canons of Criticism*, 1758.

⁴ New Shakespere Society's Transactions, 1874.

substantiated by those of Fleay, Furnivall and others, he concluded that more than one half of the play had been written by Fletcher, and pronounced as Shakespearean only the following scenes: Act I, Scenes 1 and 2; Act II, Scenes 3 and 4; Act III Scene 2 (to the exit of the king); Act V Scene 1—with alterations. With this decision, so far as the work of Fletcher is concerned, practically all later critics have been in agreement. The problem, then, has long been one not of the sole authorship of Shakespeare, but of his part in the play.

The most striking and most important contribution to the discussion, since that of Spedding, is the paper which Robert Boyle in 1885 read before the New Shakespeare Society. In this he declared that Shakespeare had had no part in the writing of the play, but that it had been the joint work of Fletcher and of Massinger.⁵ Spedding and Boyle agreed, in the main, in regard to the Fletcherian scenes; both recognized, also, the lack of unity of conception and development and the feebleness and inconsistency of many of the characters. Boyle, however, based his contention in regard to Massinger on the grounds that at no time in his later period did Shakespeare collaborate with another dramatist and that no reason for such collaboration can be shown; that, even had collaboration been possible Shakespeare would hardly have allowed his work to be spoiled—as it certainly was—by an inferior dramatist; and that it was improbable that Fletcher, the lesser author, should have been given all the 'big scenes' as he undoubtedly was. From this Boyle goes on to prove that the play which we now have, which was included in the Folio of 1623 'was not written by Fletcher and Shakespeare, but by Fletcher and Massinger, to supply

⁵ The same conclusion has been reached by H. Dugdale Sykes in a paper, 'King Henry VIII,' published in his *Sidelights on Shakespeare* (Shakespeare Head press, Stratford-on-Avon 1919). He bases his conclusions entirely upon a comparative study of the diction of Massinger and the doubtful portions of the play.

the place of the lost Shakespeare play *All is True* destroyed in the Globe Theatre fire of 1613.⁶

Boyle's theory is a clear and forceful one which leaves his reader with the impression that, if the hypothesis be granted, the conclusion must follow. Further consideration, however, makes one aware that it is an arbitrarily assumed hypothesis which not only does not solve all the former problems, but which raises others, equally difficult. For example, the fact that his metrical tests result in assigning to Massinger not only all the so-called Shakespearean scenes, but even some parts which other critics unanimously agree in assigning to Fletcher would lead one to wonder if the style of Massinger was similar not only to that of Shakespeare but also to that of Fletcher. And when Boyle acknowledges that 'from the characteristics of metre alone it would be difficult to decide whether a particular passage or even play as written by Shakespeare or Massinger, so similar is the latter's style to Shakespeare's later dramas,'⁷ we may justly inquire: why, then, attribute it to Massinger at all in the face of the evidence which gives it to Shakespeare? There are, at all events, three points which Boyle's theory cannot explain: There is, first of all, the inclusion of the play in the Folio, for, in spite of the fact that there are included plays which we now agree are 'doubtful,' we have no other example of the inclusion of a play which Heminge and Condell must have known to have been in no way the work of Shakespeare. There is, secondly, the reason for the writing of a second play. Even Boyle does not doubt that the *Henry the Eighth* which was being performed at the time of the Globe fire was Shakespeare's. His theory is that the present play was written to take the place of one destroyed at that time. This, however, is open to the serious objections that there is no more reason to suppose that the prompter's copy was lost than that it was saved, and that the play was already being acted, so that no new copy was necessary for the actors, while a new one

⁶ *New Shakespeare Society's Transactions*, 1880-5, p. 444.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

could certainly have been made from their dictation if the prompter's copy had been lost, and, chief of all, that Shakespeare himself was alive at the time of the fire, so that there would hardly have been any need of calling on Massinger to rewrite his play! Thirdly, Boyle's theory does not in any way explain that very thing which caused Boyle's investigation—the lack of consistency in the play. He declares throughout that Massinger and Fletcher worked together on the play, yet pauses continually to show that Fletcher disregards hints which Massinger has given, that whole scenes are out of place, and that there is an utter lack of continuity in character development. Minor tests, moreover, such as Thorndike's 'them-'em' test go to prove the impossibility of Massinger's collaboration; in the seven plays of Massinger which Thorndike examined, Massinger used the word 'them' two hundred times and the contraction not at all, while in this one play alone, the scenes which Boyle would assign to Massinger contain seventeen cases of the contraction to eighteen of the full word—an incredible difference.

A study of sources of the play throws little real light upon the problem of authorship, but it does raise one point which may be significant. The chief source for the material used in the first four acts was the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, while practically all of the last act is founded upon Foxe's *Actes and Monuments of the Churche*. It is possible that Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* may have been available since, although the book was not published until 1641, it was circulated in manuscript during Shakespeare's lifetime; it seems much more probable, however, that the authors did not consult this directly but used only such passages as Holinshed had included. Edward Hall's *Chronicle* seems also to have been used occasionally. If we accept for the time being the division of scenes made by Spedding, we find that in the Shakespearean portions there are fourteen direct borrowings from Holinshed; three from Foxe; one from Hall; two which may be from Cavendish or Holinshed. Fletcher has ten from Holinshed, two from Hall, four from

Foxe, four which may be from Cavendish or Holinshed. In all, there are approximately twenty in the Shakespearean scenes and the same number in the Fletcherian. The interesting thing is that in no other play of Shakespeare's are the borrowings more pronounced than in this, and in no play have the historical passages been so little revised. Both authors have simply versified long passages from the chronicles; even such a speech as the famous defence of Katherine is to be found almost verbatim in Holinshed. The historical material, moreover, has been handled with even more than Shakespeare's usual freedom. The play covers a period of twenty four years; the events are represented as happening on seven days. The chronological sequence has been violated frequently, and in some cases there is a compression of several great events into one scene. Four characters have been added to those of history, but they are all minor: the porter and Patience, who appear in the Fletcherian scenes; the Old Lady, and possibly Brandon, who appear in the Shakespearean. There is none of that prodigality of invention of minor characters to which we are accustomed in the earlier history plays of Shakespeare—nothing to suggest that band of rogues and drunkards and tattered soldiers who surrounded Falstaff; nothing to suggest those myriads of servants in the delineation of whom the dramatist delighted; there is, in the minor characters, but one suggestion of the Shakespeare we know—in the Old Lady, who, lightly sketched though she is, has about her that canniness, that shrewd materialism which delights us in Juliet's nurse. There has been in this play no piling up of fictitious incidents, in addition to the historical events, such as we have seen in the earlier *Henry* plays; only two incidents here have not been taken directly from the chronicles: the meeting of Anne Bullen and Henry at the Cardinal's masque, and the Cardinal's fatal mistake in sending to the king a paper on which was a statement of his private wealth. The only conclusion, then, to which a study of the sources leads us is that, if part of *Henry the Eighth* was written by Shake-

sppeare, he showed himself less original than usual in his versifying of the chronicles, and even less careful than usual in his treatment of the historical chronology of events. Any theory of authorship which may be proposed must take that into account. It must also take into account the very serious consideration that, if this play is in any way Shakespeare's, it is the last that we have from his pen, and yet it must be evident to even a casual reader that it is, in every way, below the level of much of even his earliest work. In spite of all these things, however, I still venture to say that it *is* Shakespeare's in part, and that, properly understood, it is less an anticlimax than a fitting climax to his dramas.

First of all, is there any reason for Shakespeare's interest in such a subject at this time? It is hardly necessary to say that, if the original plan of the play was his, Shakespeare was not intending here a 'history play' as history plays were understood before 1600. This was not by any means the first play upon a subject connected with the reign of Henry VIII. Shakespeare's company had already produced two plays dealing with Thomas Cromwell and with Sir Thomas More. In the Stationer's Register, under the date February 12, 1604-5 there is a memorandum relative to a play called the *Enterlude of K. Henry 8th*, which has been identified with Rowley's *When You See Me You Know Me*. In 1605 there had appeared a spectacular production, exhibiting some of the events of Queen Elizabeth's early life and coronation, with a sequel celebrating the activity of London merchants and the foundation of the Royal Exchange—Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*. Besides these, the Admiral's company had produced in 1601-2 two plays about Wolsey, the first called the *Life*, the second, the *Rising of the Cardinal*. It does not seem to have been generally noticed that there was a pronounced revival of interest in these plays during the year 1613, possibly on account of the festivities attendant on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. *The History of Thomas Lord Cromwell* was reissued during that year, with the statement on its title page that

it was 'written by W. S.'; *When You See Me, You Know Me* reappeared in 1613, as did also the first part of *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*. In addition to this, during the spring of that same year when the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth was celebrated there were produced no fewer than six Shakespearean plays. Whatever the cause of the revival of interest, we may see here an economic reason why the Globe Theatre should have desired a play on the subject of the reign of Henry and why Shakespeare should have been the one to write it. We have no reason to suppose that Shakespeare's removal to Stratford would have caused him to lose that shrewd knowledge of the London theatre he had always had. It is, therefore, not difficult to believe that, either because the managers of the Globe asked it, or because he himself, with his usual business acumen, saw the possibilities, he turned during that spring to the chronicles dealing with the reign of Henry the Eighth and drafted a play on the subject.

The question then is: what was that draft? What was it that Shakespeare had in mind when he set about the play which he never finished? Our own opinions of the play are so biased by the distorted version that we read that it is difficult for us to forget what Fletcher did to Wolsey and Katherine and Henry and Anne, yet that is exactly what must be done if we are to see what the play was to Shakespeare. If we accept the division of scenes made by Spedding and turn to the reading of the original play, we may, I think, by the simple device of reading the Shakespearean scenes apart from the others see what that idea was, and we will find that it was less a companion for such a play as *Henry the Fifth*—as has been suggested—than for a *Timon of Athens* or a *Lear*. In attempting any such reconstruction of the original play, it is essential to remember always that the act, as a unit, was apparently nothing to Shakespeare; that he wrote, except in the one or two cases in which he actually imitated the classical dramatists, not a five act play, but a succession of scenes; that his plays, as a rule, divide them-

selves into two parts, following the device of the popular drama before his time which was frequently concerned with the life and death or the rise and fall of a real or fictitious character. Sometimes, as we know, he himself marks for us the beginning of the second part, either by an actual figure such as that of Time in *The Winter's Tale* or by a device such as that of the witches in *Macbeth*. Usually the events of the second part balance those of the first part; always one will be seen to be a rising, the other a falling action. It is evident, also, that in any play which is Shakespeare's we may expect to find a striking use of his two favorite devices of repetition and contrast—repetition of the main idea in plots and sub-plots; repetitions of incidents and characters to bring out other incidents and other characters; sudden sharp contrasts of scenes and characters and situations. All of these devices I think we may find in even that part of *Henry the Eighth* which he wrote; and when we have observed them, we shall perhaps see the reason why he did not conclude it, and why Fletcher, when he set to work on it, completed it as he did.

In reading Holinshed and the various other chroniclers, there was one thing about the period of Henry the Eighth which could not fail to impress Shakespeare, as it has impressed readers ever since his time: the tremendous reversals of fortune which characterized the individuals of that period. Buckingham, Wolsey, Katherine, Cranmer, Anne, Cromwell—where in one period would one find more characters who, through one man, the King, rose to greater heights or fell to more definite misery? Whether we look upon the Shakespeare of 1613 as the dramatist of human disillusionment, or merely as the dramatist who, more than any other, delighted in sharp contrasts, we can see why the reign of Henry should have seized upon his imagination. If, then, we omit entirely the Fletcherian scenes and consider only the story and the characters which Shakespeare actually introduces, we shall see what his plan was.

In that first abrupt scene, in the midst of a conversation between Buckingham and Norfolk in regard to that 'sun of Glory,' 'that light of men,' Henry the King, the splendor of whose meeting with the king of France is occupying all minds, reference is made almost at once, with great dramatic effect, to the man who is evidently the power behind the English throne—to the 'right reverend' Cardinal Wolsey. At once Buckingham's anger flares up,

The devil speed him! no man's pie is freed
From his ambitious finger.

'His pride,' another character says, 'peeps through each part of him.' Not pride and ambition alone, for we are told also of his malice and 'potency,' that his nature is revengeful and his sword is sharp. At that moment there enters the Cardinal himself and sweeps across the stage, his eye fixed 'with disdain' on Buckingham, who looks at him with equal disdain. From the beginning Shakespeare leaves us in no doubt in regard to Wolsey. The Cardinal threatens, even in this momentary appearance, that Buckingham shall lessen that big look' and before even this short scene is over, we are given an opportunity of seeing how well the Cardinal keeps his promises. Buckingham's taunts that 'the butcher's cur is venom mouthed,' his names, 'this fox,' 'this wolf,' this 'cunning cardinal' follow him. In vain does Norfolk counsel that 'temperance' which Buckingham so evidently lacks. But that Buckingham's suspicions are well founded is shown by his almost instant arrest for high treason; thus he, who has shown himself loyal to his king is, with his friends, caught as he says 'in the net' and goes to the Tower with the words,

I am the shadow of poor Buckingham
Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on
By darkening my clear sun.

So ends the first scene. The second follows at once—a council chamber, Henry entering leaning on the shoulder of the Cardinal, clearly from his first speech under the influence of the Cardinal, turning from him only at the

entrance of Katherine, who, kneeling, pleads to no avail for Buckingham. Wolsey has succeeded in deceiving the king, but has not deceived Katherine. She charges him with being back of the trouble which stirs the country to revolt, she brings before the king his unjust taxation—a charge which he turns aside with his cunning subtlety and at once manages to make seem in his favor. Katherine's accusation has no effect other than to make Wolsey realize that in her he has a dangerous enemy. There follows the accusation of Buckingham, throughout which, it is to be noticed, Shakespeare shows Henry as persuaded by the Cardinal against his better judgment—Henry, in Shakespeare's hands is never bad; he is a weakling who is easily ruled by the keen intellect of the greater man. Most of all, however, the dramatist shows in Katherine a combination of those characteristics which we have learned to expect in the great women of Shakespeare: fearlessness, courage, steadfastness, keen judgment. The scene which follows, though presupposing others, is yet clear in itself—another of those swift reversals of fortune in which Shakespeare delighted. We have but seen Katherine at her height; we hear of her as one cast off by the king, and the news comes through the young lady-in-waiting who is to take her place, through Anne Bullen whom Shakespeare in this scene draws as a simple youthful attractive girl of the group of the youthful Portia and the youthful Juliet—the sort of character he delighted to portray. He shows her dwelling on the tragedy of the queen and showing that moderation of which the best Shakespearean characters are always exponents:

Verily,
I swear tis better to be lowly born
And range with humble livers in content
Than to be perk'd up in a glistening grief
And wear a golden sorrow.

She has hardly had time to exclaim emphatically,

By my troth and maidenhead
I would not be a queen,

when there enters the Lord Chamberlain with the announcement that the king has created her Marchioness of Pembroke. The announcement, the derisive cacklings of the old lady, fail to move the girl in the least, for, like Katherine and Shakespeare's women in general, Anne has a level head. As Juliet in the midst of the emotion of the balcony scene could say,

But yet I have no joy of this contract tonight,
It is too rash, too sudden, too unadvised,

so Anne declares,

Would I had no being
If this salute my blood a jot; it faints me
To think what follows.

And at once, with a touch which is worthy of Shakespeare, she remembers her who has been a queen and is to be no longer,

The queen is comfortless and we forgetful
In our long absence; pray do not deliver
What here you've heard to her.

Another scene, and we are once more at a trial, but with a difference. She who was, by the king's own word, coequal with him at the trial of Buckingham, is now arraigned; she who knelt before the king to sue for Buckingham, now kneels to sue for herself. Close beside the king throughout is Wolsey. It is Katherine alone who dares to charge the Cardinal with being the instigator of the whole affair, who dares to say that he pretends to be humble but his heart is 'crammed with arrogancy, spleen and pride.' Shakespeare leaves us in no doubt as to the king's real feeling for Katherine, for as she leaves, he says:

Go thy ways, Kate;
The man in the world who shall report he has
A better wife, let him in naught be trusted,
For speaking false in that; thou art, alone,
If thy rare qualitties, sweet gentleness,
Thy meekness saint-like, wife-like government,
Obeying in commanding, and thy parts
Sovereign and pious else, could speak thee out
The queen of earthly queens.

Wolsey, perceiving the king's emotion, and fearful lest that lead him to interfere with his deep-laid plans, craftily calls upon the sovereign there in public to declare whether Katherine's charges are true. At this the king speaks, revealing to the audience the way in which, as in *Othello*, the crafty man of intellect has worked upon the man of emotion. No one can read the long defense of Henry and fail to notice the repetition of the word *conscience* which throughout the play comes in like a refrain—'the respite shook the bosom of my conscience,' he says, and again, 'thus hulling in the wild sea of my conscience,' and finally, 'I mean to rectify my conscience.' It is easy to see the way in which Wolsey has been acting upon the king. It is another phase of this same weakness on the part of the king which, captivated by youthful Anne, led to his creation of the Marchioness of Pembroke, and which now, affected by Katherine, leads him to declare,

Prove but our marriage lawful, by my life.
And kingly dignity, we are content
To wear our mortal state to come with her,
Katherine our queen, before the primest creature
That's paragoned i' the world.

And then, as the court is adjourned, the king utters a significant remark, mentioning a name which until this time has not been used:

My learned and well-beloved servant, Cranmer,
Prithee return; with thy approach I know
My comfort comes along.

Packed into the next scene we find many things: the nobles warn that the fall of Wolsey is imminent; Katherine has already been set aside; Anne Bullen is the king's favorite, rumor says already his wife. Cranmer is mentioned again, this time as the coming man of the kingdom, the future archbishop; Wolsey, entering, shows us at once that his many lines have become entangled. He had thought that the divorce of Katherine would be the climax of his plots, but now he finds himself balked by the king's infatu-

ation for Anne, by his evident intention of marrying her instead of the sister of the French king, as Wolsey had planned. At just this moment there appears the king who has found by chance the incriminating papers; like all weaklings who have been under the domination of stronger men, his intolerance and scorn are all the more bitter now that he has found out the crimes of his erstwhile favorite. He flings the incriminating paper at the Cardinal and sweeps out, leaving him alone. When Shakespeare had reached that point in the scene, he stopped; the rest of it—the famous charge of Wolsey to Cromwell (a very different Wolsey from Shakspeare's) is Fletcher's.

3 That, in the Shakespearean play, was doubtless to have been the end of the first part—the climax of the play. What was to constitute the second part has already been suggested in the continued references to Cranmer—it was to have shown the rise of Cranmer to the position of the chief counsellor of the king, the culmination of which, the turning of the King against Cranmer as he earlier turned against Wolsey, Shakespeare has shown in the one remaining scene which he wrote, in which he suggests that Cranmer has already risen to his height and is now about to fall. That scene, which Fletcher combined with the scene dealing with the birth of Anne's daughter, has always troubled critics who could find in the play which Fletcher made no use for the character of Cranmer except as the godfather of the infant Elizabeth, and who failed to see any reason for introducing the scene in which his possible treason is discussed. But we cannot read the scenes which Shakespeare wrote and fail to see that from the first Cranmer has been suggested as the coming important character, and that in the scene in which the nobles prophesy the fall of Wolsey, they prophesy with equal force the rise of Cranmer.

That is the original play. Did Fletcher add anything in the way of plot? I think not. He wrote the meeting of Anne and Henry, but that had already been suggested in the scenes which we have read; he wrote the farewell of Buck-

ingham, the death of Katherine, the farewell of Wolsey—all of them completing scenes which had already been written,—the elevation of Cranmer, which was both anticipated and concluded by Shakespeare, the visit of the cardinals to Katherine, and the three scenes of pageantry—exactly the sort of scenes in which Fletcher always delighted. Shakespeare's work was introductory; he brought no scene to its conclusion. Fletcher's was entirely founded upon the parts already written; he began no new story in the play. Did the two authors, then, collaborate? Clearly they did not. Apart from the fact that we can find no case in which the later Shakespeare ever collaborated with anyone, the play itself solves that problem. Shakespeare wrote no one of the 'big scenes.' Moreover, in the case of each of the major characters, there is, in the final scene, an entire contradiction of the character as Shakespeare planned it. Thus Fletcher has sentimentalized the death of Buckingham; he has given us the dying dream of Katherine; Wolsey's complete change of character in his farewell to Cromwell, which in every sentence contradicts the character of Wolsey as Shakespeare painted it; he has even suggested the death of Wolsey which he could not show, telling us how, 'an old man broken with the storm of years, he came to beg a little earth for charity.' There is no one character in the play which we have today which can be said to be consistent. This could not possibly have occurred had the two authors been working together. What must have happened, clearly, is that Shakespeare, after he had blocked out the six scenes which we have today, gave up the idea of working on the play. But since, as has already been said, a play on the subject was an economic necessity, either Shakespeare himself, or the managers of the Globe theatre, with his consent, gave the rough draft to another author. Fletcher, since 1607, had been gradually coming to fill Shakespeare's place and would seem to have been the most popular dramatist with the public of the time; what more natural than that he should have been the one to complete the play?

That the draft was given to him with Shakespeare's consent seems evident, since the play was to be presented within the year and Shakespeare would certainly be in a position to know that it was his play which was being used. It is possible that he outlined to Fletcher his original intention; on the other hand he may simply have given him the draft of the six scenes and referred him to the chronicles which he had used, which Fletcher evidently used throughout. At all events, it is clear that Fletcher did not in any way carry out Shakespeare's original intention; Shakespeare must have known that he would not.

And now what, in the main, was that intention and why did Shakespeare himself not carry it out? The answer to one question is, I think, contained in the other; the answer to both is to be found in the play itself. The play was not to have been, as now, a collection of disorganized episodes; it was not, as has always been suggested, to culminate in the separation of the Anglican and Roman churches; that misunderstanding has arisen from various references in the Fletcherian scenes; in the parts which I have called Shakespearean, there are only three references of any sort to the Church, and those three are entirely subsidiary; the most serious of them is Wolsey's remark that Anne was a 'spleeny Lutheran'; apart from that there is nothing to suggest that Shakespeare was interested, in the slightest degree, in the question of religion. The theme is given, I believe, in the sub-title, *All Is True*, by which the play was known at the time of the burning of the Globe. It occurs again in those lines which Fletcher included in the prologue—that prologue which suits the original play so much better than the play which we now have:

think you see them great
And followed with the general throng and sweat
Of thousand friends; then in a moment see
How soon that mightiness meets misery.

Those who hold to the theory of the 'period of disillusion' will find here a suggestion that Shakespeare at this time

understood thoroughly the meaning of those lines; whether we accept that idea or not, it must be clear that the original play was in no way distant from the other great plays of the last period. We have here the framework of a play which was to deal with the buffets and rewards of fortune—with that chance which at one time exalts a man and at another time casts him down—with characters who bear in themselves the seeds of their own misery—with the strange revolutions of fortune which now exalt one, now another. And in its succession of scenes of exaltation and misery, it does not fall below any of the great dramas, and is, indeed, reminiscent of many of them. Particularly in its rapid succession of rising and falling characters, in its suggestion of Nemesis, its balancing of parts and episodes is this latest of the history plays reminiscent of that early Richard III. Buckingham, headstrong, impetuous, refusing to listen to the counsel of 'moderation,' daring to do what he considers honorable—falling by those very characteristics which make him attractive—even in the one scene in which he appears has much of Hotspur; his death, in Shakespeare's hands would have been no long-drawn sentimental funeral scene, but a brief moment in which the encomium, if one there was, would have been pronounced not by himself but by another Hal. Shakespeare's Katherine has in her much of the later Portia, more of Hermione, the simplicity and courageousness of all of Shakespeare's women; if Shakespeare ever attended a performance of the completed play, he must have smiled a little as the Katherine he knew went through the long-drawn dream and death scene which delighted Fletcher. Henry the King is, in Shakespeare's hands a popular idol, the 'sun of men' the 'glory of the world,' but in reality weak and ineffectual, entirely under the domination of those around him; Shakespeare makes him weak not only in politics but in love; it is no villain who lays his plans skilfully to rid himself of Katherine, but a very human being who is one day attracted by a pretty face, and another day sincerely devoted to the wife whom con-

science bids him cast away; that study of the conscience of a king, worked upon subtly by a keener intellect, would have been a tremendous thing in Shakespeare's hands. Most of all it is Wolsey we would have cared to see—Wolsey as Shakespeare saw him, for he is the supreme character of the play; a later Iago, he has all the cunning and the craft of Iago, but he has, more than that, big ends in view; he is the supreme power in England; in his hands there lie her destinies; far-sighted, shrewd, an intellect incarnate, he is the last of that great group of whom Don John was first—'determined to prove a villain' but a great villain. The first part of the play we may construct almost in its entirety, and there is no reason to believe that the second part would have fallen off, though we have little of it left. Buckingham at his height and realizing his doom; Katherine at her height as he falls, with Wolsey malevolently in the background plotting her downfall and his own rise; Anne rising to take the place of Katherine, and to complicate the situation for Wolsey, yet shuddering in the midst of her splendor to think what follows; Wolsey at his height, with Cranmer's name in the king's mouth; in the last part, the overthrow of Wolsey and the rise of Cranmer; possibly the fate of Anne—even perhaps the story of Cromwell which has been merely suggested, and through it all, through the fate which comes alike to good and evil, through the tale of Wolsey falling by his ambition, even as Macbeth, and Katherine falling in spite of all her virtue, as Juliet or Cordelia,—as the thread upon which all hangs, Henry himself, weak, easily led, perhaps pursued throughout by that conscience of which he speaks so frequently.

Why, then, did Shakespeare not finish the drama which, it must seem to us, might have been one of the most tremendous of all in its sharp contrast of light and shade, in the inevitability of its conclusions? Shakespeare and his people were very near in time to these people of whom they wrote, too near, perhaps, to criticise them with impunity. With fictitious characters it could have been done; with

real characters, it is doubtful if the play-going Englishmen of 1613 would have accepted it—as perhaps the playgoing Englishmen of today would not accept a Bernard Shaw delineation of Victoria and her court! Whether they would have objected to the picture which Shakespeare drew or not, it is at all events certain that the taste of the playgoers of the time had changed; what they wanted now was not the ‘dry light’ in which Shakespeare would have shown them the earlier court, but the haze of sentiment which Fletcher knew so well how to spread over his characters—which the playgoing public of our own day seems more and more to crave. That this is true may be seen by what Fletcher did to the Shakespearean characters; in his scenes the bitterness and unequalness of fate is gone; with Fletcher, as with the popular dramatists of our own day, the bad are always punished, the good usually rewarded, or, if that is impossible, at least given death scenes which cause the eye to flow; and all, good and bad, are shown as regenerated at the last moment, and departing this life in the odor of sanctity and the pomp of oratory. Thus all the characters in *Henry the Eighth* are shown as truly great only when the external greatness is stripped from them; and since this could not be done with any consistency in the play as Shakespeare planned had it, Fletcher has covered up all the rough places with pageantry and visions and coronations and christenings, and has risen to heights which still hold enthralled the audience which loves oratory, and spectacles, and sentiment, and tears. For Fletcher was, to use Christopher Morley’s apt term, the ‘Pollyanias’ of his day—and his day, like our own, loved a Pollyanias. One would give much to have seen Shakespeare the day he attended the performance of *Henry the Eighth* or *All Is True*.

If there is anything at all to this supposition, it throws an interesting light not only upon Shakespeare’s methods but also upon his point of view in those last years of which we know so little. We can see something of the workman here—we can watch him as he writes the pivotal scenes,

the ones which are the crisis of each plot, leaving the others to be sketched in later; we can watch him stress those characteristics on which he is to dwell later; we can see that he took the chronicles, and with the passages before him, simply turned them into blank verse, intending later to polish them, as he did in earlier plays. The result is that even in the scenes we have we find that every important event has been mentioned, every character delineated, the whole story told us, either in prospect or in retrospect. And we can see, moreover, that, having blocked out the whole play as it was to have been, he definitely put it aside and gave it for completion to a man who would not complete it as it had been begun. Nothing could be more significant of the point of view of the dramatist of the time. His public no longer wanted the impersonality, the impassivity, the moderation of Shakespeare; they wanted the morals, the sentiment, the hazy mist of Fletcher; they liked Fletcher and they wanted Fletcher. They would not have liked the Wolsey Shakespeare knew.

Perhaps nothing more definite can be determined unless we come upon new evidence in records of the time, for the problems of *Henry the Eighth*, as was said at the beginning, are in many ways different from those of the other doubtful Shakespearean plays. So far as external evidence is concerned, the problem is not so interesting nor so important as that in any other of the doubtful plays; so far as the dramatist himself is concerned, it seems to me much more important, for here we may perhaps find something of the craftsman, the dramatist and the poet.

MARJORIE H. NICOLSON

XXIII. SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT AND THE WEST MIDLAND

In a recent article¹ Professor J. R. Hulbert has disputed the traditional assignment of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and of the alliterative romances generally, to the West Midland dialect of Middle English. He contends that the lack of sufficient criteria for distinguishing West Midland from East Midland, and the lack of documents from the Northwest Midland area, make it impossible to determine whether *Gawain* was composed in the East or in the West; we are justified, he says, only in saying that it is a North Midland text. It is the purpose of the present article to refute Professor Hulbert's argument in so far as it concerns *Gawain*, this and the other poems of the same manuscript being the only alliterative works he discusses in detail, and to show that there is quite sufficient evidence to permit us to assign it to the Northwest rather than to the Northeast Midland dialect.

It may be well to point out at once that Professor Hulbert's presentation of the opinions of grammarians concerning the linguistic differences between East and West Midland in the Middle English period is hardly a fair one. He cites only Morsbach² and Kaluza³ in support of the statement that

¹ "The 'West Midland' of the Romances," *Modern Philology*, 19, 1-16.

² I quote an important part of Morsbach's note which Hulbert omits (*Mittelengl. Gram.*, p. 15, Anm.): 'Das westl. mittelland zeigt gegenüber dem östl. zum teile häufiges *o* für *a* vor nasalen in *mon*, *con* etc., ferner vielfach *-ande* im partic. praes. gegenüber östlichem *-ende* (seltener *-ande*), die schreibung *u* in unbetonten endsilben (*-us*, *-ud*, *-ul*) gegenüber östlichem *-es*, *ed* (selterer *-is*, *-id*, *-it*, das vorwiegend nördlich ist), auch *u*, *ue* für langes geschlossenes *ē*. Doch sind diese und andere unterschiede nicht für das ganze westliche mittelland und alle denkmäler desselben gleich bedeutsam und finden sich zum teil wenigstens auch im östlichen mittellande und sonst.'

³ *Historische Grammatik*, 2d ed., 1. 27. It should be noted that Kaluza's statement is simply an exaggeration of Morsbach's quoted above.

the 'grammarians make practically no distinction between the East and the West Midland dialects.'⁴ He fails to mention Wyld's summary⁵ of the differences between them, and what is more important, he never refers to Luick's monumental *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*,⁶ in which the differences between the East and the West Midland dialects, though nowhere summarized, are frequently discussed, and where *Gawain* is again and again associated in its linguistic peculiarities with Western documents.⁷

Before discussing the characteristics of *Gawain* which, to my mind, justify attributing it to the West Midland, it must be admitted that Hulbert's objections to Morris' evidence for the Lancashire origin of *Gawain* and the other poems of MS. Nero A x are well founded. In his edition of the first three poems of the manuscript—*The Pearl*, *Purity* (which he called *Cleanness*), and *Patience*—under the title of *Early English Alliterative Poems*,⁸ Morris pointed out similarities between the dialect of the poems of this manuscript and that of modern Lancashire, and other resemblances to Middle English texts which he assumed to be of Lancashire provenience. Hulbert finds that all of Morris' proofs are invalid: the inflection of the present indicative corresponds not only to the modern dialects of Cheshire and Lancashire, but to that of most of the North Midland counties; the ending *-es* in the preterite second singular, which Morris considered characteristic of Lancashire, Hulbert finds in East Midland documents as well; the use of *schin* or *schun* as the plural of

⁴ P. 2.

⁵ *Short History of English* (1915), pp. 122-3.

⁶ Only Lieferungen 1-5, and 6 (first half), (1914-1921), have appeared, but this includes the development of vowels from the eleventh to the fifteenth century.

⁷ The following sections of Luick's grammar mention *Gawain* as having West Midland peculiarities, or in connection with Western documents: §33; §357, Anm. 1; §397, Anm. 1; §399, Anm. 1; §408, Anm. 3; §460, Anm. 1. Most of the peculiarities noted are discussed below.

⁸ *EETS.*, Vol. 1. The preface contains 'Remarks upon the Dialect and Grammar,' pp. xviii-xxxvi.

'shall' Hulbert finds in the guilds of Lynne (Norfolk); and the use of *hit* as a genitive, although limited in Middle English to a few texts traditionally assigned to the West Midland, is not confined in modern dialects, to Lancashire, but is found in the North generally. The evidence offered by Morris is thus not only insufficient to prove that the poems of MS. Nero A x belong to Lancashire; it does not even suffice to prove that they belong to the West Midlands. I wish to make it clear that I do not propose in this article to assign these poems to Lancashire, or to any other particular county. I shall try to show that *Gawain* and the *Alliterative Poems*⁹ possess certain phonological and inflectional characteristics which we have a right to consider West Midland rather than East Midland. Four of these I wish to discuss in some detail.

1. *The representation of OE. ȝ [ū] as u, ue (ȝ sometimes as uy), instead of as i or e.*

It is impossible to mark the boundaries of the various developments of OE. ȝ with any great exactness. But the researches of Wyld¹⁰ and Brandl¹¹ in Middle English place-names enable us at least to decide in which sections of the country *u*, *i*, or *e* preponderate. Wyld's assignment of individual texts is sometimes mistaken,¹² and he perhaps attempts to build too much on slight differences in the proportion of *u* and *i* in various localities, but in general his results have been substantiated by Brandl's elaborate study,

⁹ I shall generally treat the two together, as does Hulbert, who 'finds no sure indication of difference in the dialect of the authors' (p. 8, note 3). For the purpose of the present article, therefore, it makes no difference whether these poems were written by several men or by one, though no evidence has ever been presented to refute the many proofs of common authorship (see my edition of *Purity*, pp. xi-xix).

¹⁰ *Englische Studien* 47. 1-58; 145-66.

¹¹ *Zur Geographie der Altenglischen Dialekte, Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1915, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Nr. 4*, pp. 42-75.

¹² Hulbert, p. 8.

and they have been in the main accepted by Luick.¹³ In particular, as far as North Midland is concerned, it seems safe to say that in place-names, *u*-forms are characteristic of the West and *i*-forms characteristic of the East.¹⁴ The evidence derived from place-names receives confirmation from the rarity of *u*-forms in the fourteenth century texts of the Northeast Midland—the border land between Northern and East Midland—and from the comparative frequency of *u*-forms in such West Midland texts as Myrc and Audelay.¹⁵ Luick sums up the development of OE. *ȝ* as follows:¹⁶

Es stellt sich heraus, dass ae. *ȝ* auf dem nordhumbrischen Gebiet und in einem grossen Teil des östlichen Mittellandes, in Lincoln, Norfolk und angrenzenden Strichen durchaus zu *i* geworden war. . . . In den übrigen Strichen, also in Süden und Mittelland, soweit sie nicht zum *i*- und *e*-Gebiet (Anm. 2) gehören, blieb dagegen der *ü*-Laut, wenigstens im grossen und ganzen, erhalten und kam durch *u*, bei der Länge auch durch *ui*, zum Ausdruck.

Luick thus definitely excludes the Northeast Midland from the *u*-territory, and finds, on the contrary that 'das westliche Mittelland gehört zum *ü*-Gebiet.' (Anm. 2).

An examination of the texts shows the validity of this distinction. The fourteenth and early fifteenth century texts that are known to have been written in the Northeast Midland counties, have *u*-forms only as rare exceptions. Robert Mannyng of Brunne (Lincolnshire), according to Boerner's study of his rhymes, has consistently *i* (*i*, *y*) for OE. *ȝ*,¹⁷

¹³ *Hist. Gram.*, §287, Anm. 3, p. 262.

¹⁴ Wyld, table facing p. 32; Brandl, p. 71.

¹⁵ John Myrc, author of a *Festial*, and *Instructions for Parish Priests*, was a canon of Lulshull, Shropshire, who wrote about 1400 (Wells, *Manual*, p. 301). John Audelay, some of whose poems were edited by Halliwell (Percy Society, Vol. 14), and others more recently by Chambers and Sidgwick (*Modern Language Review* 5 (1910). 473-91; 6 (1911). 68-82), wrote about 1425, and was connected with Haghmond Abbey, Shropshire (Halliwell's Preface, p. vi; Wülfing, *Anglia* 18.175 ff.; *Modern Language Review* 5.473-4).

¹⁶ §287, pp. 261-2.

¹⁷ *Die Sprache Roberd Mannyngs of Brunne*, pp. 70-1; 77-9; 147.

and no *u*-spellings at all occur in the first 2000 lines of his *Handlyng Synne* (Furnivall's text). The only work with a *u*-form in the returns of the Norfolk guilds (1389) is *furst*, *frust*, which occurs very seldom beside *fyrst*.¹⁸ No *u*-forms representing OE. *ȝ* are to be found in the glossary of the Towneley Plays.¹⁹ The text of *Havelok*, which is generally assigned to Lincolnshire, has only one spelling, *duntē*, pret. 3 plur. (2448), as a possible *u* for OE. *ȝ*.²⁰ In the Shropshire poets, Myrc and Audelay, on the contrary, *u*-forms abound. In Myrc's *Instructions* they are slightly more numerous than *i*, *ȝ*-spellings, and in Audelay they are only slightly less numerous.²¹

Now in *Gawain* and the *Alliterative Poems* there is a considerable number of words containing *u* (*uy*) for OE. *ȝ*. Wyld gives a list of 19 words with *u*, *uy*-spellings in the *Alliterative Poems*²² (sometimes occurring beside *ȝ*-spellings), and the proportion in *Gawain* is about the same.²³ This is not so large a number as is to be found in Myrc (proportionately about half as many), but it is nevertheless very significant in view of the extreme rarity of *u*-spellings in the documents of the Northeast Midland.

¹⁸ Schultz, *Die Sprache der "English Gilds,"* p. 11. Morsbach sees Southern influence in the language of the Norfolk Guilds (*Mittelengl. Gram.*, p. 168); and this might easily explain *furst*, which is found in the London documents of the period (Morsbach, p. 174).

¹⁹ *EETS., Extra Series*, Vol. 71.

²⁰ The rhymes, of course, show only *i* (F. Schmidt, *Zur Heimatbestimmung des Havelok*, pp. 27, 31, 51, 57). Of earlier texts of this region that are considered free from dialect mixture, Orm has no *u*-forms (Lambertz, *Die Sprache des Orrmulum*, pp. 38 ff.; 47 ff.; 79; 84 ff.), nor has the *Bestiary* (Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English*, 2.581-2).

²¹ *Englische Studien* 47. 39-41.

²² *Ibid.*, 47. 39; cf. Knigge, *Die Sprache des Dichters von Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, etc., pp. 29, 47.

²³ Of Wyld's list of 19, 8 occur in *Gawain* also, and at least 6 words with *u*-spellings occur in *Gawain* which do not occur in the *Alliterative Poems*: *munt*, v., 2262, and n., 2350 (OE. *myntan*); *mulne*, 2203 (OE. *mylen*); *myrly*, 2295, 2336, 2345 (cf. OE. *myrige*); *gurd*, 588, 597 (OE. *gyrdan*); *sturez*, 331 (OE. *styrian*); *purled*, 1356 (OE. *pyrlan*). For *u*-spellings in *The Pearl*, see Osgood's edition, p. (xiii).

One apparent difficulty must be mentioned here. *Gawain* and the *Alliterative Poems* have only half as many *u* as *y*-spellings, while in the place-names of the Northwest Midland counties the *u*-spellings are two or three times as numerous as *y*-spellings. Hulbert objects to Wyld's assignment of the poems to Derby because 'the Derby place-names show twice as many *u* spellings as *i* spellings; the *Alliterative Poems* show twice as many *i* as *u* spellings!'²⁴ The same objection might apply to any of the Northwest Midland counties, Lancaster, Chester, Stafford, where the *u*-spellings are even more numerous. But it must be remembered that the evidence of place-names can hardly be expected to agree exactly with that of fourteenth-century documents written in the same area, partly because the spelling of place-names is more likely to be traditional, and partly because the evidence for them is derived from documents that range from the early thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries. Thus Wyld finds 40 *u*-spellings in the place-names of Shropshire, and no *y*-spellings at all; yet we know that Myrc and Audelay, where the proportion is about equal, wrote in Shropshire. If explanation were needed, the encroachment of *y*-spellings from the standard dialect during the latter part of the fourteenth century, (or the gradual unrounding of the vowel) would be sufficient to explain their frequency in *Gawain* and in the *Shropshire* poets.²⁵

The real problem which Hulbert, it seems to me, fails to face, is this: is it more likely that *Gawain* with its considerable number of *u*-forms, was written in the Northeast Midland, in the documents of which such spellings are so rare as to be wholly anomalous, or in a district (Northwest Midland)

²⁴ P. 8. I am not, of course, defending Wyld's assignment of the poems to Derby; I agree with Hulbert that such small differences in the proportions of *u* and *i*-spellings make it impossible to assign them to any particular county.

²⁵ The fact that Myrc and Audelay, though later, have more *u*-spellings than *Gawain* is probably due to their closer proximity to the South, where the *u* sound was more consistently retained. In *Gawain* it appears especially in conjunction with *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*.

contiguous to that (Shropshire) where we know that *u*-forms are regularly found by the side of *y*?²⁶ The second is the only reasonable alternative; the evidence of the *u*-forms in *Gawain* points decidedly to a western as opposed to an eastern origin.

2. *The representation of OE. a before single nasals as o, as in mon, con.*²⁷

This is recognized as a West Midland (as opposed to East Midland) characteristic by Morsbach,²⁸ Heuser,²⁹ Boerner,³⁰ Wyld,³¹ and Luick.³² It is not an absolute test (absolute

²⁶ Or with reference to the evidence of place-names, which is valuable only in connection with that of literary texts, the question might be phrased: if in the East, by the evidence of place-names, we have a predominantly *i*-district, and in the West a predominantly *u*-district, when a document the locality of which is unknown has a very large number of *u*-forms compared to any other North Midland document of known origin, is it more logical to assign it to the East or to the West?

²⁷ Some of the authorities mentioned here, for example, Luick, include in this Western phonological change *a* before lengthening groups, as in *lond*, *hond* (*q̄* here developing, as Luick thinks, from earlier *o*); but as the same sound developed in the South generally from lengthened *a*, and appears frequently in the North Midland district, I have disregarded it in considering *o* before nasals as a test. For a similar reason I have not, of course, considered certain forms which had become general or fixed in OE., such as *on*, nor *mony*, which is regular in the North and in Scotland (Luick, §367, Anm. 2, p. 358).

²⁸ See above, note 2, and cf. *Mittelengl. Gram.*, p. 124.

²⁹ *Anglia* 19, 459: 'Doch giebt es kaum ein anderes kriterium das dem westen so ausschliesslich angehört und zugleich so in die augen fällt, wie gerade dieser laut.' Heuser criticizes Morsbach for not mentioning this dialectal characteristic, but he apparently overlooked Morsbach's note just quoted.

³⁰ Pp. 76-7. Boerner's note should be consulted for a justification of this criterion, and references to rare *o*-forms in Eastern texts.

³¹ *Short History*, p. 122.

³² *Hist. Gram.* §367, Anm. 1: 'Auch später zeigen alle westmittell. Texte bis auf Aud. herab solche *o*, nur daneben auch *a*, die entweder durch Schreiber aus anderen Gebieten oder durch Einfluss der beginnenden Gemeinsprache hineingekommen sind. Somit ist dies *ø* ein kennzeichnendes Merkmal für diese Landschaften.'

tests of dialect can hardly be expected), as *o*-spellings occur exceptionally in East Midland documents. But, on the one hand, in the Northeast Midland documents cited by Hulbert-Robert Mannyng,³³ the Norfolk guilds,³⁴ the Towneley plays,³⁵ and Havelok,³⁶ *o*-spellings are anomalous or do not occur at all. On the other hand, in the only well authenticated documents from the West Midland, Myrc and Audelay, *o* is the regular spelling, and *a* extremely rare, in *mon*, *con*. In the poems of Audelay printed by Chambers and Sidgwick, *man* occurs only once, while *mon* occurs 26 times, twice in rhyme (XIV.5 with *one*, *non*, and XIX.16 with *ston*, *mon*, 'moan'); *con* occurs 8 times and *can* not at all.³⁷ In Myrc's *Instructions*, there are at least 40 instances of *mon*, twice in rhyme with *upon* (1171, 1655), and not a single instance of *man*, and at least 12 instances of *con*, and none of *can*. The unusual *nome* occurs (beside frequent *name*), even in rhyme with *home*, which must have Southern *o* in this case. It is significant that in modern dialects, *ō* for *a* in such words as *can*, *man*, *þan*, is distinctly a western and central, and not an eastern characteristic. It occurs in Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Stafford, Derby, Worcester, Warwick, Northampton, while it does not appear in Lincoln, Nottingham or Rutland, nor in East Yorkshire (though in North, South-west, and Mid-south Yorkshire).³⁸

³³ Boerner, p. 77.

³⁴ Schultz, p. 5: 'Das in L 69/22 einmal vorkommende *mon* . . . wird Schreibfehler sein.'

³⁵ No instance in glossary.

³⁶ Schmidt, p. 23. Even in the fifteenth century many documents of the Northeast Midland contain only *a* forms; for instance, only *man* and *can* (not *mon*, *con*) appear in the *Lincoln Diocese Documents*, EETS., Vol. 149 (my own examination); for rare *o*-forms in East Midland see Dibelius, *Anglia* 23.178. For late *mon* and *nome* in the meagre Northwest Midland documents, see below, p. 523.

³⁷ As I have not had an opportunity to consult Rasmussen's *Die Sprache John Audelay's* (Bonn, 1914), I have had to depend on my own examination of the text.

³⁸ Wright, *English Dialect Grammar*, p. 7.

Now in *Gawain* the form *mon* occurs 67 times, and *man* not once; *con* ('gan,' and 'can') occurs 23 times, and *can* only twice (340, 1042); *nome* appears five times (10, 408, 937, 1347, 2443) and *name* twice (400, 2453) and *gome*, *gomnes* occurs four times as often as *game*, *gamnes*. *Mon*, *con* forms in the *Alliterative Poems* are at least twice as numerous as *a*-forms, and in *The Pearl* *con* is twice found in rhyme (381 with *mon*, 'moan,' *gon*, *on*, *ston*, *Jon*; and 827 with *Jon*, *gon*, *ston*, *upon*, *non*).³⁹ It would thus be most unreasonable to assign these poems to the Northeast Midland district where such *o*-forms are the rarest exceptions, and it would be most reasonable to assign them to a district bordering on that where *o*-forms are known to be the rule.

3. *The representation of OE. ēo as u, ue [ō], ? [ū].*

This is recognized as a western characteristic by Morsbach,⁴⁰ Jordan,⁴¹ Wyld,⁴² and Luick.⁴³ Luick says:

Ae. *ēo* jedweder Herkunft wurde in 11. Jahrhundert vermutlich auf dem ganzen Sprachgebiet zu geschlossenem [ō] und daher bis tief ins 12. Jahrhundert hinein das alte Zeichen im wesentlichen unversehrt weitergeführt. Hierauf erfolgte im Norden und östlichen Mittelland Entrundung zu *ē*, bei der Kürze auch in Kent . . . Dies geschah wohl im Laufe des 12. Jahrhunderts, im Norden vielleicht etwas früher (kaum später). Im westlichen Mittelland und im Süden (ausser Kent) wurde dagegen der *ø*-Laut, wenn auch vielleicht mit schwächerer Rundung, länger bewahrt. In der Schreibung wurde hier *eo* weitergeführt, dann unter Einfluss anglo-normannischer Schreibgewohnheiten mehr und mehr durch *o* und *ue*, zum Teil auch durch *u* ersetzt.

As Luick bases his statement, as far as West Midland is concerned, to some extent on *Gawain* and the *Alliterative Poems*, this test may not appear quite trustworthy for the localization of these poems, in view of the paucity of *u*-forms

³⁹ Morsbach is thus wrong when he says 'die vielfachen (aber nicht durch den reim gesicherten) *o* in der hs. der sog. *Alliterative Poems*' (*Mittelengl. Gram.* p. 124).

⁴⁰ See above, note 2.

⁴¹ *Germanisch-Romanisch Monatschrift* 2. 130.

⁴² *Short Hist.*, p. 109.

⁴³ *Hist. Gram.*, §357, p. 333.

in Audelay (*bun*, OE. *bēon*, is apparently the only example).⁴⁴ But the form *urþe* (OE. *eorðe*) is found in Myrc's *Instructions* and *Festial*, and in the latter the forms *lurnyd*, *ylurned* (OE. *leornian*).^{44a} Fortunately, there is further evidence from the Southern dialect that *u*-forms are distinctively Western,⁴⁵ and also from the district bordering on West Midland and Southwestern. *William of Palerne*, though the text has been suspected of dialect mixture, was certainly written in the West, probably in Gloucester, as Hulbert says;⁴⁶ in it the form *burn* (OE. *beorn*) occurs constantly, *lud(es)* (OE. *lēod*) four times, and *furþe* (OE. *fēorðe*) once.⁴⁷ In *Gawain and the Alliterative Poems*, *u* is found in many words before *r*, consistently in *burn* (70 times), once *buyrne*, (*Pat.* 340); in *rurd* (OE. *reord*) 8 times; in *brurdes* (OE. *breord*), *Pur.* 1474, and *brurdful*, *Pur.* 383; in *furþe*, *Pearl* 1008; and frequently in *urþe*⁴⁸ (11 times) beside *erþe*. In *Gawain* OE. *lēod*, 'man,' appears twice as *lude* (133, 449), and frequently as *leude* (15 times) beside *lede* (13 times).

After Orm, who wavers between *eo* and *e*, *e* is the only representative of OE. *ēo* in the Northeast Midlands;⁴⁹ at any rate no *u*-forms, excepting of course those due to initial *w*, appear in Robert Mannyng, the Norfolk guilds, the Towne-

⁴⁴ Wyld, *Englische Studien* 47.49.

^{44a} Wyld, *ibid.*, and the glossary of Myrc's *Festial* (*EETS.*, *Extra Series*, Vol. 96).

⁴⁵ Wyld, *History of Modern Colloquial English*, p. 35, remarks that 'the development of OE. *ēo* into *ē* on one hand, or into *u* on the other, is one of the great dialectal tests between East and West (not between South and Midlands), and it would be rash to assign any text which has only *e* in words which had this diphthong in OE., to an area farther west than the borders of Hampshire.' In his *South-eastern and South-east Midland Dialects in Middle English*, *Oxford Essays and Studies* VI, p. 117, he finds no trace of the *u*-type in Southeastern dialects (except in the *Owl and Nightingale*, which he assigns to Surrey). There is an unpublished dissertation by Miss Serjeantson (*ibid.*, p. 117) on the distribution of the *u*-type in ME.

⁴⁶ P. 16, note 1.

⁴⁷ Wyld, *Englische Studien* 47.49.

⁴⁸ The form *urþe* occurs in the late *St. Editha* (Wiltshire).

⁴⁹ Luick, §357, Anm. 1, p. 335.

ley Plays (glossary), or Havelok.⁵⁰ The evidence of the documents, in this case, again, is against an East Midland origin for *Gawain*, and what evidence there is of the phonological development in West Midland points to agreement with *Gawain*. That so few *u*-forms occur in the West Midland Myrc and Audelay is easily explained by the fact that none of the words (except *er þe*) in which *Gawain* and the *Alliterative Poems* have *u*-forms appear in their poems.

4. *The Feminine Singular Pronoun* *ho* (OE. *hēo*).

This is recognized as a West (as opposed to East) Midland characteristic by Wyld,⁵¹ and particularly by Lindkvist in his recent study entitled *On the Origin and History of the English Pronoun She*.⁵² *Ho* is found beside *heo* (and *scho*) in Myrc's *Instructions*,⁵³ and *ho* occurs at least 10 times at the beginning of the *Festial* in the same number of pages. But in the documents known to be of the Northeast Midland, and in the East Midland generally, *ho* forms do not occur in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁴ They are not to be found, for example, in Robert Mannyng, in Havelok or the Towneley Plays.⁵⁵ A remarkable corroboration of the fact that ME. *ho* is a western characteristic, is found in the modern dialects, where the forms *ho(o)*, *how*, *hu*, etc., are characteristic of the West Midland, the only traces of such

⁵⁰ Boerner, pp. 66 ff., 77 ff., 86 ff., 106 ff.; Schultz, pp. 18-20; Schmidt, pp. 26, 42.

⁵¹ *Short Hist.*, p. 123; cf. p. 169: 'The new form [*she*] was established, on the whole, pretty firmly in the East Midlands, at any rate from the middle of the thirteenth century.'

⁵² *Anglia* 45.20, and esp. pp. 48-50.

⁵³ *Ho* occurs in lines, 196, 1243, 1766, 1767. In Audelay the regular form is *heo* beside rare *sche*.

⁵⁴ I have left *heo* forms out of consideration, because, though they probably equal *ho* in Myrc (Lindkvist, p. 49), in early documents they are ambiguous.

⁵⁵ Boerner, pp. 216-7; Skeat's glossary of *Havelok* gives only *scho* and *sche* (once); no instance of the nom. fem. sg. appears in the Norfolk guilds, Schultz, p. 33.

forms in any eastern county being found in parts of Nottingham.⁵⁶

In *Gawain* and the *Alliterative Poems* *ho* is the regular form of the pronoun, though *scho* occurs several times.⁵⁷ Hulbert considers this 'the best evidence of West Midland localization yet given,' but he declares that 'one detail based wholly on modern dialect can hardly be convincing.'⁵⁸ The non-occurrence of *ho*-forms in East Midland documents, and their occurrence in Myrc are enough to show that the distinction is by no means based wholly on modern dialect. It is true, of course, that *ho* is sometimes found elsewhere, for example, in the southern *Owl and Nightingale*, but this does not affect the value of the test for a document known to be North Midland. It is significant that *ho* is found in all the poems traditionally assigned to the Northwest Midland *on other grounds*, such as *Erkenwald* and the *Destruction of Troy*, and also in manuscripts traditionally described as Northwest Midland, such as the Ireland MS. (*Awntyrs of Arthur*, *Sir Amadace*, *Avowyng of Arthur*) and the Fairfax MS. of *Cursor Mundi*.⁵⁹

Several other distinctions between East and West Midland seem to me of some value, but they have hardly been investigated with sufficient thoroughness to be very dependable criteria of dialect. One is the ending *-us* for *-es*, and *-ud* for *-ed*.⁶⁰ These endings do not occur in Robert Mannyng, the Norfolk guilds, or *Havelok*;⁶¹ but they are very frequent in Myrc and Audelay, and to a less extent in *William of Pa-*

⁵⁶ Wright, *Engl. Dial Gram.*, p. 74; Lindkvist, pp. 48-50.

⁵⁷ Only *ho* occurs in *Purity* and *Patience*; *scho* occurs once in *Pearl*, and 5 times in *Gawain*, beside 39 instances of *ho*.

⁵⁸ P. 9, and note 1.

⁵⁹ Lindkvist, pp. 48-9.

⁶⁰ Considered characteristic of West Midland by Morsbach (see above, note 2), by Wyld, *Short Hist.*, p. 123, and *Coll. Engl.*, p. 261, and particularly of the Northwest Midland by Luick, §460, p. 518.

⁶¹ Boerner, pp. 212 ff.; 221 ff.; Schultz, p. 31 (the *-us* of *borus*, beside *borowes*, is not, of course, a substitute for *-es*); pp. 38-9; Schmidt, 74 ff.

lerne.⁶² One reason why this test must be used with caution is that *-us*, *-ud* are found in many localities in the fifteenth century. Thus *berus*, present indicative third singular, and *requirud*, past participle, appear in a Staffordshire indenture of 1439;⁶³ and in a Derby lease of 1478 *seylus*, 'seals,' plural noun; *giffus*, *longus*, present third singular, and the latter again as third plural, and *inkepput* (beside *keppet*), as past participle.⁶⁴ On the other hand, several *-us* forms are found in the Lincoln Diocese Documents,⁶⁵ and *-ud* sometimes in the later London documents.⁶⁶ An extensive examination of texts would be necessary to determine whether such forms were characteristic of West Midland only, in the fourteenth century. In any case, the test is of little importance for the poems under consideration, since only five *-us* forms occur in them (*flemus*, present third singular, *Pur.* 31; *exorsismus*, plural noun, *Pur.* 1579, *aventurus*, plural noun, *Gaw.* 95 and 491, and *Arthurus*, genitive, *Gaw.* 2522).

Another distinction between West and East Midland appears, according to Luick, in the representation of OE. (Anglian) *æ* as *i*-umlaut of *a* before *l*-groups in Northumbrian and in East Midland as *e*, but in West Midland at first as *a*, as in *eldre*, *aldre*; *melten*, *malten*; *beli*, *bali*.⁶⁷ Ekwall's study of place-names in *-well* shows that *-wel(le)* is characteristic of East Midland and Northern, while 'in Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, (probably) Cheshire and S. Lancashire, the typical representative of *i*-

⁶² Schüddekopf, *Sprache und Dialekt* . . . *William of Palerne*, p. 109. They occur commonly also in the Ireland MS., in the *Boke of Curtasye*, and the *Liber Cure Cocorum*, which have, partly on this account, been assigned to the Northwest Midland, and in the Wiltshire *St. Editha* (Wyld, *Coll. Engl.*, p. 261).

⁶³ See below, p. 522.

⁶⁴ Lease of Bradshaw Hall in *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 24.42-3.

⁶⁵ EETS. 149.303. Cf. Patch, *The Ludus Coventriae and the Digby Massacre*, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 35.338, note.

⁶⁶ Lekebusch, *Die Londoner Urkundensprache von 1430-1500*, p. 120.

⁶⁷ *Hist. Gram.* §366, p. 356.

mutated *a* before *l*+cons. is *a*, obviously going back to OE *æ* (*walle* < OE. *wælla* etc.).⁶⁸ Though relevant forms appear in *Gawain* and the *Alliterative Poems* (*malt(e)*, infinitive, *Pur.* 1566, *Pearl* 224; *bale*, 'belly,' *Gaw.* 1333), it is dangerous to use them as evidence of the West Midland origin of *Gawain*, since Luick's statement, apart from the evidence of place-names, is probably based on these very forms, and on others occurring in texts whose West Midland origin Hulbert questions. Likewise, I make no use of another phonological development which Luick limits to Kent and the Northwest Midland (and neighboring North)—the change of *ou* to *au*, as in *stawe*, *trauthe*, *fawre*,⁶⁹ since *Gawain* is the chief authority for this development in the Northwest.⁷⁰

It will be necessary, then, to revert to the four dialectal tests which I have singled out as most valuable in distinguishing West Midland from East Midland texts, in order to consider Professor Hulbert's objection to their validity. His comment on the fourth (*ho*, 'she') has already been considered. After citing Jordan's attribution of the poems to the Northwest Midland⁷¹ on the basis of the first three tests (1. *u* for OE. *ȳ*; 2. *o* (OE. *a*) before nasals; 3. *u* from OE. *ĕo*), he sweeps aside all three in this one sentence; 'There is nothing fixed in any of these criteria, since all those peculiarities can be found, to some extent at least, everywhere in the South and Midland, and the group of peculiarities as a whole is not found in any document actually

⁶⁸ *Contributions to the History of OE. Dialects*, pp. 62-3. If Ekwall is right, my emendation of *walle-hede* (*Pur.* 364) to *welle-hede* (accepted by Emerson, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 20.231) is unnecessary; compare further the Chester *Antichrist*, ca. 1475, (115, ed. Manly): 'for I am wall of welle and wytt.'

⁶⁹ Cf. the form *faurte*, 'forty,' in an early Lancashire will, below, p. 523.

⁷⁰ Luick, §408.2, and Anm. 3. This is one of the peculiarities cited by Ekwall in justifying the assignment of *Gawain* and the *Alliterative Poems* to Lancashire because of the agreement of their phonology with that of the place-names in this region (*Ortsnamenforschung ein Hilfsmittel für das Studium der englischen Sprachgeschichte*, *Germ.-Rom. Monatsschrift* 5.563-4; 607).

⁷¹ *Germ.-Rom. Monatsschrift* 2.130.

localized in the West.⁷² That these peculiarities can be found 'everywhere in the South and Midland' will not be accepted as a fact after what has been said above concerning the geographical distribution of these phonological developments in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. It is true that not all of them are limited to the West Midland, but it is useless to point out that *u* for OE. *y*, for example, appears in the South when the question is whether to assign a poem to the Northwest or Northeast Midland. And if with reference to the East Midland, and particularly to the Northeast Midland, Professor Hulbert's 'to some extent' means only in extremely isolated and exceptional cases, as it must mean in view of what has been said above in the detailed discussion of the texts of this region, then it has no value in matters of dialect, where isolated exceptions occur to almost every rule.

That 'the group of peculiarities as a whole is not found in any document actually localized in the West' is equally untrue. As we have seen, all three appear in *Myrc*, which Hulbert admits to be a Shropshire document, and all of them appear in *William of Palerne*,⁷³ which Hulbert admits to have been written in Gloucester. Dialectal distinctions which have been slowly discovered by the painstaking labors of many grammarians can hardly be disposed of by sweeping and inexact statements of this kind.

It may be objected that the presence in *Gawain* and the *Alliterative Poems* of these marked western characteristics is proof only that the text in its present form comes from the West Midland, and not that it was originally written in that district. But, as Morris said,⁷⁴ 'the uniformity and consistency of the grammatical forms is so entire, that there is no internal evidence of subsequent transcription into any other dialect than that in which they were originally written.'

⁷² P. 6.

⁷³ See above, p. 511, for *u* from *eo*; Wyld, *Englische Studien* 47.33-6, for *u* from *ȝ*, and Schüddekopf, p. 21, for *o* before nasals.

⁷⁴ *Early English Alliterative Poems*, p. viii.

Though it has sometimes been assumed that there are indications of changes due to scribes of other dialectal regions, the grounds for this assumption have been shown in each case to be mistaken.⁷⁵

Moreover, there is one element in the text of *Gawain* which is fairly independent of scribal change—the vocabulary. Now comparisons of the vocabulary of Middle English texts with that of Modern English dialects, it must be admitted, are generally of little value, partly because words originally limited to a small area are likely to spread considerably, and partly because the results show only larger proportions, of Scandinavian words, for example, in one district than in another. But in *Gawain* the existence of two words, otherwise unknown in Middle English, which occur *only* in the modern dialects of the West and Northwest, seems to me of decided significance. The first is the word *kay*, 'left,' (cf. Danish dialect *kei*), in line 422:

þe kay fote on þe folde he before sette.

The *NED.* says that the word is apparently limited to Cheshire and Lancashire (see its citations), and the *English Dialect Dictionary* (s.v. *key*, adj. and v.) finds examples only in Lancashire, Cheshire and West Yorkshire. The second word is *misy* (modern dialect *mizzy*), 'bog, quagmire,' one of the alliterating words in line 749:

þurȝ mony misy & myre, mon al hym one.

The only texts cited by the *NED.* and *EDD.* (s.v. *mizzy*) are specimens of the Lancashire dialect.⁷⁶ The word is given by Bailey, 1755 (not in the original edition of 1721), without

⁷⁵ Fick, for instance, (*Zum Mittlenglischen Gedicht von der Perle*, p. 9) assumed that *u* for OE. *ǔ*, the retention of *-i-* in OE. weak verbs of the second class, and the few participles in *-ing*, were marks of a southern scribe, an assumption which is entirely unnecessary (see my criticism, *Purity*, p. lix, note 4). Similar arguments of Knigge and Morsbach are criticized by Hulbert, p. 12, note 4.

⁷⁶ *EDD.* says 'NCy., Lanc.,' but its only authority for North Country is John Ray's *North Country Words* (1674), which makes no attempt to distinguish the usage in particular counties.

any reference to its dialectal character, followed by Dr. Johnson, but each cites as authority only Ainsworth, who happens to be a Lancashire man.⁷⁷ The evidence of these two words⁷⁸ would not, of course, suffice of itself to prove *Gawain* of West Midland origin, but when the text has been shown to be Northwest Midland by other means, these words are important corroborative evidence that not only the scribe, but the author wrote in this region.

The first part of Professor Hulbert's article is an attempt to show that there is no good evidence to connect *Gawain* and the *Alliterative Poems* with the West. In reply I have undertaken to show that, though it would be dangerous to assign these poems to any particular county, they belong certainly to the West rather than to the East. In the second part of his article, Professor Hulbert 'aims to determine what conclusion about the dialect of the poems *can* be reached on a basis of real fact.'⁷⁹ Taking as the general features of the poems '(1) inflections mainly like those we find in the North, and (2) phonology largely Midland,' he concludes that they are North Midland documents because they agree in these respects with other documents, Robert Mannyng, the Norfolk guilds, etc., which we know to be North Midland.

Professor Hulbert's conclusion that the poems under discussion are North Midland is indisputable; I shall not, of course, protest against that. Moreover, he is careful to avoid suggesting that they are East Midland, rather than West Midland, though the texts with which he compares them

⁷⁷ This must be either Henry Ainsworth (1571-1622) or, less probably, Robert Ainsworth (1660-1743), both Lancashire men (see *DNB*.)

⁷⁸ I have verified the statements of the *NED*. and *EDD*. by examining all the glossaries of the Northeast Midland counties (Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire) available in the Yale Library, including the publications of the English Dialect Society. Neither word occurs in any of them. Another word *wysty* (*Gaw.* 2189), which I have not found elsewhere in Middle English, occurs only in modern Lancashire and Cheshire according to *EDD*., s.v. *wisty*, adj.; cf. E. M. Wright, *Engl. Stud.* 36.226.

⁷⁹ P. 12.

happen to be eastern. But lest any of his readers should imagine that there is significance in the occurrence of Northern inflections and Midland phonology (rather than Northern phonology and Midland inflections), in both *Gawain* and Northeast Midland texts, it will be necessary to consider for a moment this characterization of the dialect of *Gawain*. By inflections mainly like those of the North, Hulbert explains that he means 'for example, the present inflection of the verb, the present participle ending in *-ande*, the lack of *y*- in the past participles or other verbal forms, the lack of many weak nouns.' Now the inflection of the present indicative in *Gawain*, as he has already remarked, is: singular, first person *-e*, second person *-es*, third person *-es*; plural *-en*, sometimes *-es* or *e3*.⁸⁰ Of these, the regular ending of the plural, *-en*, is not Northern at all, but characteristically Midland! The lack of many weak nouns (a few occur) is Midland as well as Northern.⁸¹ Furthermore, other characteristics of inflection, such as the *-y* of second weak and French verbs, which Hulbert mentions, and the frequent personal preterite endings of weak verbs,⁸² are Midland rather than Northern.⁸³ Even in phonology, Northern characteristics appear beside Midland: *a* as well as *o* for OE. *ā*; *k* in *kyrk*, *kyst* (Scandinavian influence).⁸⁴

To characterize the dialect of *Gawain* as having Northern inflections and Midland phonology is, therefore, extremely inexact. If Professor Hulbert insists that only such rough criteria (his own phrase) can be used in the determination of

⁸⁰ P. 3; cf. Schwahn, *Die Conjugation in Sir Gawayn and the Green Knight*, pp. 6-7.

⁸¹ Wyld, *Short Hist.*, p. 181.

Wyld is probably correct, moreover, in considering the participial ending *-ande* West Midland as well as Northern, pp. 123, 196. The phonology of the *Earliest English Prose Psalter*, which contains no specifically Northern features (Hirst, *The Phonology*, etc., p. 78), has regularly *-and*, rarely *-end* (*ibid.*, p. 79).

⁸² Schwahn, pp. 6-7.

⁸³ Morsbach, pp. 15, 17.

⁸⁴ Knigge, pp. 31, 62.

dialect, he should make them still rougher and affirm, in this case, that *Gawain* resembles the Northeast Midland texts in having Northern and Midland inflectional and phonological characteristics. 'No such similarities,' Hulbert declares, 'between the *Alliterative Poems* and any Western texts have ever been shown.' But in view of the fact that none of the undoubted Western texts we possess (Audelay and Myrc, for example) are *Northwestern*, it would be absurd to expect that they should share with the *Alliterative Poems* the Northern characteristics which the latter share with Northeast Midland documents.⁸⁵ Not *such* similarities (Northern inflections and Midland phonology) between the *Alliterative Poems* and Western texts, but others which I believe to be more important because less rough and more detailed, have been pointed out above.

It has generally been assumed, as Hulbert states, that we know nothing whatever of speech conditions in the Northwest Midland. Fourteenth-century documents apparently do not exist, but a very few wills and indentures of the early fifteenth century are extant, and a study of their language is of some help in determining what the dialect of that region may have been like in the century preceding. The English documents here listed, hitherto unnoted by students of the language, are all that I have been able to discover in

⁸⁵ In so far as 'such similarities' refer to Midland phonology, they are to be found between Myrc and Audelay and the *Alliterative Poems*. In giving the present inflection of the verb in Myrc as *-e, -est, -eth, -e(n)* (p. 9), Hulbert fails to note that the Northern endings of the third person were not unknown to him as endings with *s* are attested by rhyme: *telles*, 3 sg., 583 (*elles*); *berus* (Western *-us* for *-es*), 3 plur., 1666 (*okererus*). Moreover, Hulbert's statement that 'Audelay has the same forms, and *in addition* (my italics) some second and third singulars in *-es*' misrepresents the facts, since according to Wyld (*Short Hist.*, p. 193, Note), Rasmussen's study of Audelay shows that he has '*-is, ys, -s*, most frequently, but also fair number of examples of *-eth, -yth, -uth*.' The first thirty pages of Audelay's poems (Percy Society text) contain regularly *sayth* and *doth*, and sometimes *hath*, but in other verbs only one *-th* ending (*lastyth*, p. 9, line 30), beside 21 endings in *-ys*, 7 in *-us*, and 4 in *-is*. Hulbert thus greatly magnifies the inflectional differences between *Gawain* and the Shropshire poets.

the records of the various publications relating to the counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire,⁸⁶ down to the year 1450. They offer no evidence, it will be seen, concerning many important points, the development of OE. *ȝ* and *ġo*, for example, but in other respects they are of decided interest.

- A. 1417-8, Lancaster. Indenture concerning Richard Jamessone of Radclif, William of Heton, and Nicholas of Risley, *Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Proceedings and Papers, Session III* (1850-1), p. 107.
- B. 1431, Winwick (S. Lanc.). Indenture of Richard Stanley Archdeacon of Chester, *ibid.*, pp. 105-6.
- C. 1424, Lancaster. Indenture of arbitrament between Robert, Abbot of Furness, and Richard of Kirkby, in *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey* 2.773-4 (*Remains Historical and Literary, connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Chetham Soc.*, Vol. 78, *New Series*, Manchester, 1919).
- D. 1431, Lancaster. Indenture between William, Lord of Harington, and Robert, Abbot of Furness, *ibid.*, pp. 788-9.
- E. ? 1407, Bold (S. Lanc.). Will of Sir John Bold, in *A Collection of Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, ed. W. F. Irvine, pp. 203-4 (*Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 30, 1896).
- Ch. 1432. Letters patent of Cheshire men concerning the pedigree of William of Denbigh, in *Earwaker, Local Gleanings Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*, pp. 69-70, (August, 1879).
- S. 1439, Okeover (Staffordshire, near Derby border). Indenture between Thomas Okeover and Ralph Basset, in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* (*William Salt Archaeological Society*) Vol. 7, *New Series* (1904), pp. 50-1.

Three Lancashire documents, not so authentic, since they were copied from the originals in the middle of the seventeenth century,⁸⁷ may be added, as they obviously contain many Middle English forms (*hor*, 'their,' for example).

- X. 1426. Indenture between Hugh Tildesley and Margett, wife of Piers of Shacerley (a Shakerley, S. Lanc., deed), in Josiah Rose, *Lancashire and Cheshire Historical and Genealogical Notes, reprinted from the 'Leigh Chronicle Scrap Book'* 2 (1881). 15.

⁸⁶ I could find no documents from Derby before 1450. A lease of 1478 is cited above, p. 515.

⁸⁷ *Earwaker, Local Gleanings*, p. 146 (October, 1879).

- Y. 1429-30, Leigh Church (S. Lanc.). Public Declaration in Leigh Church by Anne, daughter of Roger of Wynstonley, in Earwaker's *Local Gleanings* pp. 147-8 (October, 1879). Also in Josiah Rose, p. 60.
- Z. 1435, Leigh Church. Public Declaration of 'Elyn of þe Morlegh,' in Earwaker's *Local Gleanings*, pp. 148-9, and Josiah Rose, pp. 60-1.

PHONOLOGY⁸⁸

1. OE. *a* (*o*) before single nasal appears a) as *a*: *man* (twice), Z; *can* (once), C; b) as *o* (once); *nomet*, Y. It may be noted here that in a later declaration (1474) in Leigh Church *mon* appears three times (Josiah Rose, pp. 151-3).
2. OE. *a* (*o*) before *nd* appears a) as *o*: *lond(es)*, B, S, Y, Z; *stonde*, A; *stonding*, Z; b) as *a*: *land(es)*, D, S, Y, Z.
3. OE. *ā* before *ld* appears a) as *o*: *hold(yn)* (4 times), C; X; as *a* (once): *haldes*, A.
4. OE. *hw* appears a) as *qu*: *quen*, A; *quere*, E; *queche* (*qwyche*), A, B, X; *quoyt*, 'white,' B; b) as *wh*: *while*, A; *where*, C; *whilke*, D; *who*, Y.
5. *Shall*, *shulde*, regularly have *sh*: A, Ch, S, Y, Z; *sall* (4 times), D.
6. *Sch* occurs once for *ch*: *schose*, 'choose,' B.
7. *Faurte*, 'forty,' E.

INFLECTIONS

1. Nouns. Plural regularly, *-es*, A, C, D, E, S, X; once *-ys*, *fyldys*, S. There are no weak plurals.
2. Adjectives. Plurals in *-s* occur in *diverses debates*, *thair bothers frendes*, C.
3. Pronouns.
 - a) Personal.

Third Pers. Sing. Fem. No instance.

Plural Nom.: *thay*, D.

Dat., Acc.: *thaym(e)*, *thaim*, B, C, D; *them*, S, Z; *ham* (once), E.
 - b) Possessive.

Third Pers. Sing. Fem.: *hir* (twice), E, X; *hyr*, S.

Plural: *thair(e)*, *thayr*, C, D; *ther*, S; *hor* (three times), A, E, Y.

⁸⁸ Only the more relevant points are noted.

4. Article. *þo* (printed *yo*) occurs regularly in A, only occasionally *the*: *yo awarde and yo ordenaunce, bere yo pees*.

5. Verbs.

a) Strong and Weak.

Pres. Ind. 1 Sing., -e and -: *deme, awarde, ordayne, have*, B; but *award, fynd*, B. 3 Sing., regularly -es, never *eth*: *beres*, A, B, D, X; *haldes*, A; *feles, setes*, C; *nedes*, D; once -us, *berus*, S; once *witnesse*, O.

Pres. Ind. 1 Plur., usually, -en: *recorden*, Ch, Y; *maden*, Z; once *made*, Z.

3 Plur., regularly -en; *awarden*, A, C; *ordanen*, A; *demen*, A; *senden*, Ch; once -es, *stretches*, D.

Weak Past Part. in -ed: usually -et, A, C, D, E, X, Y, Z; but frequently -ed, A, C, Ch (consistently), S, Y, Z; once -ede, D; once -id, D; once -ud, S.

Strong Past Part.: -en, *bounden*, A; *comen*, Ch, *holden*, X; -yn, *holdyn, fondyn*, C; -on, *letton* (twice), X. -e, *come* (once), Ch.

Pres. Part.: *ing(e)*, (*ynge*): A, B, C, D, X, Y, Z; -and: *comand*, C; *liande, suand*, X.

b) Preterite-Present and Anomalous Verbs.

1) *shall*: Pres. Ind. 3 Plur. *shyn* (once), A.

2) *be*: Pres. Ind. 3 Plur.: *ben*, B, X; *byn*, S; *arn*, A; *arre*, D.

3) *have*: Pres. Ind. 3 Sing.: *has(e)*, C, D, S, X; *haves* (once), S. 3 Plur.: *have* (3 times) D; *haven* (once), A; *hann* (once), A.

On the basis of the meagre material furnished by these documents it would be plainly impossible to prove that *Gawain* belongs to the Northwest Midland district. On the other hand, this material disposes definitely of Hulbert's objection to assigning *Gawain* to this region because we have no knowledge whatever of speech conditions there. As might be expected, the disagreement between the inflection of the verb in *Gawain* and in the Shropshire writers, of which

Hulbert makes much,⁸⁹ is not to be found between *Gawain* and the Northwest Midland documents. The ending of the present indicative third singular is *-es* (*-ez*) in *Gawain*: the examples here are sufficient to prove that this, not *-eth*, was the regular Northwest Midland ending.⁹⁰ The differences between the forms exhibited in these documents and those of *Gawain*, such as the frequent form *thair* in the former, and the more frequent *-et* of the weak past participle,⁹¹ are easily explained by the later date of these texts. One important resemblance between these late documents and *Gawain* is the form of the plural possessive pronoun *hor* which here appears three times, and which occurs 20 times in *Gawain*.⁹² It is extremely common in Myrc's *Festial*, occurring at least 17 times in the first twenty-five pages of the Early English Text Society edition. On the other hand, *hor* does not occur in *Havelok* (Skeat's glossary), Robert Mannyng, the Norfolk guilds,⁹³ or the Lincoln Diocese Documents (pp. 295-6).

Thus Professor Hulbert's attempt to show that there is no good evidence to connect *Gawain* with the West fails, first, because he has altogether neglected, or unduly minimized the importance of many characteristics which point definitely to a western origin, and secondly, because his objection

⁸⁹ P. 9; cf. above, note 85.

⁹⁰ The prompter's copy of the Chester *Antichrist* (Hengwrt MS.), ca. 1475, regularly has *-es*, *-is*, *-ys*, (*-us*) in 2 and 3 sing., only very rarely *ith* in 3 sing.; the 3 plur. and imperative plur. have regularly *-es*, *-is*, *-ys*, but ME. *-en* is represented in the 2 plur. forms: *cryn* (357), *lyne*, 'lie' (358), etc. It may be noted that only *mon* occurs, and that there is a participle in *and-flaterand* (376).

⁹¹ The final *-d* of the weak past participle, though retained in the fourteenth century Norfolk guilds, is unvoiced regularly in Capgrave (Dibelius, *Anglia* 23.450), and very frequently in Myrc.

⁹² Lines 130, 244, 1014, 1127, 1139, 1155, 1252, 1265, 1406, 1516, 1519, 1559, 1665, 1693, 1918, 1923, 1959, 2413 (twice).

⁹³ Boerner, p. 217; Schultz, p. 34. Further *hor* does not occur in the texts studied by Dibelius (*Anglia* 24.222), in the early or late London documents (Morsbach, *Ueber den Ursprung der neuengl. Schriftsprache*, pp. 126-7; Dölle, *Zur Sprache Londons vor Chaucer*, p. 68; Lekebusch, pp. 109-11). Robert of Gloucester earlier has *hor* (Wyld, *Short Hist.*, p. 177).

that no such similarities as exist between *Gawain* and Northeastern documents can be pointed out between *Gawain* and western documents has been shown to be unfounded. But while I dissent from his main thesis, the sceptical tone⁹⁴ of his article is a not altogether unwelcome reaction against the easy methods by which all the alliterative romances have been located in the West Midlands. It will be necessary to examine such a poem as *Joseph of Arimathea* anew, before it can be spoken of as western.⁹⁵

ROBERT J. MENNER

⁹⁴ Needless to say, I think Hulbert carries scepticism altogether too far when he assumes that it is folly to attempt more definite localization than Northern, Midland or Southern. He is satisfied with nothing less than statements from authors themselves. But this is too great a disparagement of indirect evidence, without which philology, in the broadest sense of the word, could accomplish little.

⁹⁵ I cannot discuss here the other texts generally assigned to the Northwest or West Midland. My own opinion is that the traditional assignment of the *Wars of Alexander* to the Northwest is correct; that the Ireland MS. is almost certainly from this region, though Luick (§33, p. 47) is not quite correct in thinking that the late fourteenth-century entries prove the *poems* to have been copied in Hale Hall, Lancashire; and that the *Boke of Curtasye* is certainly, and the *Liber Cure Cocorum* probably, western.

XXIV. HISTOIRE DE L'IMPRESSION ET DE LA PUBLICATION DE LA LETTRE À D'ALEMBERT DE J.-J. ROUSSEAU

Cet article est la continuation du travail publié ici-même sur "L'Histoire de l'Impression et de la Publication du *Discours sur l'Inégalité*, de J.-J. Rousseau," par Albert Schinz.¹

Les principaux documents² dont nous nous sommes servi sont, à peu de choses près, les mêmes, à savoir:

1. Les *Lettres inédites de Rousseau à Rey*, publiées par Bosscha (Amsterdam, Muller; Paris, Didot, 1858). Dans ce recueil il y a 163 lettres, du 8 nov. 1754 au 16 déc. 1763.— Nous désignerons ce recueil par la lettre *B*.

2. Les copies, faites par M. Schinz, des lettres de Rey à Rousseau qui se trouvent à la bibliothèque de Neuchâtel, en Suisse. Il y a là, en tout, 165 lettres, du 24 mai 1758 au 8 août 1767.— Nous désignerons ce recueil par la lettre *R*. Les numéros italiques employés avec *B*. et *R*. renvoient aux numéros qui servent à désigner les lettres de Rousseau dans le volume de Bosscha, et celles de Rey se rapportant à la *Lettre à D'Alembert*, arrangées par ordre de dates.

¹ *P. M. L. A.* XXVIII. 253-290.

² Parmi les travaux consultés, citons: La 1^{re} édition de la *Lettre à D'Alembert*; les *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*; G. d'Avenel, "Honoraires des Gens de Lettres," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 nov. 1908; J. P. Belin, *Le Mouvement Philosophique de 1748 à 1789, Etude sur la Diffusion des Idées des Philosophes à Paris d'après les Documents concernant l'Histoire de la Librairie*, Paris, Belin, 1913; Brunetière, "La Librairie sous Malesherbes," *Et. Crit.* II; P. M. Masson, *Religion de Rousseau*, 3 vol., Hachette 1916; G. Maugras, *Voltaire et J.-J. Rousseau*, Calman Lévy, 1886; M. Pellisson, *Les Hommes de Lettres au XVIII^{me} siècle*, A. Colin, 1911; A. Schinz, *J.-J. Rousseau et le libraire imprimeur M. M. Rey, Les relations personnelles*, Genève, Jullien, 1916; M. C. Streckheisen-Moulou, *J.-J. Rousseau, Ses Amis, Ses Ennemis*, Calman Lévy, 1864, 2 Vol.; G. Vallette, *J.-J. Rousseau Genevois*, Genève, Jullien 1911.

3. Le recueil des Lettres de Rey, Malesherbes et D'Alembert, publié par M. Plan, *Mercure de France*, 1 mai, 1912, pp. 1-38.—Nous désignerons ce recueil par *P*.

4. L'édition des *Oeuvres de Rousseau* dont nous nous servons est celle, en treize volumes, de Hachette.—Elle sera désignée par *H*.

Après la publication du *Discours sur l'Inégalité* la correspondance entre Rousseau et Rey cessa pendant plus de deux ans.³ La dernière lettre avait été celle de Rousseau du 19 juin 1755 (B.17, p. 27). Ils n'étaient pas encore assez intimes pour s'écrire quand les affaires ne l'exigeaient plus. Ce n'est qu'en 1758 après qu'ils s'étaient revus à l'Hermitage aux derniers mois de 1757 (B.22, p. 41) que la correspondance a recommencé au sujet de *La Lettre à D'Alembert*.⁴

Dans le volume de Bosscha la première de cette nouvelle série de lettres est du 9 mars 1758, la dernière est du 14 mars 1759—il y en a 18 en tout.

Il y a d'autre part 21 lettres de Rey à Rousseau dans lesquelles il est question de la *Lettre à D'Alembert*: la première est du 24 mai 1758, la dernière du 23 octobre 1762.

TITRE DE LA PREMIÈRE ÉDITION

Le titre de l'ouvrage dans la première édition était: J. J. ROUSSEAU CITOYEN DE GENÈVE, A M^r. D'ALEMBERT, De l'Académie Française, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris, de celle de Prusse, de la Société Royale de Londres, de l'Académie Royale des Belles-Lettres de Suède, & de l'Institut de Bologne: Sur son Article GENÈVE Dans le VII^me. Volume de L'ENCYCLOPÉDIE, ET PARTICULIEREMENT, Sur le projet d'établir un THÉÂTRE DE COMÉDIE en cette Ville. Dii meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum.⁵ A AMSTERDAM, chez MARC MICHEL REY, M. DCC. LVIII.⁶

³ Il n'y a pas de lettres de Rey à Rousseau pendant la période de l'impression du 2^o *Discours*. Cf. *P. M. L. A.* XXVIII. 259.

⁴ Cf. Schinz: *Relations Personnelles* p. 15.

⁵ La citation est de Virgile, *Georg.* L. III. vs, 513 cf. B. p. 31.

⁶ Ce titre que nous avons copié très exactement d'après un exemplaire de la première édition ne s'accorde pas en de petits détails avec celui que Bosscha

ARRANGEMENTS POUR LA PUBLICATION

En l'hiver de 1757 et avant son départ de l'Hermitage le 15 décembre Rousseau avait reçu une visite de Rey (B.22, p. 41). C'est alors que Rousseau a dû lire à celui-ci des pages de la *Nouvelle Héloïse* (B.32, p. 63), et lui parler des "*Principes du droit de la guerre*," dont il s'occupait en ce moment.⁷

Quelque temps après son retour en Hollande Rey envoya à Rousseau une lettre—que nous n'avons pas—offrant de publier cet ouvrage. Le 9 mars Rousseau y répond: "Mes Principes du droit de la guerre ne sont point prêts. Mais j'ai un autre ouvrage qui l'est, que je vous offre à la place, et qui bien que plus petit de Volume, vous doit, à mon avis, convenir encore mieux. Je ne puis pas, mon cher, vous en dire le titre; et je vous demanderai même le plus profond secret quand vous en serez dépositaire. Il ne me convient pas non plus de faire une estimation de l'ouvrage. Tout ce dont je puis vous assurer c'est que le sujet en est agréable, et que quoiqu'il intéresse notre⁸ patrie en particulier il est fait pour plaire à tout le monde et pour trouver des lecteurs dans tous les états, à moins qu'on soit rebuté par la faute de l'Auteur" (B.18, p. 32). Rey ne pouvait imprimer qu'en juin et Rousseau demande qu'il lui envoie un mot de réponse. Il (Rousseau) voudrait savoir s'il peut préparer sa copie, mise au net, pour mai (B.18, p. 32). Rousseau d'ailleurs, sans attendre la réponse s'est mis au travail car la préface de la

donne (D. 31). Il y a différence de ponctuation et dans l'emploi de majuscules. Aussi on trouve dans Bosscha "*M. D'Alembert*" au lieu du "*Mr. D'Alembert*" de la première édition. Rousseau parle de cette abréviation dans une lettre du 6 mars 1760 "Je dois vous avertir aussi, pendant que j'y pense que quand le mot de *Monsieur* s'écrit en abrégé, il n'y faut point d'r Mr. mais seulement M et un point. M. Je vous avertis de cela parceque dans ma lettre à M. d'Alembert on a constamment mis dans l'imprimé cette r qui n'étoit point dans la copie." (B. p. 87). Ce détail servira donc à identifier la première édition authentique.

⁷ Il s'agit probablement de la partie du *Contrat Social* dans laquelle Rousseau traite du "droit de la guerre."

⁸ Rey était Genevois. Cf. Schinz, *Relations Personnelles*, p. 2.

Lettre à D'Alembert est datée "A Montmorenci le 20 Mars 1758."⁹

Nous n'avons pas la réponse de Rey à cette lettre du 9 mars, mais il a dû accepter de bon gré la proposition de Rousseau, car le 15 avril Rousseau écrit que le manuscrit est prêt et que Rey le fera retirer quand il lui plaira; ou même, s'il le faut absolument, Rousseau tâchera de le porter à Paris. Il voudrait être averti quelques jours à l'avance afin de le relire une dernière fois. Il demande "le plus profound secret jusqu'au moment de la publication." L'ouvrage sans avoir été vu que de Rousseau seul serait remis cacheté au correspondant de Rey, et ce correspondant devrait être "sûr et pas françois." Rousseau exclut surtout Diderot¹⁰ et Deleyre¹¹ (B. 19, pp. 33-34).

Pendant un mois Rousseau n'entend parler de rien. Il patiente jusqu'au 14 mai. Il reprend alors dans une lettre ironique ce qu'il avait écrit le 15 avril et il ajoute: "après avoir attendu le temps suffisant pour que cette réponse puisse me parvenir, si je n'en reçois point, je me tiendrai libre de tout engagement avec vous, et me consolerais du tems que vous m'avez fait perdre en le sacrifiant à ma parole et à l'honnêteté. Adieu, monsieur, je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur" (B. 20, p. 36). Mais avant que la lettre parte il ajoute un post scriptum. Il s'est décidé à prendre d'autres mesures pour hâter la publication, soit avec Rey, soit avec

⁹ Pour le temps que prenait une lettre pour aller de Montmorency à Amsterdam et vice-versa cf. Schinz, *P. M. L. A.* XXVIII. 255, 256.

¹⁰ On se souvient que la rupture avec Diderot avait été consommée au commencement du mois de mars (H. X. 184, lettre à Diderot du 2 mars 1758) et que Rousseau abrité derrière une citation de l'Ecclésiastique (H. I. 180-181) la rendra publique et irréparable dans la préface de *La Lettre à D'Alembert* (Vallette p. 118). M. Masson, dans *La Religion de J.-J. Rousseau* II. 35, note 4, remarque qu'il est vraisemblable que Rousseau avait pris cette citation dans un article du *Spectateur* sur l'Amitié.

¹¹ Rousseau avait peur que Deleyre (homme de lettres qui s'était lié avec les philosophes, Cf. Streckeisen-Moultou, p. 135) ne révélât le secret. Le 5 octobre 1758 il lui écrit "Il est vrai que je ne vous parlai point de mon écrit sur les spectacles; car comme je vous l'ai dit plus d'une fois, je ne me fiais pas à vous" (H. X. 194).

un autre. Il envoie pour que Rey l’examine pendant vingt-quatre heures le manuscrit même. Si celui-ci lui convient il remettra le prix au messenger, si non, il le renverra par la même personne. (B. 20, p. 36).

Le 24 mai, 1758, dans la première lettre que nous avons de lui, le négligent mais honnête Rey sincèrement affligé de la colère de Rousseau se hâte de répondre. Il a reçu le manuscrit et la lettre du 14 mai. La lettre de Rousseau du 15 avril lui était parvenue “dans un tems que j’étois horriblement embarrassé;” il déménageait famille et boutique. “je ne suis pas encore rangé, écrit-il, cela m’a fait perdre un tems considérable et m’a retardé dans toutes mes affaires, je vous avoue donc a ma honte que je n’ay pas repondu a cette Lettre, j’ay une autre raison encore c’est que je n’avois pas du Comptant. . . . Enfin aujourd’huy je recois votre mns que je payerai demain sans faute. . . . je merite vos reproches” (R. 1).

Rey n’a pas considéré l’impression de la *Lettre à D’Alembert* seulement comme une question d’affaires. Le sujet même lui plaisait et il était heureux d’en être l’imprimeur. Il s’explique là-dessus dans la lettre du 24 mai. “La plus grande partie de nos theologiens ne sont point content de la reponse de M^{rs} de Geneve à M^r D’Alembert, j’ay déjà refusé d’imprimer une lettre à ce sujet, mais aussi M^r D’Alembert avoit bien besoin de parler contre la vérité, je le croyois plus sage & je suis heureux d’être l’Imprimeur de son adversaire, j’ay toujours envisagé les theatre comē très propre a corrompre la jeunesse, l’experience ne l’apprend que trop” et encore écrit-il “Il me semble avoir lu à la fin de votre mns que vous n’écrirez plus, vous entendez sans doute sur le theatre? ne devez vous pas employer votre plume pour le bien des homēs? cet ouvrage en fera plus je compte qu’un Million de sermons contre les spectacles, je m’avise aussi de raisonner pardon je tacherai de bien imprimer cela vaudra mieux et vous plaira davantage” (R. 1).

Rey reçut donc le manuscrit le 24 mai. Le même jour il a fait venir son ouvrier-imprimeur et il s’est arrangé

avec lui pour l'impression. Elle devrait se faire en huit ou neuf semaines de sorte qu'elle *serait* finie vers la fin de juillet. Voici les détails de cette conversation rapportés par Rey: "J'ay fait venir l'imprimeur, je lui ay parlé, voici de quoi nous sommes convenus, qu'il m'en fourniroit 3 feuilles par semaine, j'ay fait mon calcul qu'en l'Imprimant com̄e les notes de votre Discours sur L'Inégalité entre les Hom̄es,¹² il en donnera 18 a 20 l'ouvrage sera donc pret p^r la fin de juillet prochain; vous trouverez mon Cher Monsieur que c'est etre bien Long, mais considerez que j'en tire 3,000 exemplaires, & que c'est tout ce que 2 presses pourront faire que d'Imprimer ce nombre par semaine, j'ay disputé pour en avoir 4 qu'on m'auroit promis si vous n'etiez pas si difficile sur l'exécution, mais vous aimez tant que tout soit bien, je ne demande pas mieux, il faut donc donner du tems" (R. 1).

Rousseau aurait voulu revoir les épreuves comme il l'avait fait pour le *Discours sur l'Inégalité* (B. 21, pp. 37-38) mais Rey se souvenant sans doute que les lenteurs de l'impression de cet ouvrage avaient horriblement exaspéré Rousseau¹³ refuse ingénieusement: "Il n'est pas possible de vous envoyer les épreuves ou l'ouvrage traineroit toute l'année, je le ferai cependant si vous le voulez & cela uniquement p^r me conformer a votre gout mais je ferai partir les feuilles a mesure qu'elles seront faites, je me conforme a votre mns. & p^r la ponctuation j'espere qu'elle vous conviendra" (R. 2, 6 juin). Le 10 juin il s'explique encore une fois sur ce sujet dans une lettre à M. Coindet¹⁴: "Il n'est pas possible d'envoyer les épreuves, l'ouvrage traineroit 6 mois et plus & il ne faut pas demander beaucoup de patience à Mr. Rousseau dans L'état ou il est, il me paroît plus convenable

¹² In -octavo. Cf. Schinz: *P.M.L.A.* XXVIII. 283. Aussi dans une lettre du 28 avril 1762 "j'ay tiré precedement . . . 4000 exemplaires de votre *Discours sur l'Inégalité* 8^{vo}, 3000 de *La Lettre à D'Alembert* 8^{vo}" (R. 20).

¹³ Cf. *P. M. L. A.* XXVIII. 265.

¹⁴ Coindet: un jeune Genevois qui avait demeuré quelque temps chez Rousseau à l'Ermitage et puis s'était établi à Paris. Cf. H. VIII. 363 et X. 184.

de lui donner un chagrin que de lui en faire essayer 50, ce qui arriveroit indubitablement, car en faisant tout ce que je puis p^r le mieux il y a mille inconvenient a craindre" (R. 3).

Rousseau se prête très gentiment à cet arrangement. Quoiqu'il ait bien du chagrin il se passera des épreuves, excepté seulement celles de la Préface. Il veut y faire "des changemens indispensables" impossibles sans épreuve puis qu'il n'a pas de copie exacte. Rey voudra bien faire composer la préface d'avance afin que Rousseau la revoie à son aise sans retarder l'impression (B. 22, p. 40, 17 juin). Finalement le 21 juin l'idée des épreuves même de la préface sera abandonnée: "La difficulté des envois me fait renoncer à l'épreuve même de la préface. J'espère mon cher Rey que je ne me repentirai pas de cette confiance. Vous avez trop de jugement pour ne pas sentir combien il m'importe que ce morceau soit de la dernière correction. J'aimerois mieux qu'il y eut cent fautes dans l'ouvrage qu'une seule dans la préface.¹⁵ J'attends donc de votre amitié pour moi que vous voudriez bien y donner toute votre attention." (B. 23, p. 42).

L'IMPRESSION

L'impression commença vers la fin du mois de mai. La *Lettre à D'Alembert* est imprimée en 17 feuilles (A-R inclus, mais il n'y a pas de lettre J)¹⁶ ou 272 pages¹⁷ dont les huit dernières se partagent entre "l'Avis de l'Imprimeur" (4 pages) et le "Catalogue des Livres du Fond de M. M. Rey, Libraire à Amsterdam" (4 pages). La préface de 18 pages est imprimée en une feuille de 16 pages et un feuillet. La feuille du titre s'imprima séparément.

¹⁵ Peut-être la raison pour laquelle Rousseau semble si inquiet au sujet de cette préface doit-elle être cherchée dans ce qu'il avait écrit au sujet de Diderot. Voir plus haut, note 10.

¹⁶ Pas dans 20 comme dit Belin (p. 150). Il est facile de le constater en consultant la première édition et en comptant tout simplement les feuilles.

¹⁷ Vallette donne (p. 119, note 3) "XVIII, 204 et 4 pages." C'est une erreur qui devrait lire XVIII, 264 et 4 pages, sans compter les 4 pages du "Catalogue Des Livres."

Le 6 juin Rey envoie les premières feuilles:¹⁸ "voici trois feuilles de faites je compte que la 4^o partira avec, on vient d'en faire la dernière correction" (R. 2). Rousseau les reçoit le 17 juin (B. 22, p. 39). Le 21 juin Rousseau a déjà reçu les cinq premières feuilles et il suppose que "F et G seront arrivées par le Courrier d'avant hier, mais elles ne sont pas encore parvenues" (B. 23, p. 42). Le 28 juin il a reçu la feuille K (B. 25, p. 46). Le 29 juin Rey annonce qu'il a déjà "fait partir par le précédent Courrier la feuille L" et "voici M, & je compte N, avec la préface" (R. 4). Rousseau reçoit les feuilles M. et N et la préface, adressées à M. Coindet, le 8 juillet mais la feuille L adressée à M. Dupin n'est pas encore arrivée (B. 27, p. 50). Le 12 juillet il reçoit la feuille P et il marque d'avoir reçu toutes les précédentes (B. 28, p. 53). La feuille Q arrive le 20 juillet (B. 29, p. 55). Le 23 juillet Rousseau reçoit avec la lettre de Rey du 15 le seul envoi en épreuves: la fin de la préface et la dernière feuille R. (B. 24, p. 44).¹⁹ Ainsi la dernière épreuve fut donnée le 15 juillet.

L'impression fut achevée vers la fin de juillet ou dans la première semaine d'août.²⁰ Dans une lettre non datée (R. 7) mais en réponse à celle de Rousseau du 20 juillet-donc écrite après le 26 juillet puisqu'il fallait six jours

¹⁸ Ce sont donc simplement des feuilles imprimées communiquées à Rousseau, pas des épreuves qu'il est censé corriger.

¹⁹ La lettre numéro 24 p. 44 qui est datée le 23 juin dans le volume de Bosscha devrait être datée le 23 juillet et précéder le numéro 30 du 10 août comme le prouve le texte de celle-ci. Cf. P. p. 13. Rousseau a dû écrire par inadvertance 23 juin, car Rey répète cette date le 21 août: "par cet exposé vous sentez mon Cher Rousseau, que j'ay reçu et votre lettre du 23 juin, & vos épreuves" (R. 8).

²⁰ On voit que Rey a fini l'impression vers le temps promis. Rousseau ne se plaint nulle part d'aucune lenteur. M. Belin cependant a pensé trouver des plaintes sur ce point, car il écrit: "L'impression se fit assez vite quoique trop lentement encore au gré de Rousseau" (p. 150) et il renvoie dans une note à Bosscha pp. 33, 39. Ni l'une ni l'autre de ces pages ne disent quoi que ce soit au sujet du temps qu'a duré l'impression.

de Montmorency à Amsterdam²¹—Rey écrit: “au sujet de la preface elle est tirée presentement. Le tireur de baille douce est occupé presentement a tirer une vignette sur le titre, s’il y en a de prete vous en aurez avec cette lettre autrement ce sera en vous envoyant la letter R-tirée” (R. 7). Et le 21 août Rey écrit qu’il y a quinze jours qu’il a fait le dernier envoi de feuilles tirées.

L’envoi de la dernière feuille (R) et la page du titre—tirées toutes les deux—tarda longtemps à parvenir à Rousseau. Il en résulta une de ces lettres mordantes et terribles que Rousseau savait écrire. Le 10 août il annonçait qu’il n’avait reçu ni l’une ni l’autre des feuilles, rien, en fait, depuis la lettre non datée de Rey.²² “Seulement, continue-t-il, M. D’Alembert m’a fait dire il y a plus de huit jours qu’il avait reçu l’ouvrage entier, ce qui m’a fait voir qu’il étoit mieux servi que moi. Vous m’enverrez le reste des feuilles à votre commodité, et m’expliquerez quand il vous plaira toutes ces Enigmes. Je vous avoüe que je ne serois pas fâché d’apprendre enfin ce qu’ est devenu mon ouvrage” (B. 30, p. 58) Rey répond à cela le 21 août: “il y a 3 semaines que j’ay adressé à M^r D’Alembert la dernière feuille de votre ouvrage non corrigée (en epreuve) avec la feuille du titre tirée, mais sans vignette et cela pour remplir la promesse que je vous avois faite de lui faire parvenir son exemplaire à la fin du mois (Juillet) depuis je lui ay adressé ces deux memes feuilles telles qu’elles doivent etre, & dans son paquet j’y ai joint les vôtres à votre adresse et cachetée, j’espere qu’il vous les aura fait parvenir (il y a aujourd’huy 15 jours que j’ay fait ce dernier envoy) . . . par cet exposé vous sentez mon Cher Rousseau, que j’ay reçu et votre Lettre

²¹ Rousseau fait allusion à cette lettre sans date dans sa lettre du 10 août (B. 30, p. 57). Il n’a pas pu la recevoir le 25 juillet comme il dit, puisque c’était la réponse à sa lettre du 20 juillet qui a dû arriver à Amsterdam vers le 26 du mois. Si Rey y avait répondu le jour même de l’arrivée sa lettre ne serait pas parvenue à Rousseau avant le 1^o août. Pour le temps entre Amsterdam et Montmorency cf. *P. M. L. A.* XXVIII. 255.

²² Voir note 21.

du 23^o juin²³ & vos epreuves; que si M^r D'Alembert a receu L'ouvrage plutot que vous se n'etoit qu'une epreuve, vous avez vu & la feuille du titre et la derniere feuille avant lui, je ne suis pas assé insensé p^r le servir plutot que vous; a cet occasion je vous dirai qu'on m'en a demandé par la poste & je les ai refusé afin que vous ayiez vos exemplaires avant les autres" (R. 8).

Cet envoi à D'Alembert avait été fait par la voie de M. de Malesherbes. Le 12 août D'Alembert écrit à Malesherbes: "J'ai retiré du paquet que vous me faites l'honneur de m'envoyer deux feuilles qui me restoient à avoir pour completer [sic] mon exemplaire. Je me charge de faire parvenir à M. Rousseau le paquet qui lui est destiné; les deux feuilles que j'ai l'honneur de vous renvoyer sont destinées, si je ne me trompe, à completer votre exemplaire" (P. XII, p. 14).

Rousseau a reçu probablement entre temps les dites feuilles; au moins dans sa prochaine lettre à Rey, celle du 6 septembre (B. 31, p. 60), il n'y fait aucune allusion; ce n'était pas son habitude de garder le silence quand les choses allaient de travers et s'il n'avait toujours pas reçu ce qu'il attendait il l'aurait signalé à Rey.

QUESTION DES ADDRESSES

Comparée à ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui, la transmission des feuilles de l'imprimeur à l'auteur et de l'auteur à l'imprimeur était chose fort lente et compliquée. Ainsi entre deux braves gens dont l'un est un étourdi qui se sait étourdi et l'autre un auteur très excitable et qui se sait tel et qui essaye de se contenir, la question d'adresse est l'objet d'interminables et assez comiques discussions; où et comment et par qui on fera tenir à Rousseau ses feuilles au fur et à mesure de l'impression est discuté jusqu'à l'heure du départ du dernier paquet.

Le 15 avril Rousseau avait indiqué que Rey et son correspondant à Paris pouvaient envoyer ses communications

²³ Celle du 23 juillet. Voir plus haut note 19.

par la poste à Montmorency (B. 19, p. 34). Le 14 mai cependant il envoie une nouvelle adresse: “M. Coindet, chez M. Vernet Banquier, rue Michel le Comte à Paris” (B. 20, p. 35). Puis dans sa lettre du 31 mai il marque que M. Coindet va envoyer, lui, une autre adresse encore. En attendant, et jusqu’à ce qu’il reçoive cette nouvelle adresse Rey peut se servir de celle employée pendant l’impression du 2^o *Discours*—qui en est donc une quatrième—: “M. Dupin de Chenonceau, fermier général du Roy, à l’Hôtel des fermes à Paris” (B. 21, p. 37). Le 6 juin, Rey n’ayant rien reçu de M. Coindet marque qu’il adressera les lettres et les feuilles à “M. Du Pin²⁴—adresse n^o 5!—jusqu’à nouvel ordre” (R. 2). Le 9 juin la lettre de M. Coindet du 3 juin arrive. Evidemment elle ne contenait pas de nouvelle adresse quoiqu’elle suggerât probablement que Rey adresse les feuilles à “notre ambassadeur” à Paris—sixième adresse—car Rey y répond “J’ai essayé par notre ambassadeur de faire venir & d’envoyer mais j’ai vu que cela n’iroit pas, d’où je conclu qu’il seroit inutile de le tenter une seconde fois. Vous m’obligerez de faire scavoir à Mr. R. que j’expedierai tous les courriers ce qu’il y aura de fait par M^r Du Pin jusqu’à la fin de l’ouvrage” (R. 3). Rey adresse cette lettre “à Monsieur|Monsieur Coindet|chez Mes^r Thellusson|Necker & Comp|à Paris—pas l’adresse que Rousseau lui avait donnée, mais adresse n^o 7.

Cependant Rey se berçait d’illusions s’il croyait ainsi tout arrangé. Rousseau qui s’était légèrement fâché le lui marque le 17 juin. D’abord on s’était trompé sur le choix d’un porteur et les feuilles avaient tardé à arriver. “Je reçois seulement hier, mon cher Rey, votre paquet et votre lettre du 6. Ils passent par les mains d’une femme, et les retards sont inévitables par cette voye à cause de la négligence ordinaire à ce sexe” (B. 22, p. 39). De plus no s’était plaint de la grosseur du paquet (Rey y avait mis 4 feuilles et son *Supplément aux Journaux des Savans*, B. 22,

²⁴ Ou Dupin.

p. 39 et R. 2). Il faut donc que Rey choisisse une nouvelle adresse—parmi celles que M. Coindet a dû lui envoyer—et qu'il partage ses envois de sorte que personne ne fût surchargé (B. 22, p. 39). Le 21 juin les explications reprennent de plus belles—c'est la grosseur du premier paquet qui empêche qu'on les envoie par la voie de M. de Chenonceaux;²⁵ et Rousseau aime mieux attendre quelque occasion favorable et les recevoir plus tard que d'importuner des gens. Puisque ce ne sont pas des épreuves qui doivent être promptement réexpédiées, les envois ne sont pas si pressés (B. 23, p. 43). Si Rey a quelque chose de pressé à dire il peut écrire directement à Rousseau par la poste (B. 23, p. 44). Rey cependant connaissait trop bien Rousseau pour lui faire attendre longtemps l'arrivée des feuilles. Le 29 juin il écrit: "j'ay fait partir par le precedent Courier la feuille L. à l'adresse de Mr. Dupin com̃e de coutume, presentement que vous m'ordonnez de ne plus me servir de cet adresse je les adresserai à Mr. Coindet a mes frais, puisque je suis la cause de ce changement" (R. 4). Ce qu'il a dû continuer à faire sauf pour le dernier envoi à la fin de l'impression, quoique Rousseau lui ait écrit le 8 juillet "vous avez tort de m'envoyer vos paquets par la poste à vos frais, puisque ces paquets n'étant pas des épreuves, j'aurois attendu patiemment, comme je vous l'ai marqué, que vous trouvassiez quelque occasion pour me les faire tenir" (B. 27, p. 52). Rey prend Rousseau au mot et quand il envoie les dernières feuilles imprimées à Malesherbes et à D'Alembert il y joint un paquet pour Rousseau contenant les siennes²⁶ (R. 8). Alors l'arrivée tardive de ce paquet donna occasion à Rousseau de se fâcher tout à fait.²⁷

²⁵ M. Dupin de Chenonceaux.

²⁶ C'est la seule fois pendant l'impression qu'il fait un envoi à Rousseau par l'intermédiaire de Malesherbes ou de d'Alembert. Donc quand M. Belin dit: "Rey était fort exact à envoyer les feuilles dès qu'elles étaient imprimées à Malesherbes, à d'Alembert et à Rousseau par leur intermédiaire" (p. 150) il se trompe, ce qu'il aurait pu observer rien qu'en lisant les lettres publiées par Bosscha. Les lettres de Rey confirment simplement les lettres de Rousseau.

²⁷ Voir plus haut p. 535.

CHANGEMENTS DANS LE TEXTE

Même avant de recevoir aucune feuille Rousseau a voulu faire des changements dans le texte. Il écrit le 31 mai: "Voici en attendant quelques changements que je vous prie de faire sur la copie avec toute l'attention possible. Donnez-vous je vous en prie la patience de les faire à tête reposée et de bien vous assurer du sens auparavant; car s'il y en avait quelqu'un que vous ne comprisiez pas bien il vaudroit mieux l'omettre que le faire de travers" (B. 21, p. 38). Mais ces changements sont arrivés trop tard, comme le prouve la lettre de Rey du 6 juin: "Je recois, mon Cher Monsieur, votre Lettre du 31^e . . . voici 3 feuilles de faites, je compte que la 4^e partira avec, on vient d'en faire la dernière correction, vous voyez par là que je ne puis pas faire usage de vos changements & adition excepté celle de la page 83." (R. 2). Mais si Rousseau est d'accord, il les imprimera à la fin de la *Lettre*: "Si vous voulez je ferai imprimer a la fin de l'ouvrage vos additions, je ne vois pas comēnt je pourrais faire autrementⁿ excepté de recomēncer de nouveau" (R. 2). Rousseau ne veut pas que Rey parle de recommencer—il craint trop de lui "constituer en fraix"—c'est une chose impossible. "Vous pourrez, continue-t-il, comme vous le proposez, en faire une espèce d'errata à la fin de l'ouvrage en disant par un avis en votre nom, qu'ayant reçu ces additions et changemens trop tard pour être employés dans le texte, vous croyez faire plaisir à l'auteur et au public de les placer à la fin" (B. 22, p. 40, 17 juin). Rey a ainsi fait. On trouve ces additions en trois pages de douze notes,²⁸ précédées dans l'édition originale de l'avis suivant: *AVIS DE L'IMPRI-MEUR*. Mr Rousseau m'ayant adressé les corrections & les additions suivantes pour être placées en leur lieu, je n'ai pu

²⁸ Rey était un homme d'affaires alerte et éveillé comme le prouve une petite phrase à la fin d'une de ces additions. Rosseau avait longuement cité un livre de Jacob Vernet. Il donne le référence: "Instruction Chret. T. III, L. III, Ch. 16." Rey ajoute entre parenthèses "qu'on trouve chez Rey à Amsterdam."

les y faire entrer, ces feuilles étant déjà toutes imprimées. Je crois faire plaisir au public & remplir les vues de l'Auteur en les ajoutant à la fin de son ouvrage. *A Amsterdam le 15. Juillet 1758.*²⁹

Ces "corrections et additions" sont entrées dans le texte de toutes les éditions postérieures que vous avons pu examiner. Celle faite à Genève en 1782 cependant en a omis une,³⁰ la phrase suivante: "& même sur quelques notions confuses de cette secte [les Sociniens] & de son fondateur, je me sens plus d'éloignement que de gout pour elle: mais en general & c" qui devrait être ajoutée après "Ainsi je n'en puis parler ni en bien ni en mal" page 4, ligne 23 de la première édition. L'édition Hachette reproduit une "note de M. Petitain" (que nous n'avons pas trouvé dans l'édition Petitain de 1839) au sujet de cette omission.³¹

L'édition de Neuchâtel de 1760 a suivi les corrections plus fidèlement qu'aucune autre. Dans la première édition page 7, ligne 5 de la note Rousseau avait écrit "une absurdité lumineuse & palpable, une chose très clairement fausse." Dans les corrections il mit: "une absurdité palpable, une chose évidemment fausse." L'édition de Neuchâtel est la seule qui ait supprimé le mot 'lumineuse' qu'on trouve dans le texte original mais qui est absent dans la correction.³²

Rousseau a aussi fait un changement dans la préface. Il l'envoie à Rey le 21 juin (B. 23, p. 42). Cette fois il était à temps. Rey répond le 29 juin: "On avoit deja composé votre premiere preface, j'en ay retranche ce qui ma semblé convenable à la page V mais L'aleinea ne commence pas par

²⁹ Ici encore comme nous avons remarqué au sujet du titre, l'avis reproduit par Bosscha (p. 41) diffère en de petits détails de celui qu'on trouve dans la première édition.

³⁰ Cf. Collection Complète des Oeuvres de J. J. Rousseau, Genève 1782, *Mélanges* I. 198.

³¹ Cf. H. I. 183, note 1.

³² Cf. *Oeuvres de J. J. Rousseau*, Neuchâtel, 1760 II (ou IV), 16. et H. I, 184, note.

les memes mots, j'y trouve le meme sens, voici avec les pages V et VII de la premiere preface."³³ (R. 4).

CORRECTEURS

Il avait été entendu—nous l'avons vu—qu'il n'y aurait pas de correction d'épreuves par l'auteur. Il faut cependant rappeler ici que Rey aurait préféré n'être pas seul responsable. Il avait suggéré à Rousseau de se rendre à Amsterdam pour le temps de l'impression (B. 18, p. 32, 9 mars). Il y revenait dans sa lettre du 24 mai: "que n'etes vous ici p^r veiller à la correction de ce petit ouvrage, il fait un temps charmant" (R. 1). Rousseau avait répondu le 31 mai: "ce qui m'intéresse le plus au monde est dans vos mains. . . . La correction de l'ouvrage que vous allez imprimer m'importe et m'inquiète plus que je ne saurois vous dire. Il m'est impossible quant à présent d'aller y veiller" (B. 21, p. 37).

N'ayant pas réussi à persuader Rousseau de faire le voyage de Hollande, Rey a confié la correction à deux de ses amis (R. 6) et y a travaillé lui même (R. 5). Le seul détail que nous avons sur les deux correcteurs, ou mieux le correcteur et "celui qui a revu vos feuilles en second" (R. 7) est que le second était "le plus éclairé" (R. 8). Ni Rey ni Rousseau ne font mention des noms. En tout cas ce n'était pas l'Abbé Yvon, celui qui avait corrigé les épreuves du 2^o *Discours*,³⁴ puisque Rousseau le connaissait au moins de nom et parlait de lui dans ses lettres (B. 5, p. 8).

CORRECTION

La période de l'impression fut de temps en temps assez orageuse, surtout au sujet de la correction. Rey envoya les feuilles à Rousseau aussitôt qu'elles étaient imprimées.³⁵

³³ Phrase peu lumineuse. Evidemment l'indication de Rousseau ne correspondait pas au texte qu'il avait envoyé. Mais Rey fait de son mieux et envoie probablement la page V corrigée avec les pages V et VII *telles qu'on les avait d'abord imprimées*.

³⁴ Cf. P. M. L. A. XXVIII. 268.

³⁵ Voir plus haut.

D'abord tout va bien. Rousseau est assez content de la correction des premières feuilles, il se fait un plaisir de le dire et il prie même Rey d'en remercier son homme: "il a de l'intelligence et de l'attention" (B. 22, p. 40). Malheureusement Rousseau n'a pas gardé cette bonne opinion pendant toute la correction. Le 21 juin tout en exprimant encore sa satisfaction il remarque que la dernière feuille (la cinquième) lui paraît un peu moins bien, et il écrit: "je voudrois fort que vous ne vous négligeassiez pas en avançant. . . . Votre correction de tort pour tour³⁶ est très bien et je vous en remercie. Je vous en remercierois de meilleur coeur encore si je ne craignois de vous encourager à en faire d'autres. Pour Dieu, laissez plutôt ce qui est mal dans le manuscrit, car vous pourriez y substituer quelque mieux qui me désoleroit" (B. 23, p. 43). Et il termine ainsi: "Je ne saurois vous dire combien je suis charmé de n'avoir point à me plaindre et à vous inquiéter. Au reste il y aura désormais de la générosité à vous de bien faire en ce point, car fissiez vous mal, j'ai résolu de ne plus me fâcher de rien" (B. 23, p. 44). Rey y répond le 29 juin. "Je donne trop d'attention au petits changements qu'on fait p^r qu'ils soye mauvais & s'il arrive qu'on puisse se tromper je suivrai plutôt votre copie" (R. 4).

Depuis le 28 juin les choses se gâtent sérieusement. Dans les dernières feuilles (Rousseau en avait reçu cinq de plus) "les fautes vont en augmentant et si ce progrès continue la fin de l'ouvrage ne sera pas reconnoissable" (B. 25, p. 46). Il se borne à un petit nombre de corrections, cinq en tout. Il se plaignait surtout d'un *plus* qui aurait dû être *point* (B. 25, p. 47: dans la phrase *nous fera point mal, si plus rien ne nous on avait mis nous fera plus mal*). Rey répond doucement, mais fort de son innocence: "Votre manuscrit porte (feuille H. page 114) *plus* ne me chargé pas de cette faute, vous me direz qu'on auroit pu la rectifier, mais quand on le fait c'est avec tout le ménagement possible, & la crainte

³⁶ Probablement, dit Bosscha (p. 43, note 1), dans le passage qui se trouve page 60 (1^{re} édition): "le tort de Molière n'est pas d'avoir fait du Misanthrope" etc.

que j'ay de faire mal me détermine à suivre le mns. j'espere que toutes celles qu'on a corrigée seront bien, pour les autres nous sommes coupables, j'y ferai travailler & y travaillerai moi meme afin de les rectifier. . . .

Envoyé moi s.v.p. toutes vos corrections, je suis mortifié qu'il y en ait autant, je redoublerai d'activité" (R. 5).

Le 5 juillet Rousseau essayant de s'apaiser écrit au sujet des corrections indiquées le 28 juin "Si vous n'avez pas la patience ou le tems de faire les changemens indiqués sur tous les exemplaires, faites les au moins sur ceux que vous destinez pour Paris et pour Genève, encore pouvez vous les dispenser pour les miens; je les y ferai moi-même ou les y ferai faire. J'ai regret à votre peine; je la voudrais épargner, mais quand on n'est pas déjà trop beau, il est bien triste d'être encore défiguré" (B. 27, p. 50).

Le 8 juillet, ayant reçu de nouvelles feuilles, il envoie de nouvelles corrections "indispensables." Il s'emporte de nouveau: 'J'ai moins de regret à votre peine depuis que je vois que vos fautes viennent d'avoir voulu corriger les miennes et de vous être mis en tête qu'on parle mieux françois à Amsterdam qu'à Paris. Au reste afin que vous ne m'accusiez ni d'humeur ni d'entêtement, je veux bien vous rendre raison des leçons que je suis forcé de rétablir" (B. 27, p. 51). Au lieu de *accueillerez* il faut *accueillirez*. "Cette faute est si choquante à la place où elle est (l'avant dernière ligne de la Préface) que, si malheureusement la Préface était déjà tirée, il faudrait absolument un carton pour rétablir ce mot"³⁷ (B. 27, p. 51). Les deux autres fautes qu'il signale ne semblent pas très grave à des tiers—le pluriel de femme au lieu du singulier, le conditionnel de falloir au lieu du futur.

Ayant reçu le 12 juillet la gentille lettre de Rey du 5 juillet, et étant fort content des dernières feuilles (O et P) qui "ont autant d'exactitude qu'on en doit raisonablement

³⁷ Bosscha marque que la préface n'était pas encore tirée. On y lit *accueillerez*. Mais dans les éditions postérieures à l'édition originale, on a substitué *accueillerez*. (B.p. 51, note 1.)

attendre" il s'excuse de son emportement: "Comme je suis prompt et que chaque faute que j'aperçois me donne un moment d'humeur qui passe, je suis bien aise de vous répéter à vous et à votre ami que je salue et remercie, qu'à tout prendre je suis fort content de la correction. Il s'en faut beaucoup que l'autre Discours [sur l'Inégalité] ne soit aussi bien" (B. 28, p. 55). Il est piquant de marquer qu'il signale cependant six fautes dans trois feuilles presque deux tiers de ce qu'il avait trouvé dans les douze autres.

Mais la lettre mordante du 8 juillet était parvenue à Rey dans l'intervalle qui, lui, alors s'était fâché à son tour. Il écrit le 15 juillet: "Puis que malgré mes soins et ceux de deus Amis qui corrigent, nous ne pouvons pas faire d'édition sans faute, je renonce à l'ed^{on} de vos oeuvres si vous ne la corrigé vous meme" (R. 6). Mais il se voit dans la nécessité d'oublier sa colère évidemment à cause d'un nouveau "moment d'humeur" de Rousseau—cette fois assez justifié; le malheureux premier correcteur avait changé l'ordre des mots d'une phrase.³⁸ La phrase originale était "élégante et harmonieuse" écrit Rousseau, celle du correcteur "dure et plate."

En outre on avait omis un mot dans une autre phrase.³⁹ "En vérité, écrit Rousseau, je ne sais plus si je suis un Auteur qu'on imprime ou un Ecolier que l'on corrige. Eh! Monsieur Rey, laissez-moi porter mes fautes, sans y en ajouter encore de votre façon" (B. 29, p. 56). Mais il s'était apaisé en écrivant car il termine par ces mots: "Adieu mon cher Rey, à présent que je vous ai un peu querellé, je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur, et je sens bien que c'est votre tour d'être fâché; car on boude toujours quand on a tort, c'est la règle" (B. 29, p. 57). Le 23 juillet il reprend:

³⁸ La phrase originale: *qui pèse tout jusqu'à la plaisanterie à la balance du jugement*, la phrase du correcteur: *qui pese tout à la balance du jugement, jusqu'à la plaisanterie* (B. 29, p. 55).

³⁹ La phrase de Rousseau était *Elle ne doit donc point ajouter*. On avait supprimé le mot *donc*. La suppression n'a pas été marquée dans l'Errata ainsi elle s'est propagée dans toutes les éditions (B. p. 56, note 3).

“Je suis convaincu que vous avez fait de votre mieux et c’est assez pour que je sois content. . . . Je ne suis pas assez fou pour exiger une édition sans faute, je n’en sache point de telle; mais je voudrais qu’on ne corrigeât pas mes fautes à moi, sans savoir s’il me convient qu’elles soient corrigées, ce qui n’empêche pas, comme je vous le répète de bon coeur qu’à tout prendre, je ne sois fort content, surtout de votre complaisance et de votre bonne volonté” (B. 24, p. 45).

Mais nous ne sommes pas au bout, car M. le Correcteur à qui Rousseau avait demandé raison de la phrase “dure et plate” s’est piqué, et prend la plume, lui, pour répondre à Rousseau. Rey envoie cette réponse—en se récusant prudemment: “Voici la reponse de M^r Le Correcteur. . . . Auquel j’ai demandé raison de ses changemens, si j’étois plus capable je pourrois m’eriger en juge, mais je ne comprend rien aux raigles de la grammaire, ce qui m’arrive presentement & ce qui est arrivé au precedent Discours, m’obligeront pour vos autres ouvrage a prier celui qui a revu vos feuilles en second a s’en charger seul s’il veut bien le faire, ce qu’il en a fait jusqu’a present n’a été que p^r m’obliger” (R. 7).

Quant à la réponse du correcteur nous pourrions la reconstruire à l’aide de la lettre de Rousseau du 10 août (B. 30, p. 58). Rousseau a trouvé “les intentions de M. le Correcteur meilleures que ses raisons . . . il eût peut-être mieux valu ne point faire de réponse que d’en faire une pareille.” Rousseau réfute tous les arguments et “offre à M. le Correcteur de faire avec lui le pari qu’il lui plaira; de soumettre ma phrase et le jugement qu’il en porte à celui de l’Académie françoise; si elle me condamne, j’aurai perdu” (B. 30, p. 59).

Le 21 août Rey termine le différend: “Le Correcteur a lu sa reponse, il en convient & il n’en convient pas; vous scavez que j’en ay employé un second qui a bien voulu revoir les epreuves p^r plus d’exactitude, cet ami vous donne raison, & comme il est plus éclairé que le premier qui avoit fait ces changemens, je vous prie de vous en contenter” (R. 8).

Rey avait bientôt oublié sa colère du 15 juillet. Dans sa prochaine lettre il écrit: “J’espere bien vous voir dans ce

pais mon Cher Rousseau & faire de bonnes Impressions, j'entends exactes puisque vous y veillerez, autrement je vois que malgré mes soins je ne ferai rien qui vaille" (R. 7). Et il veut assurer Rousseau qu'il ne boude point: "Non mon Cher Rousseau, je veux bien être grondé non seulement par vous, mais par tous ceux qui auront sujet de le faire avec justice, moyennant qu'on n'y mette pas des épithètes dures parce qu'elle ne font rien à la chose & que je ne les mérite pas. Je sens l'Impossibilité qu'il y a de contenter tout le monde, en conséquence je me fait une raison qui est de faire de mon mieux après quoi je laisse courir le reste, hors quand on fait ce qu'on peut on ne mérite pas de dureté; il y a eu un temps où j'aurois boudé mais je suis revenu de cette façon de penser, au contraire je dois avoir obligation de ce qu'on me redresse avec bonté & je sache d'en profiter" (R. 7).

Puisque Rousseau n'avait pas vu les épreuves et qu'il a reçu seulement les feuilles imprimées il n'y avait que deux moyens de faire des corrections dans l'ouvrage; ou en les imprimant dans un Errata à la fin du livre, ou en faisant tirer des cartons, c'est à dire une page réimprimée recto et verso et envoyée avec les feuilles pour être emboîtée dans le livre à l'endroit voulu. (A cette époque c'était le libraire, pas l'imprimeur que faisait relier l'ouvrage.)

Pendant l'impression Rey avait accordé à Rousseau trois cartons qui se trouvent dans la première édition: pages 113-114 (pour changer *plus en point* Cf. B. 25, p. 47), 155-156 (pour changer *qui ne sont* en *qui ne sent* Cf. B. 25, p. 48), et 243-244 (pour rétablir la phrase harmonieuse Cf. B. 29, p. 55).

Dans l'Errata à la fin de l'ouvrage il y a onze corrections dont dix sont indiquées par Rousseau. La onzième "Pag. 172, Ligne 18. fauxbourg, lisez quartier" n'est pas mentionnée dans la correspondance. Rey avait fait entrer dans l'*Avis de l'Imprimeur* (voir plus haut) une des corrections de Rousseau (B. 28, p. 54, note 2). Le nombre total des corrections signalées par Rousseau était dix-neuf. Sur ces dix-neuf, six étaient faites sur les trois cartons, deux étaient

faites dans la Préface avant qu'elle fût imprimée et les dix qui restaient furent mises dans l'Errata.⁴⁰ Ces corrections sont entrées dans les éditions postérieures.

FRAIS DE L'IMPRESSION

L'impression fut assez coûteuse selon Rey qui appelle la *Lettre à D'Alembert* "un ouvrage qui me coute beaucoup" (R. 10, 13 septembre). Le 6 juin il avait donné des détails: "Chaque feuille coute en papier 65ll. et 30ll. en impression, ce qui joint a la correction fait au dela de 100ll." (R. 2). On se souvient que l'ouvrage fut imprimé en 18 feuilles et deux feuillets, ce qui semble indiquer que Rey pensait à toute l'édition quand il écrivit ce qui suit au sujet de l'envoi en France: "je risque de perdre mes exemplaires s'ils arrive sans permission ce qui me fait 2000ll. en fabrique sur quoi je dois y gagner au moins 1000ll." (R. 8).⁴¹

Pour les 20 exemplaires demandés par Rousseau et tirés sur du "papier beau" Rey employa du papier qui couta 20ll. la Rame.

Rey, quand il y en avait, paya aussi les frais de poste. Il les paya en recevant le manuscrit.⁴² Il écrit le 24 mai: "j'ay paye pour le port du mns entre 12 à 13ll. ou f. 5. 16 de Hollande" (R. 1). D'autre part pendant qu'il adressait

⁴⁰ ERRATA. d'après la première édition:

<i>Pag.</i>	<i>Ligne.</i>	
42.	6.	grand-maitre, lisez grand maitre.
150.	3.	celle, lisez celles
151.	7.	Ces pourquoi, lisez Tes pourquoi.
167.		à la fin de la note, fis, lisez fils
170.	18.	grand, lisez grands.
172.	18.	fauxbourg lisez quartier.
175.	8.	vingt quatre, lisez vingt-quatre
181.	4.	faudroit, lisez faudra
186.	20.	femmes. lisez femme
230.	7.	cuiller, lisez cuillière
240.	21.	rendez les, lisez rendez-les.

⁴¹ Pour la valeur des monnaies à cette époque cf. Schinz, *P. M. L. A.* XXVIII. 263, note 2.

⁴² C'était le destinataire qui les payait à cette époque. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 268.

les feuilles à M^r. Dupin, fermier général du Roi,⁴³ l'envoi fut probablement franc de port. Mais après le 29 juin lorsque Rey envoya les feuilles à M. Coindet ce fut à ses propres frais (R. 4); il continua ainsi jusqu'au dernier envoi qui était fait par l'intermédiaire de M. de Malesherbes,⁴⁴ et qui fut donc franc de port.

PRIX PAYÉ À ROUSSEAU

Rousseau dans sa lettre du 9 mars (B. 18, p. 32) avait demandé à Rey trente louis pour le manuscrit. Rey semble les lui avoir accordés sans aucune discussion. Le 14 mai en envoyant le manuscrit Rousseau propose que Rey les remette au porteur au bout de vingt-quatre heures s'il accepte l'ouvrage (B. 20, p. 36). C'est ce que Rey a fait, car il écrit le 24 mai "Enfin aujourd'hui je recois votre mns que je payerai demain sans faute en une Lettre de Change sur Paris de 720ll. argent de fr^{ce} ce qui fait 30 Louis, suivant votre demande, Dieu vous en fasse jouir, avec autant de Contentement que je le suis de votre bonne procédé." Rey a gardé cette lettre jusqu'au lendemain et il a ajouté sur le côté de l'adresse "J'envoie avec cette lettre a M^r Coindet une lettre de Change de 720ll. à son ordre à Nance sur Paris; Le 25^o May" (R. 1). Le 31 mai Rousseau annonce à Rey que M. Coindet a reçu la Lettre de change et puisqu'il "ne doute pas qu'il n'y soit fait honneur" il remercie Rey "comme d'une chose receüe . . . L'on a dû vous dire, ajoute-t-il' que vous auriez pu ne donner de l'argent qu'a votre commodité" (B. 21, p. 38). Le 6 juin Rey "espere que la lettre de Change sera exactement payée car je l'ay remboursée ici avant son départ, on a oublié de me dire que je pourrois vous payer a ma commodité, le contraire est arrivé car ne pouvant pas trouver dans les 24 heures une si petite somme, je n'ay pu la remettre qu'a la 30^{me} heure, cet a dire après la bource, mais enfin tout est fait et je vous ay obligation de votre confiance" (R. 2). Le 17 juin Rousseau a reçu

⁴³ Voir plus haut.

⁴⁴ Voir plus haut.

"bien exactement" l'argent de la lettre de change. Il s'excuse un peu de l'avoir bousculé pour cette rémunération: "il est tres sûr que vous étiez le maître de rassembler cet argent à votre commodité, et que cela étoit spécifié dans la lettre au correspondant qui vous remit le MSc. Le terme de vingt-quatre heures tomboit seulement sur la nécessité de vous déterminer et vous conviendrez qu'il n'y avait rien là que de raisonnable et d'honnête" (B. 22, p. 41).⁴⁵

Outre les trente louis Rousseau a reçu soixante-dix exemplaires de l'ouvrage, dont dix étaient imprimés sur "un papier fin." Le 31 mai Rousseau écrit à Rey: "Vous n'oubliez pas que vous m'avez promis soixante exemplaires. . . . S'il ne vous est pas trop onéreux d'en faire tirer une demi douzaine en beau papier, vous m'obligerez beaucoup." (B. 21, p. 38). Rey le rassure le 6 juin: "Vous aurez 60 exemplaires que vous desirez, j'en fait tirer 20 exemp. sur du papier de 20ll. la R dont vous aurez la moitié c'est à dire 10 au lieu de 6 j'y ay pensé a tems" (R. 2).

A l'occasion de la publication du *Discours sur l'Inégalité*, Rey avait donné une robe à Thérèse Le Vasseur.⁴⁶ Mais il ne lui a rien offert après celle de la *Lettre à D'Alembert*. Rousseau écrit à M. Le Nieps le 5 avril 1759: "Par rapport à mon libraire de Hollande, je l'ai trouvé en toutes choses

⁴⁵ Le vicomte d'Avenel dans un article de la *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 novembre 1908, "Honoraires des Gens de Lettres," p. 358, écrit: "Quant aux livres de Jean-Jacques, ses lettres nous apprennent que la *nouvelle Héloïse* fut payée 4860 francs, le *Contrat Social* 2200, les *Lettres de la Montaigne* 2200, la *Lettre sur les Spectacles* 1620 francs, le tout après de minutieux débats avec ses éditeurs. Il les excite, les caresse et les menace tour à tour" etc. Ce sont là des chiffres extraordinaires, qu'on ne trouve certainement pas dans la Correspondance. Quant à la *Lettre à D'Alembert* Rousseau demanda tout simplement comme nous l'avons vu, trente louis ou 720 francs que Rey céda sans aucune coercition.

La remarque suivante de M. Pellisson dans *Les Hommes de Lettres au XVIII^e s.* p. 90, note 1, au sujet des honoraires de Buffon explique probablement ces chiffres. M. d'Avenel, dit M. Pellison, a évalué en monnaie actuelle; "D'après M. d'Avenel la valeur de l'argent aurait été triple jusqu'en 1750 et après 1750, double ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui."

⁴⁶ Cf. Schinz, *Relations Personnelles*, p. 14.

exact, attentif, honnête; je lui demandai vingt-cinq louis de mon *Discours sur l'Inégalité*; il me les donna sur-le-champ, et il envoya de plus une robe à ma gouvernante. Je lui ai demandé trente louis de ma *Lettre à M. d'Alembert*, et il me les donna sur-le-champ; il n'a fait, à cette occasion aucun présent, ni à moi, ni à ma gouvernante, et il ne le devait pas; mais il m'a fait un plaisir. . . . en me déclarant qu'il faisoit bien ses affaires avec moi" (H. X, 209).

ROUSSEAU DEMANDE LE SECRET À REY

En livrant le manuscrit Rousseau avait demandé à Rey "le plus profond secret jusqu'au moment de la publication" (B. 19, p. 34). Rey ne voulait pas s'y conformer exactement. Il s'exprime là-dessus dans sa lettre du 24 mai, "une chose que je désirerais de vous, c'est de me permettre de demander à Geneve par une requête qu'on n'en permette pas l'Impression pendant une année . . . je ne ferai rien que sur votre reponse, si elle n'est pas conforme a mes désirs, je ne vous en voudrai point de mal & je m'y conformerai à la lettre; pour bien faire il faudroit que je fis imprimer une Lettre circulaire p' annoncer cet ouvrage a mes correspondants dans l'étranger & recevoir leurs ordres pour en faire l'expédition au moment que L'ouvrage seroit fini" (R. 1).

Rousseau n'avait pas l'intention d'imposer à Rey un silence qui pût lui être préjudiciable. Il répond le 31 mai qu'il demande seulement que Rey rompe le silence aussi tard que possible, et qu'il informe Rousseau avant de le rompre pour que Rousseau "prenne les devants auprès de M. d'Alembert et qu'il (d'Alembert) apprenne de moi le premier que j'ai écrit contre lui, car c'est là la première et la principale raison du silence que j'exige de vous" (B. 21, p. 37).⁴⁷ Rousseau demande aussi que la requête à Genève ne soit présentée qu'au nom de Rey.

⁴⁷ Ce seul passage de Rousseau aurait suffi, si M. Belin s'en était souvenu, pour lui faire voir qu'il se trompait en disant que les feuilles avaient passé par Malesherbes et D'Alembert. Voir plus haut note 26.

Rey se conformera à ce désir, et du reste remarque dans sa missive du 6 juin que sa “lettre circulaire” partira le premier juillet. Il écrit: “Je compte envoyer à mes correspondants une Lettre circulaire le 1 Juillet prochain p^r leur proposer votre ouvrage, il me faut au moins tout ce mois p^r en recevoir les réponses afin de faire partir l’ouvrage a la fin de Juillet que je compte faire cōme je vous l’ai promis, ma requête à Geneve sera présentée en mon nom uniquement; vous avez le tems necessaire pour prevenir M^r Dalember” (R. 2).

Après avoir écrit dans la lettre du 29 juin: “Je ferai partir mes lettres circulaires Lundi prochain 3 Juillet” (R. 4). Rey ne donne plus de détails ni sur la requête à Genève ni sur les lettres circulaires.

La requête instante de Rousseau pour “le plus profond secret” embarrassait Rey—et même davantage encore—pour une autre raison. “Il me faudra encore demander L’entrée en France à Mr. De Malesherbes, dit-il, si cela ne se fait pas avant la publication je puis compter qu’il sera contrefait avant qu’il aye le tems d’arriver à Geneve et à Paris, ce qui je vous avoue ne feroit pas mon Compte malgré cela je ferai tout ce que vous voudrez” (R. 1). Rousseau reconnaît aussi la justesse de cette demande et veut bien y acquiescer; mais il doute que Malesherbes accorde l’entrée de l’ouvrage (B. 21, p. 37). Le 6 juin Rey répond: “j’espere que M. de Malesherbes se pretera cōme il a fait⁴⁸ à L’Entrée en france, le 1^r Juillet je lui expediera ce qu’il y aura de fait ce que je ne puis pas eviter afin d’en obtenir l’entree. . . . Si M^r de Malesherbes me refusoit l’entrée de votre ouvrage je n’y trouverois pas mon compte, car c’est en france que je compte d’en faire le plus grand debit. . . . Voulez vous bien vous charmer (sic) de mes obeissances au près de M^r D’Alembert quand vous lui ecrirez” (R. 2). Rousseau qui montrait toujours un sincère désir que Rey fit du profit sur la publication de ses ouvrages est un peu troublé par l’avant dernière

⁴⁸ Pour le 2^o *Discours*. Cf. *P. M. L. A.* XXVIII. 272.

phrase "Cet ouvrage, écrit-il le 17 juin, n'est point comparable en hardiesse au précédent, tout au plus on pourra exiger quelques cartons, et autant que mes sentiments et la matière le pourront souffrir vous me trouverez prêt à consentir à tout ce qui favorise vos intérêts" (B. 22, p. 41).

ROUSSEAU ANNONCE SON ÉCRIT À D'ALEMBERT

Rousseau annonce l'ouvrage à d'Alembert le 25 juin: "J'ai dû, monsieur, répondre à votre article Genève: je l'ai fait, et je vous ai même adressé cet écrit. . . . Si ma témérité vous offense, vous n'en serez que trop vengé par la foiblesse de l'ouvrage" (H. X. 190). Le 28 juin Rousseau informe Rey de sa démarche et il ajoute: "Je lui ai parlé de vous selon votre intention. Il doit être content de ce que je lui ai dit en votre nom" (B. 25, p. 48). Cependant il n'y a pas un seul mot au sujet de Rey dans la lettre de Rousseau telle qu'elle a été publiée. Bosscha suggère que peut-être un post-scriptum a été omis (B. 49, note 2).

Voici la réponse de D'Alembert du 27 juin donnée dans la correspondance inédite de D'Alembert, publiée par Henry, p. 25, et que nous reproduisons d'après M. Belin: "Bien loin, monsieur, d'être offensé de ce que vous avez pu écrire contre mon article *Genève*, je suis au contraire très flatté de l'honneur que vous m'avez fait; j'ai beaucoup d'empressement de vous lire et de profiter de vos observations. Vous pourrez me faire adresser l'ouvrage sous l'enveloppe de M. Malesherbes, rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs; je l'en prévien-drai et l'ouvrage me sera remis. Je vous embrasse de tout mon coeur" (Belin p. 150).

AUTORISATION D'ENTRÉE EN FRANCE

Le 3 juillet Rey fait sa première demande à Malesherbes. Il lui envoie les 14 premières feuilles en le priant "d'avoir pour agréable de m'en permettre l'entrée en France"; et il promet de lui envoyer les feuilles restantes aussitôt qu'elles seront finies, probablement dans une quinzaine. Il compte

adresser les exemplaires pour la vente à M. Durend,⁴⁹ s’il est indifférent à M^r de Malesherbes à qui il s’adresse (P. IX, p. 12).

Malesherbes a reçu cet envoi puisque nous savons qu’il envoya les feuilles à D’Alembert—lequel avait en ce moment déjà reçu la lettre de Rousseau. D’Alembert remercie Malesherbes le 8 juillet, et il ajoute: “Si vous jugez à propos de nommer un censeur et de me choisir pour cela, je vous donne d’avance mon approbation par écrit” (P. X, p. 13). D’Alembert écrit à Rey aussi qu’il a reçu ces feuilles de Malesherbes et peut-être (nous n’avons pas cette lettre) demande à voir la suite. En tout cas Rey—probablement très effrayé d’être accusé, lui, d’indiscrétion par Rousseau, s’empresse de notifier celui-ci et d’expliquer: “J’avois envoyé à M^r de Malesherbes un exempl. de ce qu’il y avoit de fait de votre ouvrage p^r obtenir l’entrée en france, & je métois bien expliqué, cependant je recois une Lettre de M^r D’Alembert par laquelle il me mande avoir reçu cet exempl. comē si je lui en envoyé [sic],⁵⁰ & qu’il en attend la suite, ce qui m’oblige a en envoyer un second à M^r De Malesherbes p^r obtenir l’entrée” (R. 7).

D’autre part D’Alembert ayant écrit à Malesherbes la lettre du 8 juillet que nous avons citée plus haut fit dire à Rousseau que Rey aurait sa permission—bonne nouvelle que Rousseau transmet à Rey le 23 juillet: lui, Rousseau, “tient cette affaire faite” (B. 24, p. 45). Puis D’Alembert reprend la plume le 22 juillet, après avoir probablement reçu tout l’ouvrage en épreuves. “J’ai lu, écrit-il à Malesherbes, l’ouvrage de M. Rousseau contre moi; il m’a fait beaucoup de plaisir, je ne doute pas qu’il n’en

⁴⁹ Ou Durand, libraire à Paris, mentionné aussi par Rey pendant l’impression du *Discours sur l’Inégalité*. Cf. P. III. 8, lettre de Rey à Malesherbes du 17 avril 1755.

⁵⁰ Le malentendu s’explique clairement par les dernières phrases de la lettre du 27 juin de D’Alembert à Rousseau citée plus haut.

fasse au public et je n'y trouve rien qui doive en empêcher l'entrée" (P. XI, p. 13).⁵¹

Malesherbes pour une raison que nous ne comprenons absolument pas continue à faire la sourde oreille; de sorte que le 21 août Rey lui réitère sa requête; il a soin de dire qu'il n'a encore parlé à aucun libraire de "votre bonne ville" et anxieusement il prie Malesherbes de l'honorer d'une réponse (P. XIII, p. 14). Le pauvre Rey était dans un état d'esprit pitoyable. Il s'était fié à Rousseau et à D'Alembert qui lui avaient annoncé l'arrivée prochaine de l'autorisation et il avait déjà fait partir pour Paris la moitié de l'édition. Cependant la permission n'arrive pas et l'incertitude harasse Rey. C'est pour lui une grosse affaire. Il se lamente à Rousseau: "je ne comprend pas qui est celui que empêche cette permission, car voila la premiere fois qu'il m'arrive de ne recevoir aucune nouvelle sur ce que je demande; j'ay eu de ses (Malesherbes) lettres dans l'intervale sur d'autres articles, mais sur celui cy pas un mot ce qui me tient dans un inquietude peu agréable, je risque de perdre mes exemplaires s'ils arrive sans permission" (R. 8). Par le même courrier il écrit à D'Alembert⁵² "p^r le prier d'en parler à M^r De Malesherbes & que je sache à quoi tient ce silence, si je n'obtient pas cette permission j'y perdrai gros" (R. 8). D'Alembert est vraiment aimable, et ose revenir à la charge auprès de Malesherbes. "Vous pouvez croire, lui écrit-il, sur

⁵¹ M. Maugras cite cette lettre du 22 juillet pour prouver que D'Alembert "comme il le désirait fut chargé, à titre de censeur, d'examiner l'oeuvre de Rousseau" (*Voltaire et J. J. Rousseau*, p. 67, note). Il ne nous semble pas que les premières feuilles dont D'Alembert accuse réception le 8 juillet furent envoyées pour être censurées; mais il se peut bien que Malesherbes lui ait demandé son avis sur la *Lettre* après que D'Alembert eut reçu tout l'ouvrage. Cette lettre du 22 juillet en serait le résultat. M. Bruntière au contraire semble croire que l'opinion de D'Alembert sur la *Lettre* n'était pour rien dans la raison de Malesherbes. Cf. *Etudes Critiques*, II série, "La Librairie sous Malesherbes," p. 163.

⁵² La lettre de Rey à D'Alembert est du 21 août pas du 1^{er} septembre comme dit M. Belin (p. 151). C'est la lettre de D'Alembert à Malesherbes qui est du 1^{er} septembre.

la parole que j'ai l'honneur de vous en donner, qu'il n'y a rien dans ce livre qui puisse en empêcher le débit. M. Turgot,⁵³ qui l'a lu, vous en rendra le même témoignage" (P. XIV, p. 15). Lorsque Malesherbes reçut cette dernière communication de D'Alembert, il s'était déjà de lui-même décidé d'accorder l'entrée. Toutes les émotions du brave Rey avaient été vaines. En effet dès le 1^{er} septembre il était hors de peine; la permission est entre ses mains. Il en fait part à Rousseau: "J'ay enfin reçu le 1^r de ce mois une Lettre de M^r De Malesherbes par laquelle il me permet l'entrée de votre ouvrage, cette nouvelle me fait trop de plaisir pour ne pas vous la mander" (R. 9).⁵⁴

Mais en attendant la fièvre de Rey avait été contagieuse; car ce délai tourmentait à sa manière Rousseau, qui s'imaginait que c'étaient peut-être des ennemis à lui, qui influençaient Malesherbes à ne pas donner la permission demandée (B. 31, p. 60). Mais Rey maintenant hors de peine s'emploie généreusement à calmer son grand ami; s'il y a eu des agissements hostiles quelque part, dit-il, ils ont été ourdis par ses ennemis à lui et non par des ennemis de Rousseau. "Je ne crois pas, mon Cher Rousseau, écrit-il, que le procédé de M^r de Malesherbes dans cet affaire vous regarde en aucune façon; je crois vous l'avoir déjà dit il y a quelque Libraire à Paris qui jalou de ma prospérité & intéressé au

⁵³ Turgot est un Encyclopédiste aussi, et si lui comme D'Alembert n'a aucune objection à l'apparition de ce livre qui attaque les Encyclopédistes, c'est que ce livre n'a rien de dangereux, Malesherbes peut bien le croire.

⁵⁴ Malesherbes donna la permission d'entrée longtemps avant de recevoir la lettre de M. Calley, écrite le 21 septembre (P. XV. 15). Ainsi l'opinion de M. Calley (pas Sassey: Belin, p. 151) n'y fut pour rien et M. Belin s'est trompé en écrivant qu'après l'avoir reçue, "Malesherbes, désormais très tranquillisé donna enfin une permission tacite" (p. 151). Le texte de la lettre (que M. Belin cite) semble indiquer aussi que c'était volontaire, que Malesherbes n'avait pas envoyé le livre à M. Calley pour être censuré (ce qui est l'idée de M. Belin, p. 151). M. Calley écrit: "Je suis bien flatté et bien reconnaissant que vous aviez bien voulu vous souvenir de moy et m'envoyer le livre de Rousseau. Vous l'avez lu et je ne m'aviserai point de vous en dire mon sentiment" (P. XV. 15). Pour M. Calley, cf. Strech-eisen-Moultou, *J. J. Rousseau, Ses Amis, Ses Ennemis*, pp. 399, 492.

dernier point voudroient tout avoir pour eux; . . . je suis assuré qu'ils auront fait joué quelque ressort de leur façon p^r empêcher M^r De Malesherbes à m'accorder ma demande, ils n'y ont pas réussi car à force de solliciter celui cy, m'a enfin octroyé ma demande" (R. 10).

LA LETTRE À D'ALEMBERT À PARIS

Les 1600 exemplaires avaient été expédiés d'Amsterdam par bateau le 11 août (donc en effet plus de 20 jours avant d'avoir la "permission d'entrée"). Rey écrit le 21 août: "j'ay fait partir il y a 10 jours deux balles pour Paris contenant 1600 exemplaires . . . que j'ay adressé à Mr. Durend par provision & auquel je n'ecrirai qu'après avoir reçu la reponse de M^r De Malesherbes" (R. 8). Et ces exemplaires étaient arrivés à Paris entre le 22 septembre et le 2 octobre. Le 20 septembre Rey écrit: "On m'apprend de Dunkerque que les balles contenant votre dernier ouvrage doivent arriver à Paris le 22 du Court j'en doute cependant mais elles ne doivent pas tarder" (R. 11). Rey est aussitôt avisé de l'arrivée. Le 12 octobre il n'a "que le tems mon Cher Rousseau de vous dire que les 2 balles de votre dernier ouvrage sont arrivée chez M^r Durend" (R. 12). Les exemplaires sont en vente à Paris le 2 octobre (B. 33, p. 64).⁵⁵

Rey, ayant été fort mécontent des procédés de Pissot auquel il avait envoyé le 2^o *Discours*,⁵⁶ s'était adressé à Durend pour la *Lettre à D'Alembert*. Ses propositions étaient parties le 4 septembre. Il écrivait à Rousseau ce même jour. "Je vay presentement travailler à négocier à Paris les 1600 exempl. que je presente à M^r Durend, je pense qu'il ne les refusera pas puisque j'en prendrai la valeur en Livres" (R. 9). Le 13 septembre il informe Rousseau des termes exactes du contrat, "j'ay ecrit à Durend. . . j'en attend reponse p^r scavoir s'il acceptera ma proposition qui est de lui négocier 1500 exempl. contre des livres de son fond a

⁵⁵ La *Lettre* ne parut point le 20 octobre comme dit M. Maugras, *Voltaire et J.-J. Rousseau* p. 68.

⁵⁶ Cf. P. M. L. A. XXVIII. 280.

mon choix; Le surplus des exemplaires est p^r vous ou p^r quelqu'ami" (R. 10).

Rousseau doutait que Durend se chargeât des exemplaires parce qu'il était le libraire de Diderot. "J'ai découvert, écrit-il, depuis l'hiver dernier que le Philosophe Diderot tient des discours horribles de son ami Rousseau et lui fait en secret tout le mal qu'il peut" (B. 32, p. 62).⁵⁷ Mais Durend a parfaitement accepté; il a dû se conduire honnêtement avec Rey, car celui-ci reconnaît qu'il a gagné dans l'affaire (R. 18).

ENCORE LA QUESTION DU SECRET

Le secret avait été mal gardé à Paris car avant que l'ouvrage fût mis en vente on en avait beaucoup parlé.⁵⁸ Ce fut un nouveau sujet de chagrin pour Rousseau. Le 13 septembre il écrit à Rey: "Il me revient de toutes parts que beaucoup de gens ont lu mon ouvrage et qu'il est comme publié à Paris. De sorte que quand vos exemplaires arriveront, il sera déjà usé et personne ne s'en souciera plus. Je ne doute pas même qu'il en paroisse des critiques avant l'ouvrage." Ce n'est pas la faute de Rousseau qui n'a ni prêté ni lu son exemplaire "à pas une âme." Et quoiqu'il puisse répondre de M. d'Alembert il ne peut pas faire de même des gens à qui celui-ci peut avoir prêté l'ouvrage. Il termine: "Quand je vous priois de lui envoyer un exemplaire avant la publication, je n'entendais pas trois mois d'avance" (B. 32, p. 61).

Rey se défend du mieux qu'il peut le 20 septembre. Il a gardé le secret aussi bien que possible. Les exemplaires à M. de Malesherbes et à d'Alembert sont "les seuls que

⁵⁷ Rey répond le 20 septembre: "Je ne puis pas croire ce qu'on vous a dit de M. Diderot, comé vous ne donnez pas sujet a la medisance & encore moins a la calomnie de s'exercer sur vous je ne puis me persuader qu'il tiennes des propos horribles contre vous" (R. 11).

⁵⁸ *Annales*, VII. 101, Lettre du 26 septembre de Thieriot à Voltaire: "On parle depuis très longtemps d'une lettre à M. d'Alembert, contre l'article de Genève dans l'*Encyclopédie*. On dit qu'elle n'a point paru, parce qu'aucun de ses [Rousseau] amis ne l'a approuvée."

j'ay fourny, on m'en a demandé d'autres par la poste que j'ay refusé, je ne puis pas prévoir l'usage qu'ils en font, mais ils savent, l'un et l'autre de telle consequence il est pour moi, qu'il ne soit pas public avant l'arrivée de mes exemplaires, je dois croire & vous aussi qu'ils auront eu attention de ne les confier qu'à des personnes sûres; en attendant vous en avez le desagrement & moi je risque d'y perdre gros, mais comment faire?" (R. 11.)

Comme nous avons déjà vu, D'Alembert et Malesherbes avaient en effet prêté l'ouvrage à des amis. M. Turgot l'avait lu en août, et M. Calley en septembre (Voir plus haut.)

LA LETTRE À D' ALEMBERT À GENÈVE

Rey avait fait expédier vers la mi-août 500 exemplaires (il écrit le 21 août: "L'envoy pour Genève est parti la semaine passée, 500 exemplaires." R. 8) qu'il adressait à M. Jean Luc Mayster (R. 13). Ils devraient arriver à Genève le 15 octobre (R. 12). Rey avait voulu arranger les envois de sorte qu'ils arrivassent en même temps à Paris, à Genève et à Lyon. "J'ai taché, écrit-il, par une juste combinaison de les faire arriver en même temps à Lyon, Genève & Paris, afin de n'être pas contre fait dans une de ces places avant L'arrivée de mes exemplaires & la chose & [est] toute naturelle, ayant été la dupe de votre premier Discours qui étoit fait à Lyon avant l'arrivée de mes exemplaires" (R. 13). Mais l'envoi tarda d'arriver à Genève. Rousseau reçoit des plaintes et se fache. Il se plaint de Rey à M. Vernes et le prie: "si vous avez des relations en Hollande vous m'obligerez de vous en faire informer à lui-même" (H. X, 196, lettre du 22 octobre). Il marque son mécontentement à Rey le 24 octobre: "On me fait venir de Genève de justes plaintes d'y voir arriver mon écrit si tard, et publier plus tard qu'à Paris. Quand je leur dis que la balle a resté deux mois et demi en route et que vous avez prévu d'avance qu'elle y resteroit ce tems là, on me répond que cela n'est pas possible, et l'on attribue tout cela à pretexte

et à mauvaise volonté de ma part; mon cher Rey, j'ai la discrétion de ne vous en faire aucune plainte, mais il me semble qu'à bien des égards j'avois mérité plus d'estime, plus de confiances et de meilleurs procédés" (B. 33, p. 64). Rey y répond seulement: "Je puis vous assurer que la [personne] de Genève que vous conteste le tems qu'à demeuré la balle en chemin [vous pa]rle sans connaissance" (R. 13).

De fait la *Lettre* y était arrivée entre le 15 octobre et le 9 novembre, car le 24 novembre M. Jacob Vernet remercie Rousseau de l'exemplaire qu'on lui avait présenté, en disant qu'il y a quinze jours qu'il l'a reçu⁵⁹ (Il y avait avec l'envoi pour Genève un paquet d'exemplaires à l'adresse de M. Vernes dont un était destiné à M. Vernet. Voir plus bas).

Ainsi l'ouvrage fut mis en vente à Genève au moins quinze jours plus tard qu'à Paris.

Evidemment Rey n'a pas trouvé en Jean Luc Mayster un libraire aussi satisfaisant que Durend. Quatre ans après, le 23 octobre 1762, Rey écrit: "Je ne suis pas encore payé de votre lettre à D'Alembert par le libraire de Genève" (R. 21).

EXEMPLAIRES GRATUITS

Rousseau en a reçu 60 dont 10 étaient en papier fin. Il avait demandé dans sa lettre du 23 juillet que Rey en envoie 25 à Genève "dont un en beau papier, sur le titre duquel afin qu'il ne puisse être changé, il écrira *Pour la Bibliothèque de Genève*" (B. 24, p. 45). Rey devait adresser ces exemplaires à M. le Ministre Vernes.⁶⁰ Quant aux 35 exemplaires qui restaient Rousseau dit qu'ils doivent être joints à l'envoi pour Paris (il prie que Rey les fasse brocher) et qu'il les fera retirer de chez le correspondant de Rey.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Annales*, XI. 115, lettre de Jacob Vernet du 24 novembre. La réponse à cette lettre de Vernet se trouve dans l'édition Hachette X. 192, datée le 18 septembre. Elle devrait être datée le 18 décembre. Cf. Ritter, *Annales* XI. 150.

⁶⁰ Rousseau lui avait annoncé l'ouvrage dans une lettre qu'on trouve édition Hachette X, n° 190, datée du 4 juillet. Mais Vallette, *J.-J. Rousseau Genevois*, p. 118, note 6, renvoyant à l'édition Firmin-Didot 1883, 4 volumes, la date du 14 juillet.

Il marque de plus qu'un de ses exemplaires doit aller par la poste à M. d'Alembert. Ainsi Rey n'en enverra que 34 à Paris.

Mais Rey n'a pas suivi exactement les directions de Rousseau à ce sujet. Il écrit le 21 août "L'envoy p^r Geneve est parti la semaine passée, 500 exemplaires dont 25 p^r vous à l'adresse de M^r Vernes de plus 1 broché en papier fin & dessus le titre p^r *La Bibliothèque de Geneve* . . . avec les 1600 exempl. [pour Paris] il y a un paquet de 10 en pap. fin a votre adresse dont 1 pr. M^r D'Alembert que j'ay pris la liberté de lui presenter & qu'il vous plaira de lui remettre, des 1600 . . . j'en ferai extraire 24 p^r vous, que je n'ay point eu le tems de faire brocher" (R. 8).

A l'envoi pour Genève—qui était arrivé, nous l'avons vu, entre le 15 octobre et le 9 novembre—étaient joints les exemplaires gratuits à l'adresse de M. Vernes: celui-ci avait exprimé le désir de servir Rousseau de cette façon (*Annales* VII. 50). Dans une lettre adressée à Vernes le 6 juin et reproduite par M. Ritter (*Annales* VII, 51) Rousseau envoie "la note de leur destination "c'est à dire indiquant la destination de 21 des 26 exemplaires. Nous reproduisons ici cette note:

25 Exemplaires; et un de plus en papier, fin, pour la Bibliothèque de Genève.

1. à M. le Syndic Saladin d'Onex
1. à M. le Syndic Mussard
1. à M. le Professeur Vernet
1. à M. le Professeur Tronchin
1. à M. Sarrazin l'ainé Pasteur
1. à M. de Rochemont Ministre
1. à M. Jalabert
1. à M. Necker Professeur de Physique
1. à M. De Luc Père.
2. à M. Marc Chappuis savoir un pour lui et un pour
M. de Gauffecourt dont J'ignore le séjour et l'adresse
2. à mon Cousin François Rousseau demeurant à la Croix d'Or,
savoir un pour lui et un pour mon Cousin Gabriel Rousseau.
1. à ma Tante Gonceru à Nion. Vous prierez M. de Luc de vouloir bien le
lui faire parvenir.

1. à M. David Rival horloger demeurant, je pense, à Longemalle.
 1. à M. Donzel Confiseur à S^t. Gervais.
 1. à M. le Resident
 1. à M. de Voltaire
 1. à Mon ami M. Vernes.
- reste encore cinq Exemplaires dont je le prie de me garder deux ou trois à ma disposition laissant les deux autres à la sienne.

Vernes a dû envoyer à Rousseau des suggestions au sujet des exemplaires qui restaient, car Rousseau lui écrit le 22 octobre qu’il aime mieux présenter un exemplaire à M. Roustan qu’à M. Labat puisque celui-là est moins en état d’en acheter un “et dans la balance entre le riche et le pauvre je penche toujours pour le dernier.” Il indique aussi que M. Soubeyran doit recevoir un exemplaire (H. X. 196).

M. Ritter ajoute à la “note de la destination des exemplaires” citée plus haut une note où il écrit:

Vernes a ainsi indiqué la destination de ces cinq exemplaires:

1. à M^r Roustan
1. M^r Moulton
1. M^r Soubeyran
- M^r Gallatin
- M^r Tronchin le Conseiller

Mais M. Ritter ne dit pas d’où il tire ce renseignement (*Annales* VII. 52, note 1).

Selon le mot de Vernet cité plus haut et supposant que chacun ait reçu son exemplaire à peu près en même temps M. Vernes aurait fait la distribution le 8 ou le 9 novembre.

Quant aux 34 exemplaires gratuits que Rousseau distribua, ou fit distribuer à Paris, Rousseau ne les reçut que le 8 et 9 octobre, huit jours après la mise en vente à Paris. Il en fut assez dépité. Il écrit à Rey le 24 octobre: “En effet il [le livre] est en vente depuis le 2 de ce mois, je l’ai appris le 7 par hasard; le 8 et le 9, je fis retirer mes exemplaires; ils ont été distribués les jours suivans, et tous ceux à qui j’en ai fait présent ne m’en ont su aucun gré parce qu’ils en avoient déjà, et qu’ils ont peine à s’imaginer qu’un ouvrage se publie huit jours avant que l’auteur en sache rien et qu’il ait ses

propres exemplaires" (B. 33, p. 64). Rey se justifie le 31 octobre "J'ay averti, Mr. Durend à Paris & M^r Jean Luc Mayster à Geneve p^r délivrer vos exemplaires aussi tot leur arrivée, s'il ne l'ont pas fait ne m'en voulez aucun mal, . . . soyez persuadé que je n'y ay aucune part. Ce qui me fait le plus de peine est que vous croyez que j'ay eu de la méfiance" (R. 13).

On est loin d'avoir les renseignements aussi minutieux sur la destination de ces 34 exemplaires que de ceux envoyés à Genève. M. d'Alembert en a eu un "en papier fin." Rousseau a présenté un exemplaire à M. de St. Lambert,⁶¹ qui le renvoya à l'auteur (H. VIII. 357), à M. Marmontel alors "auteur du *Mercur de France*" (H. VIII. 360), à M. Dupin de Francueil qui l'en remercie dans une lettre datée automne 1758 (Streckeisen-Moultou, *J.-J. R. Ses Amis, Ses Ennemis* II. 272), à M. d'Epinay qui en accuse réception dans une lettre sans date (Ibid., I, 353).

NOMBRE ET DISTRIBUTION

Rey avait tiré 3000 exemplaires in 8^{vo} (R. 20), dont il envoya 1600 à Paris. Il signale la distribution des autres exemplaires le 13 septembre:

"J'ay fait partir 500 exemp. p^r Geneve } le
500 dito p^r Lyon }

surplus se distribuera pour Lausanne, Londres, La Hollande, j'en ay envoyé 12 à St. Petersbourg, je ne puis que gagner en imprimant vos productions moyennant qu'avec quelque precaution je les fasse paroître par tout a la fois" (R. 10).

Rey tira de plus 20 exemplaires sur du papier fin desquels il garda dix et donna dix à Rousseau (R. 2).

DEUXIÈME ÉDITION

Même avant que l'ouvrage eût paru à Paris, Rey commence à parler d'une nouvelle édition. Il écrit le 4 septembre:

⁶¹ Est-ce que Rousseau a envoyé cet exemplaire à St. Lambert de Montmorency comme pense Bosscha qui cite les *Confessions* (B. p. 49, note 1)? Les lettres de Rey semblent indiquer que c'est lui qui a fait l'envoi par Nancy. Cf. R. 7 écrite apres le 26 juillet.

"Je prevois que je serai obligé de réimprimer L'année prochaine vos Deux Discours, mon dessein seroit d'en faire une jolie edⁿ indouze, au quel j'ajouterai votre premier qui a remporté le prix à L'Acad. de Dijon & Votre Lettre sur la Musique; si vous ne venez pas ici, il faudra s.v.p. me [procu]rer un exemplaire de ces 4 morceau corrigé afin que cette impression soit exacte" (R. 9). Le 20 septembre il annonce que la première édition est presque épuisée: "je me trouve peu d'exemplaires de votre premier Discours,⁶² celui que je viens de finir a été presque tout expédié dans l'étranger, ce qui suivant toutes les apparances me forcera a les réimprimer les premiers mois de l'année prochaine afin de ne pas les laisser manquer" (R. 11). Il y revient encore une fois le 12 octobre: "Il ne m'en reste ici que très peu, ce qui m'obligera a le réemprimer aussi tot que vous serez pret" (R. 12). Le 24 octobre Rousseau marque à Rey: "Vous n'avez pas besoin de moi pour réimprimer ce dernier ouvrage: il suffira d'y faire rentrer les changemens et corrections qui sont à la fin, et d'avoir sur le tout, si vous pouvez, plus d'exactitude qu'à l'ordinaire" (B. 33, p. 65).

Le 31 octobre Rey veut commencer l'impression. Il écrit: "Si vous n'avez absolument rien a ajouter a votre lettre a M^r D'Alembert j'en puis donc recommencer L'Impression? Je voudrois bien y apporter plus d'exactitude & c'est p^r cela que je vous avois souhaité ici afin que vous fussiez très content de mon travail comē tout le monde l'est du votre" (R. 13).

Après un silence de quatre mois (Rousseau n'a pas répondu à la lettre de Rey du 31 octobre. Cf. R. 14) Rey annonce le 19 février 1759: "J'ay réimprimé votre ouvrage à M^r D'Alembert, j'ay sous presse votre precedent ouvrage l'un & l'autre du caractere & forme de léchantillon cy-joint, je souhaite que vous en soyez content" (R. 14). Il le réitère le 27 février (R. 15).

Le 14 mars l'édition nouvelle n'est pas encore publique et Rousseau n'en a pas encore reçu d'exemplaire. Quoiqu'il

⁶² I.e. *Discours sur l'Inégalité*.

dise qu'il suppose l'impression finie, il envoie un changement⁶³ "pas considérable mais qui lui importe" en demandant que Rey fasse un carton pour être emboîté dans le volume; même si les envois sont déjà partis, il veut que le carton soit fait et lui soit remis avec deux ou trois exemplaires (B. 35, p. 69).

L'envoi pour Paris était déjà parti quand Rey reçut cette lettre (vers le 20 mars) mais il consentit néanmoins à faire tirer ce carton. Il écrit: "à Amsterdam [déchiré] mars 1759. . . . Voici le Carton tel que vous le demandez, j'en ay écrit à M^r Durend auquel j'en ay fait expedier 300 exempl. pour le prier de faire executer ce carton, mais j'ay oublié de l'insérer dans sa lettre, faites le lui parvenir s.v.p. avec ce billet p^r qu'il vous en remette Les 3 exemplaires à leur arrivée chez lui, vous les aurez plutot que si je vous les envoyois d'ici presentement" (R. 16).

Le 21 juin Rousseau se prononce sur cette édition. A son avis elle est "très vilaine" et il espère qu'elle ne servira pas de modèle pour la *Nouvelle Héloïse* que Rey se préparait à imprimer (B. 38, p. 77).

TROISIÈME ÉDITION

La deuxième édition est épuisée en automne 1761. Rey écrit le 22 octobre, 1761: "je vay faire la 3 ed^{on} ed^{on} [sic] de la Lettre à D'Alembert . . . je ne puis m'en dispenser parce qu'il faut que j'aye toûjours de vos oeuvres diverses pour le public, je ne dois pas les laisser manquer" (R. 19).

DATES PRINCIPALES

	1758
Rousseau offre le manuscrit à Rey.....	9 mars
Rousseau envoie le manuscrit.....	14 mai
Rey le reçoit	24 mai
Rey le paie.....	25 mai
Rousseau reçoit l'argent entre	31 mai-17 juin
L'impression commence.....	fin de mai
Rey envoie les premières feuilles	6 juin
Rousseau les reçoit.....	17 juin

⁶³ Pour le texte de ce changement cf. Bosscha 35, p. 70.

Rousseau annonce l’ouvrage à D’Alembert	25 juin
D’Alembert répond à la lettre de Rousseau	27 juin
Rey envoie les 14 premières feuilles à Malesherbes pour obtenir la permission d’entrée en France	3 juillet
Rey envoie des lettres circulaires annonçant l’ouvrage à ses correspondants	3 juillet
Rey envoie la dernière épreuve	15 juillet
Rousseau la reçoit	23 juillet
L’impression est achevée	commencement d’août
Rey envoie les dernières épreuves à Malesherbes . .	1 ^{er} août
Rey lui envoie les dernières feuilles tirées	6 août
Rey expédie 1600 exemplaires à Paris	11 août
Rey expédie 500 exemplaires à Geneve	mi-août
Rey reçoit l’autorisation de Malesherbes	1 ^{er} septembre
Envoi arrive à Paris	22 septembre-2 octobre
Mise-en-vente à Paris	2 octobre
Rousseau distribua ses exemplaires gratuits à Paris	8 et 9 octobre
Envoi arrive à Genève	15 octobre-9 novembre
M. Vernet reçoit un exemplaire gratuit à Genève.	9 novembre
L’impression de la deuxième édition commence . .	après 31 octobre
	1759
La deuxième édition est achevée	avant 27 février
Elle paraît à Paris	mars
	1761
La troisième se fait	automne

ELEANOR HALL AYERS

XXV. THE USE OF THE CONDITIONAL PERFECT FOR THE CONDITIONAL PRESENT IN ITALIAN

Characteristic of the Italian Language is the modern use of the conditional perfect instead of the present. This interchange of tenses is not permitted by either of her two living sister languages, French and Spanish. Nor does English admit such constructions: we are not allowed to say, for example, "He said he should have done it tomorrow," but must say, "He said he would do it tomorrow." In Italian on the other hand, there are numerous examples of this construction as the following quotations will illustrate:

"Ma se avessi alcuno luogo di fuori, in nel qual fusse persona che tu fidare te ne potessi, io direi che tu la Pippa quine mandassi, et *aresti fuggito* il pericolo tuo e quello della tua donna, che la dei piu amare che te." Sercambi.¹

"La Badessa di Santa Chiara vi manda delle erbucce del nostro orto, e vi prega che sia ottimamente da voi servita di una libra d'oro per prova per certi recami che hanno gia presi a fare le sue monachette, pero che aggrandandole, come crede, ve ne fara smaltire parecchie libre il mese. El maestro lietissimo ringrazio la badessa del presente, e spacciatamente capata una libra d'oro del migliore, e significatole el prezzo, le disse che di tale sorte l'*averia* de continuo *servita*" Masuccio Salernitano.²

"Il perche gettatosi ai piedi del re, umilmente chiedendogli merce, gli narro come il fatto stava, e tutto quello che il frate seco aveva divisato, ed i danari ricevuti, con le promesse grandissime che fatte gli aveva, con dirgli che sperava in breve esser vescovo, e che gli *avrebbe* fatto del bene, se portava questa lastra a Napoli"—Bandello.³

"Questo detto monsignior di Villurois mi consigliava che io cerassi di qualche altra cosa, e che io lo lasciassi a ogni modo; perche quello di chi gli era, era huomo di grandissima possanza, e che certissimo lui mi *harebbe fatto ammazzare*"—Cellini⁴

¹ Sercambi, Giovanni: "*Novelle*" p. 141. Leipzig, Renger. Buchland, 1889.

² Masuccio Salernitano: "*Il Novellino*" pp. 350-351. L. Settembrini edition, Napoli, Antonio Morano, 1874.

³ Bandello Matteo: "*Novelle*" Part I, p. 363. G. Balsamo-Crivelli, ed. Torino, Unione Tip. Ed. Torinese, 1910-1911.

⁴ Cellini: *Vita*. p. 267 O. Bacci, Ed. Firenze-G. C. Sansoni, 1901.

"Il Baldi si scusò che non avea
 Ordine d'alterar la sua proposta,
 Ma che l'istesso giorno egli volea
 Ritornare a Bologna per la posta.
 E se 'l partito a la città piaceva,
Avrebbe rimandato un messo a posta.
 Così conchiuso, il Baldi fe ritorno;
 Nè si seppe altro fino al terzo giorno"—Tassoni⁶

"Lo trovò: e pensando che, il giorno dopo, il suo ospite *avrebbe avuto* a fare i conti con tutt' altri che con lui, e che quel morto *sarebbe* probabilmente *caduto* in mani di dove un oste non *avrebbe potuto* farlo uscire; volle provarsi se almeno gli riusciva di concluder quest'altro affare"—Manzoni.⁶

"A Tebidi dicevano che *saremmo stati* marito e moglie, lo rammenti"—Verga.⁷

"Allora la signora Teresa lo pregò di annunziare al curato che gli sposi *sarebbero andati* in chiesa fra mezz'ora"—Fogazzaro.⁸

"Quando fu tastato il Sindaco per sentire se si *sarebbe adoprato* a ottenere dal consiglio un sussidio per un monumento da erigersi alla memoria di—— di——(a questo ci si *sarebbe pensato* dopo), il Sindaco rispose che ben volentieri lo *avrebbe fatto*, ma a cose definitivamente stabilite"—Fucini.⁹

"Gli dicevano che le *avrebbe giovato* l'aria della riviera"—De Amicis.¹⁰

"La notte prima, all'ora di entrare in letto, un telegramma era venuto a dirgli che il colonnello Ipsilonne, antico compagno d'armi che egli credeva morto nella battaglia di Novara, *sarebbe arrivato* all'una dopo mezzanotte per ripartire all'alba"—Farina.¹¹

"Così egli la fingeva al suo desiderio: e palpitava pensando che fra breve l' *avrebbe veduta* emergere dalla folla come dall'elemento a cui ell'era asservita e *avrebbe attinto* dallo sguardo di lei l'ebbrezza necessaria"—D'Annunzio.¹²

"Bada: Se per colpa nostra la nonna dovesse sospettare la verità—— ti giuro che mi *avresti perduta* per sempre——non t'amerei più"—Gallina.¹³

⁶ Tassoni: *La Secchia rapita*. p. 50. 2 Ed. Firenze-G. Barbera, 1861.

⁶ Manzoni: *I promessi sposi*. p. 220. A. Cerquetti, Milano, 1913.

⁷ Verga: *Cavalleria Rusticana ed Altre Novelle* p. 102. Milano Fratelli Treves 1900.

⁸ Fogazzaro: *Piccolo Mondo Antico*. p. 64. Milano, Baldini, Castoldi & Co. 1903.

⁹ Fucini: *All'Aria Aperta*. p. 85. 4 Ed. Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1909.

¹⁰ De Amicis: *La Carrozza di tutti*. p. 383. Milano, Fratelli Treves 1908.

¹¹ Farina: *Mio Figlio*, p. 325. 10 Ed. Torino, Soc. Trip. Ed. Nazionale, 1909.

¹² D'Annunzio: *Il Fuoco*. p. 55. 29 Miglaio. Fratelli Treves.

¹³ Gallina: *Gli Occhi del Cuore*, p. 68. Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1912.

"Che *avrebbe* egli *veduto* dalla finestra della cameretta che l'aspettava a Cagliari? Il mare?"—Deledda.¹⁴

"D'altronde mia sorella mi ha detto ieri che *sarebbe venuta* stamattina a salutare Nennele che è sua figlioccia e lo diceva con intenzione. M'aspetto già che le porterà una qualche somma"—Giacosa.¹⁵

Meyer-Lübke in his "*Grammaire des Langues Romanes*"¹⁶ mentions the tendency of the Italian mind to arrive at the conclusion of fact before the action is completed. He remarks: "L'italien possède en propre l'usage de remplacer surtout dans les propositions régimes, l'action par l'état qui en résulte, c'est-à-dire d'effectuer un changement de temps caractéristique qui est apparenté à celui qui a déjà été signalé dans les propositions complètes aux §§300 et 303: cf. <pensando che il ragazzo avrebbe potuto aiutarsi quando fosse rimasto solo (Verga, *Vita Campi*, 40); tu vedrai che sarà tutto successo (Ariosto, *Cassandra*, 3, 4). Avrebbe richiesto qualcheduno di loro che lo avessero accompagnato (Lasca, *Cene*, 183, 21); non dubitare che ti sia mancato di ragione quando tu l'abbia (Ariosto, *Suppositi*, 4, 8); acciocchè il pedante non sospettasse, se ella non l'avesse guardato (Lasca, *Cene*, 195, 7); etc.

Professor Meyer-Lübke is correct in both of his assertions, but in reading 10,000 pages of printed texts selected from the works of the best known writers and of different epochs from Dante to d'Annunzio, I have observed:

(1) That the substitution of the simple tense by its compound in all the other moods is rare as compared with the conditional, which is the only mood in Italian in which this usage has today really become good syntax. For instance, both De Amicis and Fucini afford numerous examples of this kind, but in each author only two examples are to be found where the pluperfect is used for the imperfect; and these

¹⁴ Deledda: *Cenere* p. 161. Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1910.

¹⁵ Giacosa: *Come le Foglie*, p. 69. Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1901.

¹⁶ French translation made by Professors Anguste Doutrepoint and Georges Doutrepoint, Volume 3, page 760, paragraph 682.

occur in the subjunctive mood only, all the other compound tenses being correctly used. These two examples are:

"Dissi allora nell'orecchio al signore che quella donna aveva un figliuolo prigioniero nel Negus, e non sapeva della pace, e che se m'avesse favorito il giornale le avrei data io la notizia"—De Amicis.¹⁷

"S'imporporò un poco anche lui, e gli feci le mie congratulazioni: una creatura angelica che avevo mille volte ammirata, pensando sempre che sarebbe stato fortunato il cittadino d'Italia su cui ella avesse racchiuso le sue ali"—De Amicis.¹⁸

"Soltanto accettò di trovarsi la sera a cena all'osteria di Giannaccio per bere il bicchiere dell'addio e per fare du'salti di trescone, se fossero venuti quei giovanotti di Vallicella con la chitarra e l'organino"—Fucini.¹⁹

"Quando fummo sotto il porticato, il medico mi lasciò subito per fuggire l'incontro de'suoi padroni, non senza avermi prima ripetuto caldissimamente che dopo desinare fossi andato da lui, che mi avrebbe accompagnato alla stazione e che aveva cose importantissime da dirmi"—Fucini.²⁰

(2) That this usage is rather frequently found even in main clauses, and much oftener than one would suppose by reading the paragraph quoted from Meyer-Lübke's grammar.

Examples of its usage in independent clauses may be illustrated by the following:

"L'uomo da onorarsi col monumento era stato trovato. Il busto sarebbe stato eretto al nonno del Trabulzi, a quel gran benefattore, il quale, sessanta anni addietro, aveva impiantato la florida industria delle mattonelle lucide di asfalto impenetrabile, per le terrazze scoperte"—Fucini.²¹

"Presi nota di quel viso nella mia memoria. L'amico doveva star di casa su quella linea, l'avrei rivisto, avrei forse scoperto il suo perché, e mi si poteva offrir il modo di levare a lui il verme dal cuore e a me l'osso dalla gola. . . ."—De Amicis.²²

"Era un po'allegro, ne conveniva, ma questo non gli avrebbe impedito d'andar la mattina dopo al lavoro; era lavorante in ferro"—De Amicis.²³

¹⁷ De Amicis: *La carrozza di tutti*, p. 410. Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1908.

¹⁸ De Amicis: *La carrozza di tutti*, p. 450. Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1908.

¹⁹ Fucini: *Le veglie di Neri*, pp. 174-175. 7 Ed. Milano, Ulrico Hoepli, 1905.

²⁰ Fucini: *Le veglie di Neri*, p. 232. 7 Ed. Milano, Ulrico Hoepli, 1905.

²¹ Fucini: *All'Aria Aperta*, pp. 87-88. 4 Ed. Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1909.

²² De Amicis: *La Carrozza di tutti*, p. 18. Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1908.

²³ *Op. cit.* p. 59.

"Vedendomi, si *sarebbe* egli *ricordato* di quell'atto, o *m'avrebbe* ancora *mostrato* nello sguardo il sentimento che gliel'aveva fatto compiere, o un sentimento opposto, o indifferenza soltanto?"—De Amicis²⁴

The main object of this study, however, has been to investigate as far as possible how in all probability the construction in question had its development in the Italian mind; the place where it probably originated; the date of its earliest occurrence as a real part of the vulgar literature; in what century it was incorporated into the Italian literary language, and in which propositions it is commonly used.

The development of this curious grammatical construction may be compared to the changes of tenses in other languages; as for example, in English: "If you make a sound, *you die*," instead of, "*you shall (or will) die*;" in French when one finds something that he is looking for, he may use either the future or the present tense: "*Voilà mon affaire, je le prends*" or "*je le prendrai*;" in Italian "*Se c'era lui, andavo io*" for "*se ci fosse, andrei*."

Such examples could be multiplied, all of them evidently depending upon an effort to produce emphasis.

In Italian the use of the conditional perfect for the conditional present had probably the same origin. At first its purpose was entirely emphatic; then the construction became so common that it gradually began to lose much of its primitive force, so that, when one says today: "*Disse che sarebbe andato*," for, "*disse che andrebbe*," the significant difference between the two phrases is slight and nearly negligible. The first may still be somewhat more emphatic, however, and it differs only in that it contains in itself, even now, vaguely perhaps, some flavor of the popular tongue.

It is, indeed, a rather difficult task to determine the place where this construction originated. In my opinion it had its birth in Tuscany, although there is no proof that it may not have existed at the same time in other regions.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 237.

Had it not originated in Tuscany, and had it not been far more common there than elsewhere, in all probability it would not exist nowadays in the Italian literary language, which had its origin in the Tuscan vulgar tongue. Further evidence in support of this opinion is the far more frequent usage made of it by Cellini than by his contemporaries, Bandello from northern Italy, and Masuccio from southern Italy.

It will help us to determine both the date of its earliest occurrence as a real part of the vulgar literature, and the century in which it became current in the Italian literary language, if we glance at the following table. In the third column I have indicated the total number of pages in each book examined, and in the fourth, the number of cases in which the conditional perfect is used for the conditional present.

Author's name and life dates	Title and date of book examined	No. of pages	No. of cases
Sercambi, Giovanni Lucca (1375-1424)	Novelle 1374?	408	1
Masuccio, Salernitano (1420-?)	Il Novellino 1476	538	9
Bembo, Pietro Venezia (1470-1547)	Gli Asolani 1505	267	0
Machiavelli, Niccolò Firenze (1469-1527)	Il Principe 1513	146	0
Bandello, Matteo Castelnuovo Scrivia (1485-1562)	Novelle (Parte Ia) 1554	408	2
Cellini, Benvenuto Firenze (1500-1571)	Vita 1558-1562	423	43
Grazzini, Francesco (Lasca) Firenze (1503-1584)	Cene Begun before 1549	369	4
Rinuccini, Ottavio Firenze (1564-1621)	La Dafne 1600	20	0
Tassoni, Alexxandro Modena (1565-1635)	La Secchia Rapita 1619	321	4

Galilei, Galileo Pisa (1564-1642)	Critica Letteraria	66	0
Bartoli, Daniello Ferrara (1608-1685)	Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù 1667	145	0
Crescimbeni, Giovanni Macerata (1663-1728)	Storia dell'Accademia degli Arcadi 1712	95	2
Monti, Vincenzo Fusignano (1754-1828)	Epistolario 1776-1827	506	6
Manzoni, Alessandro Milano (1785-1875)	I Promessi Sposi 1827	574	36
D'Azeglio, Massimo Torino (1798-1866)	Ricordi (Vol. I.) 1865	399	9
Verga, Giovanni Catania (1840-1922)	Cavalleria Rusticana ed altre Novelle 1900	265	22
Fogazzaro, Antonio Vicenza (1842-1911)	Piccolo Mondo Antico 1895	543	34
Fucini, Renato Monterotondo, Toscana (1843-1921)	Poesie 1871	293	0
	Veglie di Neri	251	27
	2nd Edition 1883		
	All'Aria Aperta	283	23
De Amicis, Edmondo Torino (1846-1908)	Nella Campagna Toscana 1908	93	13
	La Carozza di tutti 1906	472	93
Farina, Salvatore Sassari (1846-——)	Mio Figlio 10th edition 1909	412	22
Giacosa, Giuseppe Ivrea (1847-1906)	Come le Foglie 1900	275	8
D'Annunzio, Gabriele Pescara (1864-——)	Il Fuoco 1898	560	10
Gallina, Giacinto Veneziano	Gli occhi del cuore 1883	160	5
Deledda, Grazia Sardegna	Cenere 1903	322	16

It will be noted that the first occurrence of this construction is found in the writings of Giovanni Sercambi. I investigated carefully Dante's *La Vita Nuova*, 1290, and his *Convivio*, 1303-1309, Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone*, (Vol. 1) 1348-1353, and Franco Sachetti's *Le Novelle* (Vol. 1) 1395, but I found no cases of this use of the conditional perfect.

An examination of this table shows clearly, it seems to me, that it is with the work of Benvenuto Cellini, in the sixteenth century, that this construction became a part of the vulgar literature, and little by little spread into the Italian literary language in such a way that, beginning with Manzoni in the nineteenth century, it became firmly rooted and is used today by the best modern Italian writers, even by the classicists.

CHARLES GOGGIO

XXVI. TOUCH IMAGES IN THE POETRY OF ROBERT BROWNING

"There's printing a book of 'Selections from R. B.' (*Sculptor* and poet) which is to popularize my old things; . . . " Thus wrote Robert Browning to his friend, W. W. Story, in the spring of 1862, humorously alluding to the joyous companionship in Story's studio two years earlier, when he had been spending as much as three hours daily, thumping the wet clay. Nothing but clay did he care for, "poor lost soul,"—so Mrs. Browning had at that time declared, for she grudged a little the time taken from his poetry. And this enthusiasm had been a matter of more than one winter. Very vivid is the memory of it, therefore, in 1862. "I try and see old friends," the poet writes, in the letter already quoted, "when my true *treat* would be an evening over the piles of unread books, or a morning with the old coat and wet clay. Oh, the days!"¹ Robert Browning, sculptor and poet; here is a key to unlock,—not, indeed, the heart, but at least some secrets of the brain and hand of the robust craftsman.

Had this enthusiasm and the opportunity to satisfy it come to him early enough, Browning might have developed into a sculptor of reputation superior to that of his American friend. Twenty years earlier, a speech in *Pippa Passes* indicates the inherent bent of his mind toward plastic expression. Though he is not yet familiar with it in actuality, the poet finds in the sculptor's art, as it were, a whole kit of verbal tools that fit naturally into his hand. Jules, the sculptor, is speaking:

But of the stuffs one can be master of,
How I divined the capabilities!
From the soft-rinded smoothening facile chalk
That yields your outline to the air's embrace,
Half-softened by a halo's pearly gloom;

¹ Henry James, *William Wetmore Story*, Boston, 1904, I. 114-118.

Down to the crisp imperious steel, so sure
 To cut its one confided thought clean out
 Of all the world. But marble!—'neath my tools
 More pliable than jelly—as it were
 Some clear primordial creature dug from depths
 In the earth's heart, where itself breeds itself,
 And whence all baser substance may be worked;
 Refine it off to air, you may,—condense it
 Down to the diamond;—is not metal there
 When o'er the sudden speck my chisel trips?
 —Not flesh, as flake off flake I scale, approach,
 Lay bare those bluish veins of blood asleep?

Here a bent of mind is discernible which may also be traced in Browning's earliest as well as latest poetry, for he is peculiarly a poet of touch. The world of imagination which he creates is strikingly vivid and real; in it we have a sense of solidity, an atmosphere that envelops, an earth beneath the feet, hands that meet and clasp our own. He walks the common and uncommon ways, and nudges us as we walk with him. Everyone who reads Browning feels this. But accustomed as we all are to think of the poet's world as primarily, if not exclusively, a world of eye and ear, we permit a great deal of harsh criticism upon his rough lines: we have failed to see, and the friendliest critics have failed to point out to us, that though he offends the ear sometimes, yet he makes amends by the fulness, the richness, and the great range of the images of touch which he lavishes upon us. Tennyson, like Poe's angels, sits in a theatre to see a play of hopes and fears, but Browning flings himself into the arena, and from the solid earth reaches forth phantom hands that touch all mundane things and grasp at stars.

My earliest consciousness of this peculiar quality in Browning's poetry, came, strangely enough, not from the almost innumerable passages in which he uses the words 'fingers' and 'hands' and directly describes touch, but from passages which at first glance would seem to present images purely visual. These were the following:

'Mid the sharp short emerald wheat, scarce risen three fingers well,
 The wild tulip, at end of its tube, blows out its great red bell

Like a thin clear bubble of blood, for the children to pick and sell (*Up at a Villa*).

Meantime, see the grape bunch they've brought you:

The rain-water slips

O'er the heavy blue bloom on each globe

Which the wasp to your lips

Still follows with fretful persistence:

.

Next, sip this weak wine

From the thin green glass flask, with its stopper

A leaf of the vine (*The Englishman in Italy*).

In such lines as these the poet projects his own personality into the thing described, so that when he says that the tulip *blows out* its great red bell, we have a feeling of active growth rather than a mere surface appearance of the flower. To a reader who is at all 'touch-minded,' the phrases, "thin, clear bubble of blood" and "sharp short emerald wheat" have what Mr. Berenson, criticising painting, calls "tactile values." So, also, have the words "thin green glass flask," which set teeth as well as ears on edge. In the very discord that offends the delicate ear, there is a quality that supplies a quite definite mental image related to the sensitive nerve ends of touch. The reader apprehends directly fine distinctions—by no means so well given in less concrete terms—of viscous tenuity, spiny rigidity, and vitreous fragileness. The lines,

Which the wasp to your lips

Still follows with fretful persistence

cause such a sympathetic tingling of the reader's own lips that he almost involuntarily puts up his hand to fend off the insect. And yet there are people so inveterately 'eye-minded' that they will instantly deny this. Mr. George E. Woodberry, for instance, told me some years ago that these lines from Browning's *Italian in England*,

I would grasp Metternich until

I felt his red wet throat distil

In blood through these two hands,

presented to his imagination solely a visual image. He saw in his mind's eye another's hand gripping Prince Metternich by

the throat. But whether or not the reader agree with me as to the lines already quoted, he will, I believe, if he but take the pains to read carefully, find in Browning's poetry a continual use of language implying, or directly embodying, images of touch. Two quite familiar quotations will serve to illustrate, one the descriptive, the other the figurative use:

Your soft hand is a woman of itself (*Andrea del Sarto*).

But all, the coarse world's thumb
And finger failed to plumb (*Rabbi ben Ezra*).

Before taking up the discussion of Browning's poetry in greater detail, let us first consider some of the problems that naturally suggest themselves concerning the use of touch images in poetry generally, the strange reticence of critics on this matter, and the consequent implications. Since the thunders of Professor Babbitt's *New Laokoön* first muttered over our heads it has become increasingly dangerous for the critic to venture far from home without some sort of umbrella. I shall therefore tread softly and carry a large water-shed; let no one reprove me if when I raise it over some shivering cluster of images, it be seen to bear the strange device of 'Homer' or of 'Aristotle.'

The question is bound to arise, whether the poet has any right to exploit the field of touch to the neglect of visual and auditory harmonies. Someone, perhaps, will say that the poet should not try to be a sculptor in words; that he is confusing the arts, is going out of his domain, if there is great emphasis or great subtlety in his employment of touch. But what is the poet's domain? The difficulty in discussing this whole matter is largely a verbal one. Poets have always used touch images; the greatest poets have used them with great freedom. But our language is weak in critical terms just here; it has no single word at once clear and harmonious to stand for the sense of touch. Criticism, consequently, tends to the assumption that all the world may be apprehended by sight and hearing. One may speak of a poet's vision, and of his fine ear, but to speak of his touch is to risk

ambiguity, and one does not speak of his feeling unless one means his emotion. Burke, indeed, in his essay, *Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, treats of "beauty in feeling," though he does not go beyond the consideration of the aesthetic values of the direct sensation. Of this, Michaelangelo blind, delighting in the beauty of the antique sculpture over which he passes his hands, would be an apt illustration. Burke does not take up the matter of mental images of touch. In what terms, then, may we convey the idea that a given poet has great sensitiveness to tactile values and felicity in giving them verbal expression? The poets themselves, who make use of this faculty, ignore it in their denotation of the world of phenomena. Wordsworth says that he is still—

A lover of the meadows and the woods
And mountains; and of all that we behold
From this green earth; of all the mighty world
Of eye and ear, both what they half create
And what perceive.

And Browning, even he, says,

Eyes, ears took in their dole;
Brain treasured up the whole.

Another difficulty, closely allied to the paucity of critical terms, and to some extent accounting for it, is the fact that the terms expressive of the sense of sight have a way of absorbing and including in their connotation qualities that belong properly to the sense of touch. Thus we speak of seeing a solid mass, a heavy weight, a cold landscape. And this is not entirely a matter of terms; it corresponds, of course, to the operation of our minds. Sight, not content with being "Lord of the visible earth," is so completely "Lord of the senses five" as to make us forget that by whatever means we primarily apprehend them, mass, weight, and temperature are known only through mental images that are tactual. As Mr. Berenson reminds us in the first pages of his *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance*:

Psychology has ascertained that sight alone gives us no accurate sense of the third dimension. In our infancy, long before we are conscious of the

process, the sense of touch, helped on by muscular sensations of movement, teaches us to appreciate depth, the third dimension, both in objects and in space. . . .

Later, we entirely forget the connection, although it remains true, that every time our eyes recognize reality, we are, as a matter of fact, giving tactile values to retinal impressions.

Possibly a reason for the lack of suitable critical terms to express the variety and relative intensity of touch perceptions and images may also be found in the fact that the tactual sense is diffused all over the body's surface, as well as partly within the body, whereas sight and hearing have the advantage of special, highly differentiated, and beautiful organs. The finger-tips often serve to represent the sense of touch, but obviously they bear no such perfect relation to it as the ears to hearing, or the eyes to sight.

Yet, however hampered the critic may feel in the lack of readily intelligible terms, the poet is generally untrammelled. The external world perceived by him is not solely a world of eye and ear, but a world of eye and ear and—to say nothing of nose and tongue—also of tactual nerves, a world of palpable forms, of touch. He is far less troubled by his medium of expression than is the painter. His domain is the universe; to whatever can be thought he has a prescriptive right, the right of use and of enjoyment proper to creative genius. Though our language lack the terms to describe the special field of touch images critically, it is patently rich enough in words to express this field vividly, creatively. The lack is in text-book terms, not in those which are directly descriptive, graphic.

If one thinks of the poet's mind as being a vast store house of mental images (the memory's record of all past sense perceptions) which one may classify as those of sight, of hearing, of touch, of taste, of smell, it is clear that the dominant groups are those of sight and hearing and touch. Any large or significant thought to be poetically expressed must clothe itself in images visual, auditory, or tactual. The so-called motor images, images of the sense of motion,

may for convenience be included with the tactual, or may be differentiated as motor-tactual. Taste and smell images cannot be employed readily save by suggestion, as through naming a food or a flower; and though very effective if sparingly used, if used with frequency tend to a cloying and heaviness. Job's rhetorical question,— which startled a laugh from Carlyle as he read aloud,—“Is there any taste in the white of an egg?”, is an exception that puts the rule to proof. ‘Wormwood’ and ‘gall’ may still be living images, but ‘bitter’ and ‘sweet’ have lost most of their original vigor, and have become mainly conceptual; that is, conveying abstract ideas without the tang of an image of taste. Even Keats, in the lines from *The Eve of St. Agnes*,

Into her dream he melted, as the rose
Blendeth her odour with the violet,—

gives a suggestive rather than directly descriptive image. The special magic of Shelley's,

The wandering airs they faint
On the dark, the silent stream,—
The champak odours fail
Like sweet thoughts in a dream;—

in the *Lines to an Indian Air*, exists rather in the strangeness of the word ‘champak’ than in any sense which an English reader has of the nature of the perfume, unless he look in the dictionary and discover that champak is a species of magnolia. No dictionary, however, can make known the quality of an odour that is wholly unfamiliar to us. Taste and smell, then, may be regarded as relatively of minor importance in poetry. There remains the choice between sight, hearing, and touch.

Now it has been darkly intimated by certain critics that images of touch are somehow cruder than those of vision; that coming more directly through the flesh, they partake of the peculiar frailty of the flesh. Thus, a very unpleasant imputation of coarseness of fibre, or at least of over-sensuousness, is already laid upon a poet whose poetry is found

to be dominated by such images. I believe that here, just as in the conventional ignoring of the field of tactual images in most criticism, wrong conclusions have been reached chiefly because the matter has not been sufficiently considered. Surely there is no more deeply rooted feeling of love and tender sheltering compassion than that which clings about the dim memories—subconscious though they be—of lying on one's mother's breast, within her circling embrace. Browning says, in *Christmas-Eve* (xi):

Love was the all-sufficient too;
And seeing that, you see the rest:
As a babe can find its mother's breast
As well in darkness as in light,
Love shut our eyes, and all seemed right.

For to the infant, its mother's is an infinite love, like that of God: hence the profound appeal to all hearts of that solemn scripture: "The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms." This is a touch image, simple, sensuous, yet sublime. Indeed, if we desire moral sanction, the Bible will supply us with it in abundance. Graven images, but not mental images of touch, are forbidden by the decalogue. The following are characteristic simile and metaphor from the Bible:

As a thorn goeth up into the hand of a drunkard, so is a parable in the mouth of fools (*Prov.*, *xxvi*, 9).

For thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, and the Lord shall reward thee (*Prov.*, *xxv*, 22).

The question out of the whirlwind propounded to Job: "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?" extends the homely labor of the harvestfield into a metaphor that sweeps with cosmic grandeur the immensity of space; whereas, the infinite love of God is brought down to be comprehended of the common man in Judea, through the homely words of Christ, when he cries, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how

often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!"

To one who should object to touch-images on the ground that the classics do not recognise them, it is possible to appeal to Aristotle, who certainly approves a poet's identifying himself with his characters, not merely putting his scenes as far as may be before his eyes, but acting them out:

. . . the poet should even act his story with the very gestures of his personages. Given the same natural qualifications, he who feels the emotions to be described will be the most convincing.²

This capacity for projecting himself into his characters, if it is accompanied by mimetic action—as was notoriously the case with Dickens, who laughed and wept while composing—is very likely to result in the employment of the touch images as well as the abstract emotions thus mentally realized. And this faculty for acting the part of one's own creation, Aristotle himself points out, is not a matter of art, but is a special gift. It should not be necessary to enumerate the many instances in which Homer and Vergil employ direct description of touch in narrating moving accidents by flood and field, but it may be worth while to give an example from each, drawn from passages that do not concern battle or shipwreck. After Odysseus has found his aged father, Laertes, clothed in a filthy doublet and oxhide leggings, digging in the vineyard, and has seen him clutch the dust to shower it on his gray head, Homer makes us feel very vividly the sudden rush of tears that overcomes the man of many devices:

Then the heart of Odysseus was moved, and up through his nostrils throbbed anon the keen sting of sorrow at the sight of his dear father.³

From Vergil I choose the description of the applause at the start of the boat race:

The shores, hemmed in, roll back the voice; the beaten hills rebound with the clamor. *Aeneid*, v, ll. 149-150.

² *Poetics* 1455^a, 32 (Bywater's translation).

³ *Odyssey* XXIV (Butcher and Lang's translation).

It may be forcing a point to translate *resultant* as 'rebound' instead of merely re-echo; but *pulsati colles* are certainly 'beaten' or 'whipped' hills. This is a case of an image of sound interpreted or made more vivid through an image of touch. Since sound waves are actually perceptible at times through touch—even deaf-mutes can keep time to music which they feel—no one should be troubled by such poetic figures. The self-styled 'imagists' occasionally push the matter farther than seems natural, in order to outdo their predecessors; but Miss Amy Lowell could appeal to the *pulsati colles* should she be chid for the following lines in her poem, *Music*,

The neighbor sits in his window and plays the flute.
From my bed I can hear him,
And the round notes flutter and tap about the room,
And hit against each other,
Blurring to unexpected chords.

.

The flute-notes push against my ears and lips,
And I go to sleep, dreaming.

It is quite possible that critics of poetry, in view of the domination of the sense of sight, and of the paucity of critical terms for the discussion of touch images, as well as of the ill-considered aversion to what is thought to be merely fleshly, have overlooked, or at least slighted an important field of creative imagination, and consequently have done some injustice to poets who are especially strong in that field. Such a poet, as I have already said, was Robert Browning.

The poet has an idea to express in the words and measure suitable to his conception of poetry. This idea comes to him in the form of mental images. If the mental images are dominantly visual, it signifies that his store of visual images is richer and more readily accessible than his store of tactual or auditory images: he is, as they say, "eye-minded." If, on the other hand, these images are dominantly tactual, it signifies that his store of tactual images is richer and more

readily accessible than his store of auditory and visual images: he is, to coin a term, "finger-tip-minded." And to be dominant in any poet's word-hoard, tactual images need not be more numerous than visual images; it is sufficient that they bear to the latter a strikingly higher proportion than is commonly the case. I should not be prepared to say that Browning's touch images are more numerous than his images of vision: I do say that they bear a far higher proportion to the latter than do the touch images of most poets. Anyone, I believe, would grant at once that Tennyson is decidedly a poet to the ear and eye,—a maker, in Dr. Van Dyke's phrase, of melodies and pictures; to me, Browning seems as obviously the poet *par excellence* of the third dimension—the architect, sculptor, poet to the fingertips.

Professor Herford, in the ninth chapter of his illuminating *Robert Browning*, comes very near to propounding what I wish to elucidate in the present article; but Professor Herford still clings to the eye and ear convention:

Browning's restlessly aspiring temperament worked under the control of an eye and ear that fastened with peculiar emphasis and eagerness upon all the limits, the dissonances, the angularities that Shelley's harmonizing fancy dissolved away. . . . He lacked the stranger and subtler sensibilities of eye and ear, to which Nature poetry of the nineteenth century owes so much. His senses were efficient servants to an active brain, not magicians flinging dazzling spells into the air before him or mysterious music across his path.

He does, however, speak of Browning's tactual sense:

The implicit realism of his eye and ear was fortified by acute tactual and muscular sensibilities. He makes us vividly aware of surface and texture, of space, solidity, shape. Matter with him is not the translucent, tenuous, half-spiritual substance of Shelley, but aggressively massive and opaque, tense with solidity. And he had in an eminent degree the quick and eager apprehension of space-relations which usually goes with these developed sensibilities of eye and muscle. . . . But it was only late in life that this acute plasticity and concreteness found its outlet.

When first I pondered over these passages in Professor Herford's book, it seemed to me that further discussion was

unnecessary. But on more mature consideration it became apparent that my own idea was distinctly different in two capital respects. In the first place, Professor Herford attacks Browning's poetic eye and ear, pointing out certain peculiarities, weaknesses, limitations in the auditory and visual fields. It is my purpose, on the contrary, to bring forward the peculiar strength, variety, and fineness of the poet's sense of touch,—pointing out what seems to me the positive domination of his mind by the tactual field.

In the second place, Professor Herford, in his further discussion, attributes the poet's preoccupation with clefts and wedges, rough surfaces, sudden contrasts, *et cetera*, mainly to a physiological cause, i. e., to the savage energy and vitality of the man: "No one can miss the element of savage energy in Browning." And he adds that with his savage energy he had a "joy in savage images," and an "even more pronounced joy in savage words." Now my interpretation of the same phenomena—and of others closely allied—finds their cause in a mental bias; not in a physiological trait, but in one psychological. There are other poets just as athletic as Browning: Tennyson was a man of powerful physique; surely Byron was just as full of savage energy; Shelley was physically much more sensitive. But in none of these was the swiftly dividing thought so quick to clothe itself on with images predominantly or purely tactual.

Browning is not content to tell us how Caliban looks: but by sympathetic impulses of the tactual imagination he presents the monster—

With elbows wide, fists clenched to prop his chin.
And, while he kicks both feet in the cool slush,
And feels about his spine small eft-things course,
Run in and out each arm, and make him laugh:
And while above his head a pompion-plant,
Coating the cave-top as a brow its eye,
Creeps down to touch and tickle hair and beard,

gazing out to sea, where the sunbeams "weave a spider-web."

Not because of savage energy, then, nor, as I understand it, because of any stereotropism—suggestive of noxious insects and timid furtive creatures—does Browning rejoice in cleft and wedge figures, in rough surfaces and angularities. Naturally, a poet who is tactually minded will express vigorous action with great concreteness. But the same man in a mood of gentleness or tenderness may employ images of touch the most refined and subtle. This is not strange: it is but a finer use of the same faculty. So Browning is often harsh and rough-handed; yet equally characteristic of his poetic mode is a use of touch of the utmost delicacy, of a quality almost immaterial, spiritual:

Yet rocks split,—and the blow-ball does no more,
Quivers to feathery nothing at a touch (*Giuseppe Caponsacchi*).

I have already, in one of my first paragraphs, alluded to the fact that there are innumerable passages in which Browning mentions hands or fingers, or in some manner directly describes or implies touch; and I have given one example that has indeed something of savage energy—that in which the Italian in England wishes he might throttle Prince Metternich. But in the same poem the Italian actually does employ his hand in benediction:

I could not choose
But kiss her hand, and lay my own
Upon her head—"This faith was shown
To Italy, our mother, she
Uses my hand and blesses thee."

If the reader cannot feel the tactile values in these lines, and regards them as merely descriptions of action quite complete when visualized, let him consider whether the very great number of similar passages in Browning does not in itself indicate a remarkable prepossession with ideas of touch. I do not expect the eye-minded to feel touch-images as they read: certainly not, unless they hold the attention steadily upon the thought and try to feel. I can give only a few examples. The whole volume of poems must show whether

or not these are representative. It is my purpose throughout, moreover, not to illustrate the frequent mention of hands and fingers in strong action, but rather to emphasize what may be too easily overlooked—the poet's more delicate and sensitive touch. When Lippo Lippi says,

Old Aunt Lapaccia trussed me with one hand,
(Its fellow was a stinger as I knew)—

we say that is Browningsque. But are not the hands in the following passages equally characteristic?

Then steps a sweet angelic slip of a thing
Forward, puts out a soft palm—

.

I scuttle off
To some safe bench behind, not letting go
The palm of her, the little lily thing (*Fra Lippo Lippi*).

While not a man of them broke rank and spoke

.

Or caught my hand and pressed it like a hand! (*In a Balcony*).

. he spoke not, but slow
Lifted up the hand slack at his side, till he laid it with care
Soft and grave, but in mild settled will, on my brow: through my hair
The large fingers were pushed, and he bent back my head, with kind
power—

All my face back, intent to peruse it, as men do a flower (*Saul*).

And shut the money into this small hand

.

Here by the window with your hand in mine

.

Your soft hand is a woman of itself,
And mine the man's bared breast she curls inside.

.

This low-pulsed forthright craftsman's hand of mine

.

Let my hands frame your face in your hair's gold (*Andrea Del Sarto*).

So hush,—I will give you this leaf to keep:
See, I shut it inside the sweet cold hand! (*Evelyn Hope*).

Descriptions of women, real or imagined, involve images of touch; thus re-live women of eighteenth century Venice and girls of ancient Rome:

On her neck the small face buoyant, like a bell-flower
 on its bed,
 O'er the breast's superb abundance where a man might
 base his head?

Dear dead women, with such hair, too—what's become
 of all the gold
 Used to hang and brush their bosoms? I feel chilly and
 grown old (*A Toccata of Galuppi's*).

That quick the round smooth cord of gold,
 This coiled hair on your head, unrolled,
 Fell down you like a gorgeous snake
 The Roman girls were wont, of old,
 When Rome there was, for coolness' sake
 To let lie curling o'er their bosoms (*In a Gondola*).

One remembers, also, the description of Fifine's ear, "Thin as a dusk-leaved rose carved from a cocoa-nut," in which the words *thin* and *carved* suggest a sculpturesque quality allied to touch.

A kiss is itself a touch; it may be as intense as that of the deaf mute in the group by Woolner, as airy as the wing of a moth, as lightly given as that bestowed on a flower:

Only the prism's obstruction shows aright
 The secret of a sunbeam, breaks its light
 Into the jeweled bow from blankest white;
 So may a glory from defect arise:
 Only by Deafness may the vexed Love wreak
 Its insuppressive sense on brow and cheek (*Deaf and Dumb*).

When my lips just touched your cheek—
 Touch which let my soul come through? (*Ferishtah's
 Fancies, xi*).

The moth's kiss, first!
 The bee's kiss now! (*In a Gondola*).

Bud, if I kiss you, 't is that you blow not,
 Mind,—the shut pink mouth opens never!
 For while it pouts, her fingers wrestle—

Till round they turn and down they nestle—
Is not the dear mark still to be seen? (*Garden Fancies*).

It is of a flower that the poet makes this confession,
comparing it somewhat disparagingly to a jewel,

Flower—I never fancied, jewel—I profess you!
Bright I see and soft I feel the outside of a flower (*Magical Nature*).

Descriptions of paintings full of touch images are the little poem, *A Face*, and *The Guardian-Angel*, from which I take the following:

If one could have that little head of hers
Painted upon a background of pale gold,
Such as the Tuscan's early art prefers!
No shade encroaching on the matchless mould
Of those two lips, which should be opening soft
In the pure profile; not as when she laughs,
For that spoils all: but rather as if aloft
Yon hyacinth, she loves so, leaned its staff's
Burthen of honey-colored buds to kiss
And capture 'twixt the lips apart for this.
Then her lithe neck, three fingers might surround,
How it should waver on the pale gold ground
Up to the fruit-shaped, perfect chin it lifts! (*A Face*).

Dear and great Angel, wouldst thou only leave
That child, when thou hast done with him, for me!

Then shall I feel thee step one step, no more,
From where thou standest now, to where I gaze,
—And suddenly my head is covered o'er

. . . and I shall feel thee guarding

And wilt thou bend me low
Like him, and lay, like his, my hands together,
And lift them up to pray, and gently tether
Me, as thy lamb there, with thy garment's spread?

If this was ever granted, I would rest
My head beneath thine, while thy healing hands
Close-covered both my eyes beside thy breast,
Pressing the brain, which too much thought expands
(*The Guardian Angel*).

Somewhat similar to the preceding is a kind of pathetic fallacy by which Browning invests nature and inanimate objects with his own feeling or whim. A landscape basks with knees out-thrust; hills are giants; an old book tossed into the hollow of a tree is tickled by worms and insects:

How did he like it when the live creatures
 Tickled and toused and browsed him all over . . . ?
(Sibrandus Schafnaburgensis).

Some think fireflies pretty, when they mix in the corn and
 mingle,
 Or thrud the stinking hemp till the stalks of it seem atingle
(Up at a Villa).

Oh, the good gigantic smile of the brown old earth
 This autumn morning, How he sets his bones
 To bask i' the sun, and thrusts out knees and feet
 For the ripple to run over in its mirth *(James Lee's Wife, vii).*

The earth heaved beneath like a breast
 Where the wretch was safe pressed *(Instans Tyrannus).*

The hills, like giants at a hunting, lay,
 Chin upon hand *(Childe Roland).*

So, also, in describing sculpture Browning projects sentience into cold marble:

. . . a vault, see; thick
 Black shade about the ceiling, though fine slits
 Across the buttress suffer light by fits
 Upon a marvel in the midst. Nay, stoop—
 A dullish gray-streaked cumbrous font, a group
 Round it,—each side of it, where'er one sees,—
 Upholds it; shrinking Caryatides
 Of just-tinged marble like Eve's lilled flesh
 Beneath her maker's finger when the fresh
 First pulse of life shot brightening the snow.
 The font's edge burdens every shoulder, so
 They muse upon the ground *(Sordello).*

And how your statues' hearts must swell *(In a Gondola).*

One loves a baby face, with violets there,
 Violets instead of laurel in the hair,
 As those were all the little locks could bear

Here's John the Smith's rough-hammered head. Great eye,
Gross jaw and griped lips do what granite can
To give you the crown-grasper. What a man! (*Protus*).

First the flow of water, then the feeling of air: perhaps these are the most delicate perceptions possible to touch,—that is, to actual sensation. How far Browning tends to perceive and interpret tactually things that others would perceive as merely visual may be illustrated by the description of a stream of fresh water flowing into the sea:

the lukewarm brine
O' the lazy sea her stream thrusts far amid,
A crystal spike 'twixt two warm walls of wave (*Caliban upon Setebos*).

Certainly this is not a visual figure; it is not something the reader can see. Compare, for instance, Tennyson's streams in the land of the Lotos-Eaters:

A land of streams! some, like a downward smoke,
Slow-dropping veils of thinnest lawn, did go;

a description in which the water is perceived solely by the visual sense. Tennyson, indeed, sometimes interprets touch itself in terms of sight:

The pale blood of the wizard at her touch
Took gayer colors, like an opal warmed (*Merlin and Vivien*).

It is not that Tennyson is devoid of images of touch, as for instance,

Then thrice essay'd with tenderest-touching terms,
To sleek her ruffled peace of mind, in vain (*Merlin and Vivien*).

but that far more numerous, and more fine, and more characteristic are his figures and images of sight and sound. With Browning the more numerous, the more fine, the more characteristic are the images and figures of touch. But to continue with the touch of water:

Dip your arm o'er the boat-side, elbow-deep,
As I do: thus: were death so unlike sleep
Caught this way? Death's to fear from flame or steel,
Or poison, doubtless; but from water—feel! (*In a Gondola*).

The copper couch and one clear nice
Cool squirt of water o'er your bust,
The right thing to extinguish lust! (*Apparent Failure*).

. . . the cool silver shock
Of the plunge in a pool's living water, the hunt of the bear,
And the sultriness showing the lion is couched in his
lair (*Saul*).

Full well I know the thing I grasp, as if intent
To hold,—my wandering wave,—will not be grasped at all:
The solid-seeming grasped, the handful great or small
Must go to nothing, glide through fingers fast enough
(*Fine at the Fair, lxvi*).

Not only does the swimmer feel the water, but the water
itself feels the touch of the rock, and the breath of the air:

Thither the waters tend; they freshen as they haste,
At feel o' the night-wind, though, by cliff and cliff em-
braced (*Ibid. lxiii*).

Jules, the sculptor, in the passage already quoted from
Pippa Passes, speaks of the air's embrace; and indicates the
extremes of substance, thus:

Refine it off to air, you may,—condense it
Down to the diamond (*Pippa Passes*).

Browning rejoices in the caress of the unseen element:

Florence lay out on the mountain-side.

River and bridge and street and square
Lay mine, as much at my beck and call,
Through the live translucent bath of air
As the sights in a magic crystal ball (*Old Pictures in
Florence*).

Silence and passion, joy and peace,
An everlasting wash of air (*Two in the Campagna*).

He is sensitive, too, to an electric quality in the air:

One long shudder thrilled
All the tent till the very air tingled, then sank and was
still (*Saul, x*).

Sound, being a vibration of the air, and partially perceptible, through touch, is naturally associated with motion, as for instance:

Bang-whang-whang goes the drum, *tootle-te-tootle* the fife;
No keeping one's haunches still: it's the greatest pleasure
in life (*Up at a Villa—Down in the City*).

But Browning goes much farther, and translates the sound waves into something palpable, as a mist, a web; or even something having the solidity of architecture:

Would that the structure brave, the manifold music I build,
Bidding my organ obey, calling its keys to their work,
Claiming each slave of the sound, at a touch, as when
Solomon willed
Armies of angels that soar, legions of demons that lurk,
. . . pile him a palace straight, to pleasure the princess
he loved!

Would it might tarry like his, the beautiful buidling
of mine,
This which my keys in a crowd pressed and importuned
to raise! (*Abt Vogler*).

Alcamo's song enmeshes the lulled Isle,
Woven into the echoes left erewhile
By Nina, one soft web of song (*Sordello*).

The air broke into a mist with bells (*The Patriot*).

Tennyson, conversely, sometimes translates actual contact into images of sound:

With Arthur in the fight which all day long
Rang by the white mouth of the violent Glem;
And in the four loud battles by the shore
Of Duglas (*Launcelot and Elaine*).

Not only sound, but darkness and light, the very faculty of vision itself, are by Browning associated with or interpreted through images of touch. "Thick darkness" is, to be sure, so common a figure as to excite no remark; but darkness, in Browning, may become solid:

Mountains and valleys mingling made one mass
Of black with void black heaven: the earth's confines,
The sky's embrace,—below, above, around,
All hardened into black without a bound.

Fill up a swart stone chalice to the brim
 With fresh-squeezed yet fast-thickening poppy-juice:
 See how the sluggish jelly, late a-swim,
 Turns marble to the touch of who would loose
 The solid smooth, grown jet from rim to rim,
 By turning round the bowl! So night can fuse
 Earth with her all-comprising sky (*Pan and Luna*).

In *Saul*, the sunbeam which reveals the king to David "bursts" through the tent roof. And David thinks of the noontide sun as of a swordlike destroyer:

Then I tuned my harp,—took off the lilies we twine
 round its chords
 Lest they snap 'neath the stress of the noontide—those
 sunbeams like swords! (*Saul*, v).

Professor Herford finds in this situation an example of vivid contrast in color—"the blue lilies about the harp of golden-haired David." When Abner says:

Yet how my heart leaps, O beloved! God's child with his dew
 On thy gracious gold hair, and those lilies still living and blue
 Just broken to twine round thy harp-strings, as if no wild heat
 Were now raging to torture the desert! (*Saul*, ii).

But, as is characteristic with Browning, these simple notes of color are subservient to the larger contrast, the contrast of freshness, dew, and life, with the heat and drouth of the desert, and with the darkness and torpor of Saul. David runs "o'er sand burnt to powder," and groping his way on hands and knees "on the slippery grass-patch" feels for the fold-skirts of the great tent's inner enclosure. At first he sees nothing but the blacker blackness of the main prop and a gigantic figure against it—

Then a sunbeam, that burst through the tent-roof, showed
 Saul (*Saul*, iii).

The same poem contains descriptions of stars and of dawn which are strongly tactual, or motor-tactual:

For I wake in the gray dewy covert, while Hebron upheaves
 The dawn struggling with night on his shoulder, and
 Kidron retrieves
 Slow the damage of yesterday's sunshine (*Saul*, xiv).

And the stars of night beat with emotion, and tingled
 and shot
 Out in fire the strong pain of pent knowledge: but I
 fainted not,
 For the Hand still impelled me at once and supported,
 suppressed
 All the tumult, and quenched it with quiet, and holy behest
 (*Saul, xix*).

Daylight in the opening lines of *Pippa Passes* is a molten liquid mass that, at first suppressed, seethes up over the brim of night:

Day!
 Faster and more fast,
 O'er night's brim, day boils at last:
 Boils, pure gold, o'er the cloud-cup's brim
 Where spurting and suppressed it lay,
 For not a froth-flake touched the rim
 Of yonder gap in the solid gray
 Of the eastern cloud, an hour away;
 But forth one wavelet, then another, curled,
 Till the whole sunrise, not to be suppressed,
 Rose, reddened, and its seething breast
 Flickered in bounds, grew gold, then overflowed the
 world (*Pippa Passes*).

Vision itself becomes tactual:

In the grasp of my steady stare—

 In the clutch of my steady ken—

 I imprint her fast
 On the void at last (*Mesmerism*).

When I do come, she will speak not, she will stand,
 Either hand
 On my shoulder, give her eyes the first embrace
 Of my face (*Love Among the Ruins*).

And in a figure of speech the sensitive eye is wounded by a mere gesture simulating touch:

Touch us o' the pupil of our honor, then,
 Not actually,—since so you slay outright,—
 But by a gesture simulating touch (*Dominus Hyacinthus*).

I shall conclude my quotations from Browning with some examples of his use of touch images in characteristic figures. I believe these similes and metaphors, some of which give voice to the poet's essential philosophy, will not be fully apprehended unless the reader receives them as something more than merely visual.

Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp
Or what's a heaven for? (*Andrea del Sarto*).

He fixed thee 'mid this dance
Of plastic circumstance,
This present, thou, forsooth, would fain arrest:
Machinery just meant
To give thy soul its bent,
Try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed (*Rabbi Ben Ezra*).

I am held up, amid the nothingness,
By one or two truths only—thence I hang,
And there I live—the rest is death or dream,
All but those points of my support. I think
Of what I saw at Rome once in the Square
O' the Spaniards, opposite the Spanish House:
There was a foreigner had trained a goat,
A shuddering white woman of a beast,
To climb up, stand straight on a pile of sticks
Put close, which gave the creature room enough:
When she was settled there, he, one by one,
Took away all the sticks, left just the four
Whereon the little hoofs did really rest,
There she kept firm, all underneath was air.
So, what I hold by, are my prayer to God,
My hope . . . (*Pompilia*).

He laid a hand on me that burned all peace,
All joy, all hope, and last all fear away,
Dipping the bough of life, so pleasant once,
In fire which shrivelled leaf and bud alike (*Giuseppe Caponsacchi*).

Then drench her in repose though death's self pour
The plenitude of quiet—help us, God (*Ibid*).

With me, faith means perpetual unbelief
Kept quiet like the snake 'neath Michael's foot

Who stands calm just because he feels it writhe (*Bishop
Blougram's Apology*).

While the great bishop rolled him out a mind
Long crumpled, till creased consciousness lay smooth (*Ibid.*).

Then we began to ride. My soul
Smoothed itself out, a long-cramped scroll
Freshening and fluttering in the wind (*The Last Ride Together*).

While man knows partly but conceives beside,
Creeps ever on from fancies to the fact,
And in this striving, this converting air
Into a solid he may grasp and use,
Finds progress, man's distinctive mark alone (*A Death
in the Desert*).

The distinction between the eye-and-ear type of imagination and the muscle-and-nerve (motor-tactual) type becomes clear if one compares Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar* with Browning's *Prospice*. The predominance of touch images in Browning may be tested, moreover, in the following manner: let the reader take those characteristic poems, *Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came* and *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, and slowly reading them, ask himself just how much of their imagery could be directly apprehended by a person blind and deaf from birth—a person, that is to say, whose world is purely tactual. I believe this a fair test, for one poem is largely external description, the other almost wholly abstract thought.

For my own part the discovery of the predominance of touch images in Browning has been a key that unlocked a treasury of poetic expression: the rough lines of the poet are better understood; the most harmonious fraught with a deeper eloquence. I not only forgive but enjoy "Ere mortar dab brick" in *The Grammarian's Funeral*, and "Patient on altar-step planting a weary toe" in *Old Pictures in Florence*, no longer regarding them as merely clever tricks to make rimes with "fabric" and "San Spirito." Even "Irks care the crop full bird" has ceased to terrify. On the other hand, the fulness, richness, and great range of this poet's touch

imagery,—scarcely more than suggested by the random examples I have given,—will be found, by those who read him attentively, to contribute almost as much to the essential charm and beauty of his work as to its strength and vividness.

Who else but Browning lifts a spiritual hand from earth to heaven, and feels God's finger touch the soul on earth?

This eve intense with yon first trembling star
We seem to pant and reach; scarce aught between
The earth that rises and the heaven that bends (*In a
Balcony*).

But here is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can
(*Abt Vogler*).

And like the hand which ends a dream,
Death, with the might of his sunbeam,
Touches the flesh and the soul awakes (*The Flight of the
Duchess*).

JOHN KESTER BONNELL
(Deceased September 30, 1921).

XXVII. EMERSON AS POET OF NATURE

I

If it may be said of Emerson's writings that

In his every syllable
Lurketh Nature veritable,

Thoreau should be given much, perhaps most, of the credit. For Emerson owed as much to Thoreau in respect to the material world as Thoreau owed to him in respect to the world of spirit. Remove the details of material nature from Emerson's essays,¹ and you will rob them of much of their charm and power, since the author would be in perpetual danger of soaring aloft, balloon-fashion, among his "Circles" in worlds unrealised. Remove them from his *Poems*, where the sensuous, the concrete, is vitally necessary, and the poetry itself is gone with them. By a most happy conjunction of events, the very man who perhaps of all his countrymen had most to give Emerson, was his fellow-townsmen, his friend, his companion in countless walks to the pine-groves, a valued assistant in editing the *Dial*, the guardian of his hearth while he sojourned abroad, and a sympathetic interpreter and critic of his inner life. Their friendship was not, of course, a free union of personalities, though we must make allowance for the stiffnesses of the Puritan tradition and bear in mind that, if Emerson would as soon think of embracing a tree as putting his arm around Henry, the forbidding Henry could be a charming Piper of Hamelin to the Emerson children,² could sing his favorite "Tom Bowling" under the shelter of a rock during a shower in the presence of R. W. E. himself, and, when the mood was right, could dance with something like abandon. For years

¹ He thought of calling his chief collection of essays, that of 1841, *Forest Essays*.

² See the gracious memorial written by one of these children, Dr. Edward Emerson: *Henry Thoreau, as Remembered by a Young Friend*, Boston, 1917.

they wandered together over the Concord hills and meadows, exchanging their learning and their aspirations as freely as Wordsworth and Coleridge in the Somerset days. They were meant to be mates; they complement each other; in them is illustrated the idea in "The American Scholar" that the ancient doctrine "Know Thyself" (which may stand for Emerson) coincides at last with the modern doctrine "Study Nature" (which may stand for Thoreau). In the world of outer nature, Emerson constantly deferred to the "river-God," the "forest seer," at his door. "Thoreau tells me"—what more would you have? He seemed to know everything, as by intuition:

It seemed as if the breezes brought him,
It seemed as if the sparrows taught him,

as he says in the familiar stanza in "Woodnotes." The sights of his walks "with Henry" he reports as scrupulously as Henry himself. How he, too, revels in names, handles to things, especially erect, manly Latin names:

We found *Saxifraga Pennsylvanica*, and *Chrysosplenium oppositifolium*,
by Everett's spring, and *Stellaria* and *Cerastium* and *Arabis rhomboidea* and
Veronica anagallis. . . .

How blissful, even unto an exclamation point, on finding "two Polygalas with checkerberry scent!" How slyly satisfied when the wood-god is found fallible—when they come upon "a tall shrub unknown to Henry." With what scientific ardor the two philosophers examine young oak leaves, comparing the black, the scarlet, and the red, and how importantly the particular philosopher in question concludes that "the penetrating the bark of the first to find the yellow *quercitrum* must be for me the final test." And how docilely he, too, is mystified by that ridiculous "night-warbler" that vexed Thoreau's scientific soul for twelve years; how docilely he, too, commits the unpardonable sin of hearing the myrtle warbler when it is the white-throat that sings. Emerson had, by instinct, nothing at all of the scientist in him; as he remarks, just after a walk with Thoreau to see *Ranunculus*

abortivus and *bulbosus* and the rest of his friends, "We never see mosses, lichens, grasses, birds, or insects which are near us every day, on account of our preoccupied mind." And then he adds what surely is a resounding tribute to his tutor, "When our attention is at last called to them they seem the only things worth minding."

But he did not mind them long: most of the time he was bound to be preoccupied with an idea or a fancy. When Thoreau one day pointed out to him that a river has a male and a female bank, the pickerel-weed keeping to the female bank, we may be sure that Emerson was soon lost in his inner world of compensation, action and reaction, male and female. When, another day,—“the finest day, the high noon of the year”—he went with Thoreau on an excursion in a wagon, he may well have experienced the feeling described in the following passage, in which the compact earth beneath him crumbles and melts away:

Nature is the true idealist. When she serves us best, when, on rare days, she speaks to the imagination, we feel that the huge heaven and earth are but a web drawn around us, that the light, skies and mountains are but the painted vicissitudes of the soul.

The world, in his idealistic philosophy, is “mind precipitated, and the volatile essence forever escaping again into the state of free thought.” In nature, therefore, he in a sense found thought: and wherever thought was to be found, thither Emerson would instinctively make his way. That is the underlying reason for the prominence of nature in his writings—from “little azure-colored Nature” onward—and in his mode of life at Concord. But there is another reason on the surface: his pleasure in nature, his “child’s love of it.” In his first book, after casting every manner of doubt on the reality of the external world, he turns suddenly, remarking that, after all, he has no hostility, only love, for nature. “I expand and live in the warm day,” he says, “like corn and melons.” Time and again he is to discover himself feeling that the visible universe is but an insubstantial web;

time and again, as he listens to the wood-bird, the thought will come that

When that bird sang, I gave the theme;

yet in the main he will accept joyfully the independent existence of the world about him, act in it as men are wont to do, play in it happily in the spirit of childhood, gather facts about it from Thoreau and others as if the facts were themselves ultimate. He concerned himself always, not only with *natura naturans*, but also with *natura naturata*; and it is with *natura naturata* that we too, in the following pages, will mainly concern ourselves

II

Wandering almost daily over familiar, well-tried paths, oftenest to the shores of Walden Pond, alone or with a companion, or paddling up the river-paths to see the world, as it were, with a different perspective, Emerson came to know his natural surroundings almost as well as Thoreau himself. From the mighty world of eye and ear he chose what seemed especially proper to him, relatively ignoring the rest. What did he choose? What aspects of outer nature roused to lively activity his inner nature?

Not, certainly, the sounds; *his* book *Walden* would not have contained a chapter on "Sounds." "That which others hear," he says, "I see. All the soothing, plaintive, brisk or romantic moods which corresponding melodies awaken in them, I find in the carpet of the wood, in the margin of the pond, in the shade of the hemlock grove, or in the infinite variety and rapid dance of the tree-tops as I hurry along." According to his son, he had a good sense of form, drawing heads for his children's amusement aptly, and enjoying Greek sculpture rather than painting in which color dominates form. It may be so, though in his writing Emerson's sense of form somewhat oddly fails to assert itself, and in nature the only lines he frequently admires are the circles or part circles such as the horizon and the

rainbow. His son adds, "He had less eye for color;" and here, surely, we must disagree.

Through "the flowing azure air" he saw the world in a radiant, iridescent shimmer. "In the landscape felt the magic of color; the world is all opal, and those ethereal tints the mountains wear have the finest effects of music on us." The sea is "the opaline;" upon the land the divine "million-handed painter" has poured—

Opal hues and purple dye.

The fickleness of nature's coloring is greatly enhanced for him by the chiaroscuro of—

the cloud-shadow on the lea,

of the

Leopard-colored rills,

of the infinite changes of the hours:

. Yonder ragged cliff
Has thousand faces in a thousand hours.

This fluid harmony of color is composed, as the opal is, of various brilliant colors. Emerson sees them sometimes with startling distinctness, as in this prose account:

Is all this beauty to perish? Shall none remake this sun and wind, the sky-blue river, the river-blue sky; the yellow meadow spotted with sacks and sheets of cranberry-pickers; the red bushes; the iron-gray house with just the color of the granite rock;

or this verse account:

Through files of flags that gleamed like bayonets,
Through gold-moth-haunted beds of pickerel-flower,
Through scented banks of lilies white and gold.

If repetition indicates anything, purple was the color that he saw most or liked most. He writes of "the purple sea," of "the purple mountain," of "the cold and purple morning," of "the purple landscape," of "the purple cloud"—his clouds, in particular, are somewhat monotonously purple. All of his attraction to color is expressed in the Journal passage in which he comments on Channing's remark that

"As for beauty, I need not look beyond an oar's length for my fill of it." "I do not know," says Emerson, "whether he used the expression with design or no, but my eye rested on the charming play of light on the water which he was striking with his paddle. I fancied I had never seen such color, such transparency, such eddies; it was the hue of Rhine wines, it was jasper and verd-antique, topaz and chalcedony, it was gold and green and chestnut and hazel in bewitching succession and relief, without cloud or confusion." If anything, Emerson's eye for color was stronger than his eye for form.

His ear for music was so deficient that he could not recognize with certainty even the commonest airs, and though he attended concerts dutifully, derived little from good music—"it looked to me as if the performers were crazy, and all the audience were make-believe crazy, in order to soothe the lunatics, and keep them amused." Of nature's sounds he enjoyed echoes, boughs buffeting boughs in the wind, and

. . . . the gasp and moan
Of the ice-imprisoned flood

when

Blue Walden rolls its cannonade.

The south wind—"the wizard South"—was his favorite, but less for its touch, perhaps, than for its melody—"the musical, steaming, odorous south wind, which converts all trees to windharps." No sounds did he value so much as the eerie voice of the Aeolian harp in his west window—see, for example his poems "The Harp" and "Maiden Speech of the Aeolian Harp"—and nature's Aeolian harp, the pine-tree.

Tie a couple of strings across a board and set it in your window, and you have an instrument which no artist's harp can rival. It needs no instructed ear; if you have sensibility it admits you to sacred interiors; it has the sadness of Nature, yet, at the changes, tones of triumph and festal notes ringing out all measures of loftiness.

Such perceptiveness as he had, Emerson cherished; and his curiosity in large measure made up for his lack of the

instinctive perceptiveness of the naturalist. Essentially an idealist, he nevertheless was deeply interested in natural science, in the law for thing, and took his opportunities very seriously: "The first care of a man settling in the country," he says, "should be to open the face of the earth to himself by a little knowledge of Nature, or a great deal, if he can; of birds, plants, rocks, astronomy." This he did, with the help of Thoreau and Channing. His aims were various. Among them was the satisfaction of the instinctive love we all feel for the concrete world, round which we hover "as moths round a lamp." Among them was also the adjustment of the poet's imagination to the facts of outer nature: "The poet loses himself in imaginations, and, for want of accuracy, is a mere fabulist." Accuracy of this kind has been prized, even misprized, by the poets of the nineteenth century; when so wayward a genius as Whitman changes the "calves" of his she-whale to "calf," fidelity to fact may be said to be deified. In Emerson this modern instinct is ever operative. For example:

Each maple leaf turned up its silver side.

And even when the happy child
In May beholds the blooming wild,
And hears in heaven the bluebird sing.

"In heaven" is precisely right. And here is the chickadee ("titmouse") of this amateur ornithologist—I have italicized the phrases most indicative of his accuracy:

Flew near, with soft wing grazed my hand,
Hopped on the bough, then, *darting low*,
Prints his small impress on the snow,
Shows feats of his *gymnastic play*,
Head downward, clinging to the spray.

For men mis-hear thy call *in Spring*,
Crying out of the hazel copse, *Phe-bel*
And, *in winter, Chic-a-dee-dee!*

In such passages, moreover, together with fidelity to fact we find a certain charm that gives life and motion to the

image, delighting us with an odd, pretty, penetrating truth of vision:

When the fungus broad and red

Lifts its head

Like poisoned loaf of elfin bread.

The cold gray down upon the quinces lieth

And the poor spinners weave their webs thereon

To share the sunshine that so spicy is.

He loved to watch and wake

When *the wing of the south-wind* whipt the lake

And the glassy surface in ripples brake

And fled in pretty frowns away

Like the flitting boreal lights,

Rippling roses in northern nights,

Or like the thrill of Aeolian strings

In which the sudden wind-god rings.

In all his writings, it is evident that Emerson kept his eye on the object—what a clear, piercing eye, such passages indicate as well as do his portraits. That he consequently learned “a great deal . . . of birds, plants, rocks, astronomy,” can be demonstrated by a glance at his works.

Of astronomy it is true that, though it fascinated him through life, he never attained much tangible knowledge. The stars, those “birds of ether without wings,” or “heavenly ships without a sail,” or, as he called them collectively at the beginning of his first book, the “City of God,” roused his literary interest even in his school days—there is still extant a “theme” on astronomy that was the outcome of an impression received one night as he crossed the spacious Common. Later he read of the lives and achievements of such men as Kepler, Newton, and Herschel, and looked forward to a study of astronomy in his old age. His night walks at Concord were taken mainly with a view to knowing the stars better. It is an objection to astronomy, he says to Channing, “that you light your candle at both ends. After you have got through the day and ’tis necessary you should give attention to the business of sleeping, all hands are called; here come Canopus, Aldebaran, and all stars, and

you are to begin again." And often he did begin again; for, after the dissipating sunlight and the fluid moods that characterize the day, which finally make one doubt one's identity, then "these expressive points, always in their place so immutable" tranquillize us, lead us toward the One in the many.

Everything between the stars and the skiey spaces and the nearest and smallest object of nature, such as the insects, Emerson regarded with an inquiring spirit. In our day this seems usual enough; but "some of us can recall," with the late T. W. Higginson, "the bewilderment with which his verses on the humblebee, for instance, were received, where the choice of subject seemed stranger than the words themselves. It was called 'a foolish affectation of the familiar.'" That it is not affectation may be proved, not only by the poem itself, but by the testimony of John Burroughs, who says, "Emerson's best natural history poem is the 'Humblebee.'" Of the dozen or more insects that one meets in Emerson's poetry, the humble-bee occurs oftenest. The "poor, tooting, creaking cricket" gets in only once; more than once we see the curious fire-fly:

. harlot flies
Flashed their small fires in air, or held their court
In fairy groves of herd-grass;

A half dozen times at least we see and hear the—

Burly, dozing humble-bee
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
Zigzag steerer, desert cheerer,
Let me chase thy waving lines;
Keep me nearer, me thy hearer,
Singing over shrubs and vines.

This "yellow-breeched philosopher," it will be remembered, teaches him to see only what is fair, sip only what is sweet; but at bottom he prizes him, rather, as a symbol of the summertide.

Passing by Emerson's miscellaneous animals, from salamanders to behemoths, we come to the birds, some

two score of them—a very large number for a single volume of poems. His bardic love of the birds Emerson expressed directly:

Beloved of children, bards and Spring,
O birds, your perfect virtues bring,
Your song, your forms, your rhythmic flight,
Your manners for the heart's delight,
Nestle in hedge, or barn, or roof,
Here weave your chamber weather-proof,
Forgive our harms, and condescend
To man, as to a lubber friend,
And, generous, teach his awkward race
Courage and probity and grace!

Like Lowell at Elmwood, he was a happy observer of the birds from his study window; near which, in a balsam, he could see the ground-sparrow, oriole, cedar-bird, crossbill, yellowbird, goldfinch, catbird, robin, and "particolored warbler." Going to the woods not far away, he heard the spiritual wood-thrush, transcribing his song with matchless skill: "*Ah Willie Willie; He Willio, willio,*" and in the meadows behind his house the chorusing red-winged black-bird. The admirably accurate line—

The redwing flutes his *o-ka-lee*,

is probably only in part Emerson's.

But Emerson's bird—truly an Emersonian bird, as Burroughs says—is the chickadee. Lowell's rich, warm, vivacious songsters, the oriole and bobolink, are not for him; his is the stout-hearted wintry chickadee, the companion of his walks in all seasons and weathers:

. . . . piped a tiny voice hard by,
Gay and polite, a cheerful cry,
Chic-chic-a-dee-dee! saucy note
Out of sound heart and merry throat,
As if it said, "Good-day, good sir!
Fine afternoon, old passenger!
Happy to meet you in these places,
Where January brings few faces!

lines so sympathetically accurate that no one who knows them and the bird can fail to see as in life the little animated spirit in gray with the shining, black, bead-like eyes. This poem on "The Titmouse" is Emerson's final expression of affection for his valiant little companion, from whom he draws the sympathetic, but otherwise somewhat inadequate conclusion that—

The reason of all cowardice
Is that men are overgrown,
And, to be valiant, must come down
To the titmouse dimension.

The flowers of Emerson's poetry are astonishingly varied. After drawing up a list of them³ one is inclined to regard this lover of the abstract as the foremost botanist in American poetry. Perhaps he is; but it must be said at once that the great majority of his flowers are merely mentioned, without indication that he was on familiar and first-hand terms with them. Few, besides, are mentioned more than once, and those mentioned oftenest—the lily, the violet, and the rose—are as characteristic of village gardens as of wild nature. The rose easily outdistances all competitors, being used over thirty times; while clover occurs only five times, the tulip four, and goldenrod once. Why Emerson had recourse to the rose so often is not altogether clear. It is not a matter of rhyme, although, as a monosyllable, the word is more serviceable than the name of many another Concord flower, such as the pickerel-weed (or pontederia) that everywhere borders the dark river with its lovely blue.

³ Violet, rose, rhodora, laurel, lily, water-lily, cowslip, gentian, aster, flag, pickerel-weed, bilberry, daffodil, succory, columbine, agrimony, clover, catchfly, adder's tongue, blackberry, orchis, linnaea, hyson, wall-flower, rue, cinquefoil, gill, vervain, blue vetch, trillium, hawkweed, sassafras, milkweed, Indian pipe, sundew, pulse, wild grape, lespedeza, tulip, lilac, azalea, mallow, whip-scorpion, polygonum, hypnum, hydnum, harebell, barberry, anemone, wild tea, wild pea, coreopsis, liatris, peppermint, sweet fern, mint, panax, elder, sarsaparilla, vanilla, hellebore, checkerberry, polygala, benzoin, mouse-ear, wintergreen, goldenrod, bulrush. (A few of these may duplicate each other; it is not always clear what species Emerson meant.)

Partly, no doubt, it is a matter of convention, the rose being one of the first flowers that come to mind, especially, it seems, when we are writing verse. Mainly, however, he selected the rose because he preferred it: both the splendor and labyrinthine perfection of the cultivated rose, and the shy beauty of the wood rose blossoming unseen save for his admiring eyes. In writing a poem on the rhodora, he addresses his forest friend with unintentional condescension as a "rival of the rose." Elsewhere he chooses the rose as a symbol of beauty; and, again, he asserts that it speaks all languages to youth; and, once more, tells us that Saadi, who is Emerson, faring divinely, drinks the wind and eats roses.

"To know the trees is, as Spenser says of the ash, 'for nothing ill,' " Emerson writes in his essay on Resources. He knew enough of them to give emphasis to a score of species in his poems, the commonest ones oftenest; though the elm, with its feminine graces, is mentioned but once, while the sturdy oak is mentioned twenty-three times, nearly as often as his beloved pine.

To Emerson, as to Thoreau, the white pine is the genius of the North, an untameable old Norse wood-god, hoary, ancient, wise in all things, communicating vitality to both body and mind of the chaste, unsentimental worshipper, and instilling, now and again, through his murmuring harp-strings, through his cathedral columns illuminated by the western sun as by stained glass, an indeterminate hint, a whisper of ultimate being, that fills the votary with a divine frenzy or an ineffable serenity: a hint incalculable and a memory priceless, that adds to his daily thought and all his outward life a sense of lift, a consecration, a spiritual experience. This is no exaggeration; whatever Emerson may have thought of the actual pine before him, he did not question what happened within his own nature when he walked in his pine grove at Walden, and there was abandon enough in his Puritan blood to make him ascribe the state of being to the possible outer cause—at least, in his verse:

Heed the old oracles,
Ponder my spells;
Song wakes in my pinnacles
When the wind swells.
Soundeth the prophetic wind,
The shadows shake on the rock behind,
And the countless leaves of the pine are strings
Tuned to the lay the wood-god sings.

Hearken! Hearken!

If thou wouldst know the mystic song
Chanted when the sphere was young.
Aloft, abroad, the paean swells;
O wise man! hear'st thou half it tells?

It was to hear the *other half* that Emerson tramped daily to his oracular pines. In his poems he tried to express part of that other half, as in "Wood-Notes," especially "II," which is saturated with the incense of his sacred groves. Nowhere, in any literature, unless in Thoreau's writings, do we find this same wild-sweet fragrance, feel this stimulating sense of the North so sharply. It is at once ancient and modern—this sense of an inscrutable wild old nature penetrated with the modern affection; it is also Puritan, in its depth of spiritual energy, its sense of awe, and its emphasis on purity; it is American, too, in its buoyancy, for though Emerson's oracle can speak, as he says, all languages—Italian, English, German, aye, can address the Fin and Lap and swart Malay—it speaks with an unmistakable American accent.

III

Such enchantments, says Emerson, are medicinal, sobering and healing us. We perceive with never-ending astonishment the accommodation of the life of man to the life of nature: rejoicing at the refreshment given us by the cold water from the spring, at the relief afforded by the wood-fire when we are chilled. These elementary physical satisfactions win for nature our gratitude, our trust, our sense of a friendship that knows no beginning and will know no end. Above these satisfactions, however, are the subtler health-

giving properties of nature when her equanimity steadies our nerves, heals our wounded or balked spirits, restores us to ourselves. They lose their grief who hear *her* song:

. A woodland walk,
A quest of river-grapes, a mocking thrush,
A wild rose, or rock loving columbine,
Salve my worst wounds.

She will not tolerate our petty woes, and belittles even our larger woes, bathing us in an atmosphere that cools and purifies and elevates. "When we come out of the caucus, or the bank, or the Abolition-convention, or the Temperance-meeting, or the Transcendental club into the fields and woods, she says to us, 'So hot? my little Sir.' " If Emerson were living in these still more troubled times, we may be sure he would seek, and find, healing and new energy, and therefore new light, in his woodland walks.

Many nineteenth century poets have been vividly conscious of this healing power of nature. It has been their inevitable haven of refuge from the fevers and alarms of these latter days; other centuries, more healthy because more assured and more at home in the universe, have said little about it. Even Emerson, far more assured than most of his contemporaries, finding within his own spiritual nature the support that others sought without, felt the need keenly. But he perceived higher effects also. "There are all degrees of natural influence," he remarks, "from these quarantine powers of nature, up to her dearest and gravest ministrations to the imagination and the soul."

In the attainment of these higher effects, we have but one instrument—love. Lacking that, our knowledge is vain, our conquest of nature is barren, we are but strangers in her presence:

The injured elements say, 'Not in us';
And night and day, ocean and continent,
Fire, plant and mineral say, 'Not in us';
And haughtily return us stare for stare.

Or, as he says in another poem,

To read the sense the woods impart
You must bring the throbbing heart.

Then you shall find them full of solicitation, then you shall know that—

The gods talk in the breath of the woods,
They talk in the shaken pine,
And fill the long reach of the old seashore
With dialogue divine.

In the main inarticulate, their talk is not unmeaning. Nature and man nod to each other, like old, old friends. When the man approaches her rightly, her countenance lights up with benignant recognition. Crossing the bare common, while night is descending and snow puddles shine rather dismally here and there, Emerson experiences a flooding exhilaration, and a gladness that passes understanding dwells with him for a time. At such unpredictable moments Emerson felt convinced that nature is moored to the soul.

Always he found that these moments are unpredictable; like Thoreau he soon discovered that nature will not yield herself to man's whim:

Casualty and Surprise
Are the apples of her eyes.

He speaks of "a certain enticement and flattery, together with a failure to yield a present satisfaction" that brands nature as a coquette. In his *Journals* he records that, returning to Concord from Waltham one night with Elizabeth Hoar, his companion said, in Lincoln woods, "that the woods always looked as if they waited whilst you passed by—waited for you to be gone"; and in his essay on History, in which Elizabeth becomes "a lady with whom I was riding in the forest," he elaborates the idea, comparing it with what he regards as its incarnation, so to speak, in fairy lore—the fairies breaking off their dance on the approach of man. Like Thoreau, with whom he must have discussed his experience, Emerson was obliged to describe his "oracular

woods" as "inscrutable and mute." He accepted the paradox with a good grace. Feeling at times a sense of derision in nature, which he would at first resent, he concluded nevertheless that a single look at the solemn face of nature "lays all petulance at rest, and soothes us to wiser convictions. To the intelligent, nature converts itself into a vast promise, and will not be rashly explained." And he goes on to say that the wise man will not seek to identify himself with the work, but rather with the Workman. In the order of nature, that workman is the World-Soul; in the order of man, the Over-Soul. Let man seek the soul, then, not through the medium of nature, whose most articulate messages are only dubious hints, but immediately within himself, renouncing for the moment the life that links man with nature, and letting the higher self, the self that is not self, emancipate itself in ecstatic union with universal spirit. Let him remember, likewise, that the mystic way "points to virtue as to

The golden key
Which opes the palace of eternity."

If the author of "Comus" never wavered, as Emerson did, in his attitude toward the natural universe; if his conception of virtue and the problem of evil, despite its theologic trappings, was more profound, he was not more assured than Emerson himself, true descendant of the Puritans, of "the eternal distinction between the soul and the world" and the ineluctable authority of the Moral Sentiment.

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XXVIII. WORDSWORTH'S GOSPEL OF NATURE

The last hundred years have destroyed the social, political, artistic, philosophical and religious beliefs of the past and substituted new ones. While no one of these new ones has proven satisfactory, it is particularly in the domain of religion that the experiments of a century have borne little fruit. The spiritual indecision of to-day unquestionably had its origin in the peculiar variety of religion which the romantic era gave to the world.

The justifiable revolt against the excessive devotion to reason associated generally with the names of Boileau and Pope has become a dangerous revolt against reason itself, pregnant with pernicious heresies,—heresies not because they aim to dethrone Pope but because they strike at the sovereignty of conceptions which have been the product of human experience, painfully elaborated through all the ages. Progress is impossible without a gradual modification of tradition, but not all modifications of tradition make for progress. Change is not beneficial *per se*: there is such a thing as moving onward down hill.

The present moment is certainly unspiritual. It may be a long time before true religion can return to the world; it can return only on condition that we keep fast in mind what it

is, and accept no shams in its place. It can hardly be denied that the religion of the romanticists is a sham. In fact real religion and the romantic creed seem to be incompatible, for the romantic religion is at its best merely a slightly disguised form of pantheism, which is not a religion at all.

The powerful effect of eighteenth century philosophy on poetry, and the subsequent retaliatory modification of the philosophic outlook under the influence of the poet's manner of looking at things, is a long and intricate story. The romantic poets, particularly the Germans, believed that they derived their religion from the eighteenth century philosophers. But the severe philosophic pantheism of Spinoza is far removed from the type of pantheism which the poets espoused in his name. The deism of the English philosophers, too, underwent a strange transformation in the hands of the romanticists. The confusion is undoubtedly to be traced in large part to Rousseau. Rousseau is ranked with the deists. The truth is that deism in a poet's mind is very likely to become pantheism, and Rousseau was, in essence, a pantheist. His influence was so great that before the dawn of the nineteenth century Spinozan pantheism and English deism had degenerated into the poetic pantheism of the romanticists, which differs only slightly from the pantheism of Rousseau.

Rousseau felt insulted when it was intimated that his religion was not Christianity. Chateaubriand was enraged when his *Atala* and *René* were pronounced unedifying as parts of an apology for Christianity. He wrote these two tales when he was wavering between atheism and Rousseauistic pantheism. Then came his conversion; he changed the stories only slightly and inserted a preface in which he shows that they prove the superiority of the Christian faith to all others! Such is the ease with which the romanticist transforms himself from an unbeliever into a believer.

The reaction from the rationalism of the old régime did not lead to pure spiritual elevation; it followed the path traced by Rousseau, a tortuous path which has led us, as

might be expected from the fact that Rousseau is more akin to Voltaire than to Pascal, not out of the "dark wood" but back to a point very near that from which we set out, to a condition not unlike the reasoned doubt of the eighteenth century.

True to its pantheistic origin, romantic religiosity took the form of an expansive yearning to lose oneself in the universe, to become a part of the cosmic stream: "Rolled round in earth's diurnal course, With rocks, and stones, and trees." This desired dissolution may be approached only through ecstasy. There are two roads to such ecstasy, woman and nature. The French prefer the former of these, the English the latter, but it is not clear that one will lead any nearer to true spirituality than the other. To the romanticist religion is exclusively emotional, and by emotion he does not mean that state of rapt concentration out of which proceeds the vision of a medieval saint; he means nothing more than the operation of the senses. "Feeling is all," says Faust. The romanticist lives in the world of the senses, precisely those senses which all religions pronounce to be the enemies of man's higher nature. The romanticist brought great gain to the world when he restored respectability to the five senses; at the same time he tended to give them such preeminence as virtually to take our religion from us—without realizing it. He

"sweet religion makes
A rhapsody of words"—

a hateful desecration to Shakespeare's finest gentleman.

If religion is to be anything at all, it demands not an expansive outpouring, but a return upon ourselves. It demands not the unfolding of the senses to the fullest degree, but the rigorous control of the senses that we may hear the voice within. "Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, Lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is *within* you." Its climax is reached not in a sensuous ecstasy, but in a rapture from which the sensuous world is banished. It can not be reached through the senses, it must be sought through far other, far

higher faculties. "Virtue is an effort. I do not like effort," says Lamartine. None of the romanticists liked effort. True religion presupposes effort, intense effort.

It is not here implied that the ordinary human being who has not gone through the experiences of a St. Francis, a Dante, or a Pascal may not consider himself religious, but it is maintained that the *poet* who has not the religious insight of a St. Francis, a Dante, or a Pascal can not write poetry whose religious message will be of surpassing value. As in other matters, so in religious force, it is permissible to all human beings to be mediocre—except to the poet of religion. The religion of the romantic poets is mediocre at best, and in a study of their works it does not seem worthy of the serious consideration it commonly receives.

There is only one conspicuous poet of the romantic school whose religious profundity does not seem to be purely illusory. That is Wordsworth.

To question Wordsworth's soundness as a religious teacher is to run counter to a well-established tradition. Only careful definition can avert confusion. It is recognized that religion in its final analysis is not a belief in God or the immortality of the soul or reincarnation, nor a set of dogmas; it is a *state of mind* which enables man by the exercise of supersensuous faculties to arrive at that spiritual peace by virtue of which he may escape from the oppressive sensation of the transitoriness of human things and perceive the unchanging, the eternal. Much may be added to this bare outline, dogmas and ethical laws, for instance; these remain, however, merely collateral and do not challenge the pre-eminence of the essential element.

It can hardly be denied that Wordsworth approaches this region of spiritual elevation, and he has the distinction of being the only outstanding romantic poet who did so. He, therefore, may properly be counted among the poets of the world who have merited in the highest degree the gratitude of mankind, for here we are in the supreme reaches of poetic inspiration. This note he strikes in *Tintern Abbey*:

. . . that blessed mood,
 In which the burthen of the mystery,
 In which the heavy and the weary weight
 Of all this unintelligible world,
 Is lightened:—that serene and blessed mood,
 In which the affections gently lead us on,—
 Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
 And even the motion of our human blood
 Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
 In body, and become a living soul:
 While with an eye made quiet by the power
 Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
 We see into the life of things.

In such passages the poet carries us into something like that mood of lofty spiritual peace where, if ever, we may truly fulfil the highest destiny of man, "see into the life of things." But Wordsworth was entirely wrong in his conception of how he arrived at this "serene and blessed mood," and in this fact lies the inadequacy and danger of his religious leadership: he tells us, paying tribute to the pantheistic enthusiasm of his age, that his guide was nature. He believed he attained that supreme calm which he so wondrously transfers to us in *Westminster Bridge* by recognizing

In nature and the language of the sense,
 The anchor of [his] purest thoughts, the nurse,
 The guide, the guardian of [his] heart, and soul
 Of all [his] moral being.

This potency of sensations proceeding from contemplation of natural objects, of the "language of the sense," to transform and purify the springs of action, to raise man to that sublime height to which true religion may raise him, we cannot admit; and it is because Wordsworth taught this false doctrine that the validity of his claim to be a wholly beneficial force in the development of the religious sense is contested. In the attainment and transmission of the mood of religious insight he is incomparably superior to his contemporaries in any country, but he sinks to their level when he assumes the rôle of religious teacher, for his doctrine, though never vitiated by the preverse and sensual elements

so prevalent at the time, was essentially the same as theirs. His ethical grandeur is in refreshing contrast to the moral uncertainty which surrounded him; he attains spiritual summits hardly approached since Milton's day; but he misled all who followed him when he attempted to point out the road thither. If it were his supreme poems that represented the influence he exerted on succeeding generations, there would be little room for cavil; but it is his *doctrine* that the name Wordsworth calls to everyone's mind, and not the unsurpassed expressions of this high-souled poet's mood,—and the doctrine is false. What he has beguiled us into thinking that he found without, was really deep within. Whatever there is of real religious serenity in the passage just quoted from *Tintern Abbey* and in *Westminster Bridge* proceeded from the native spirituality of the man, not from communion with nature.

Coleridge, it is well known, tried in vain to follow his master, and finally concluded, as he confesses in a poem addressed to Wordsworth, that the seers of the past, far from deserving the contumely heaped upon them in the new naturalistic age, had pronounced the everlasting truth: the outward forms of nature cannot lead to the spiritual life, for its fountains are within:

My genial spirits fail,
And what can these avail
To lift the smothering weight from off my breast?
It were a vain endeavor,
Though I should gaze for ever
On that green light that lingers in the west:
I may not hope from outward forms to win
The passion and the life, whose fountains are within.

O Lady! we receive but what we give,
And in our life alone does Nature live:
Ours is her wedding-garment, ours her shroud!
And would we aught behold, of higher worth,
Than that inanimate cold world allowed
To the poor loveless ever-anxious crowd,
Ah! from the soul itself must issue forth

A light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud
 Enveloping the Earth—
 And from the soul itself must there be sent
 A sweet and potent voice, of its own birth,
 Of all sweet sounds the life and element!

And again:

I moved on (*amidst nature's charms*)
 In low and languid mood: for I had found
 That outward forms, the loftiest, still receive
 Their finer influence from the life within.

Wordsworth taught us to seek to acquire through sensitive-
 ness to the charms of nature that spiritual illumination which
 he had, in fact, found within himself; and we, too, can find
 religious peace within us—within us or nowhere. Worship
 of nature does not lead to religion, it leads to pantheism:

I have felt
 A presence . . . a sense sublime
 Of something far more deeply interfused,
 Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
 And the round ocean and the living air,
 And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
 A motion and a spirit, that impels
 All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
 And rolls through all things. (*Tintern Abbey.*)

To every Form of being is assigned . . .
 An active principle . . .
 Spirit that knows no insulated spot,
 No chasm, no solitude; from link to link
 It circulates, the soul of all the worlds. (*Excursion VIII*)

My voice proclaims
 How exquisitely the individual Mind
 (And the progressive powers perhaps no less
 Of the whole species) to the external world
 Is fitted:—and how exquisitely, too—
 Theme this but little heard of among men—
 The external World is fitted to the Mind;
 And the creation (by no lower name
 Can it be called) which they with blended might
 Accomplish: this is our high argument.

This passage from the *Recluse* is the argument of the *Prelude*.

"John Sterling was once in a company where the conversation turned on poets and which of them were Christian. One gentleman was claiming Wordsworth as a Christian poet. 'No!' said John Sterling, emphatically, 'Wordsworth is not a Christian. He is nothing but a Church of England Pantheist.'"¹ Sterling was not alone in his doubt as to the authenticity of Wordsworth's Christianity. "Coleridge," says Sarah Flower in an account of an evening spent at Colebrooke Cottage in 1825 with the Lambs and Coleridge, ". . . spoke of some person (name forgotten) who had been making a comparison between himself and Wordsworth as to their religious faith. 'They said, although I was an atheist, we were upon a par, for that Wordsworth's Christianity was very like Coleridge's atheism; and Coleridge's atheism was very like Wordsworth's Christianity.'"²

To long to "flow through the veins of nature," as Faust did, or to get inextricably blended with nature as Shelley does with the west wind, is to get as far away as possible from that side of man which is most nearly divine. It is the faculties which make up that side, the intellectual, and what are above the intellectual, rather than the senses which lie below, that lead to spiritual peace, if spiritual peace is to be reached at all.

Wordsworth's yearning is not very different from that of Shelley and the rest of the romanticists:

To her fair works did Nature link
The human soul that through me ran.

Man approaches perfection in proportion as he differs from animals and things. Falsifying the rôle of our highest faculties, Wordsworth degrades man to the level of nature and is lauded for it! "He subdues man to the level of nature," says Pater, "and gives him thereby a certain breadth

¹ John Hunt, *Pantheism and Christianity*, p. 306.

² Quoted by E. V. Lucas, *Life of Lamb*, p. 557.

and coolness and solemnity. . . . And, seeing man thus as a part of nature, elevated and solemnized in proportion as his daily life and occupations brought him into companionship with permanent natural objects. . . ." He is perhaps more responsible than any other romantic poet for fixing—alas, perhaps inexpugnably—in the tradition of the last hundred years the doctrine that the expansive abandonment of oneself to impressions from without is more productive of beneficial effects than concentration and meditation, that feeling is nobler than thought—or that feeling and thought are one and the same—that nature can teach more about humanity than can all the wisdom of the past:

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can.

One would like to consider such unsubstantial fancies as this mere "playful sallies," as they are occasionally taken to be, but Wordsworthians in general have insisted upon their profundity and mankind has been inveigled into accepting them. Furthermore, the frequent recurrence of this doctrine seems to preclude the possibility of setting it aside as an unessential element of Wordsworth's philosophy of life; it is difficult, in fact, not to regard it as the very center of his thought. He here says, and the world understands him to mean, that true wisdom as well as true religion may be gained through sensuous acuteness to nature's teachings.

Even the man who finds belief in supernatural revelation foreign to his nature can distinguish between true religion and sham religion, and hates the latter as he hates all shams. Furthermore, he sees that the romanticists have involved the degradation of wisdom in their degradation of religion, and he knows that much the same faculties are employed in the attainment of true wisdom and true religion: an illuminated insight, reason informed with imagination. The senses are a true guide to beauty—Keats's beauty;—they can not lead to true wisdom nor Platonic

beauty, and unless they be subjected to the sternest control, they become the impediment to true thinking and true feeling that they are always threatening to be.

Lamartine's "Virtue requires effort. I hate effort" is but a corollary of Wordsworth's confidence in the power of impulses from vernal woods. Let us all betake ourselves to the woods and become wise, says Wordsworth. Yes, add Lamartine and the romantic chorus, yes, we hate thought; it requires effort. Let us get wise without thought or effort. For there in the woods is "spontaneous wisdom" to be acquired, and a raven will come to feed your minds, says Wordsworth:

Nor less I deem that there are Powers
Which of themselves our minds impress;
That we can feed this mind of ours
In a wise passiveness.

. . . thoughts, link by link
Enter through ears and eyesight.

Nature feeds our minds through our senses without any effort on our part! This is that confusion of the world of sense and the world of intellect, utterly distinct, in reality, which has undermined the basis of thought in the last century; and the notion that acuity of the senses may be substituted for the hard process of thought in the pursuit of wisdom is another pleasing delusion of the last hundred years.

Passiveness to the influence of nature is the characteristic mood of romantic poetry. It is the very negation of the religious temper. Religion, if it is to be anything at all, is not passive. Heaven can never come to those who lie and wait for it under an apple tree. It comes only to those who seek it, struggling and searching with agony of soul, as did St. Francis and Pascal. Waiting in passiveness, merely waiting until this too, too solid flesh would melt, thaw and resolve itself into a dew—a weakness, undoubtedly, in the eye of Shakespeare, a strength in that of the romanticists—is the merest pantheism. Intimacy with the things which are

higher than sense—and that is what religion is—can never come to those who only stand and wait.

The saints of old went into the wilderness. Of them Wordsworth might well have sung

And impulses of deeper birth
Have come to [them] in solitude,

for they did not go and sit in a spirit of wise passiveness; they went to wrestle with the devil.

It has been conceded that Wordsworth is not a great nature poet in the strict sense of the word. He had little of Rousseau's sensuous responsiveness to the charms of natural objects. He is far surpassed by Burns in sympathy with nature's external forms and 'natural,' untutored human beings. A certain self-centredness, or at least self-consciousness, prevented intimate communion with nature and the beings who are closest to her.

It would almost seem that the real Wordsworth is the antipode of the Wordsworth the world knows. One cannot help suspecting that in early life, in a moment of enthusiasm, under the stress of circumstances, he embraced a cause whose principles were really alien to him. It seems certain that at about the mid-point of his life he came to realize more or less clearly that he had been worshipping false gods, that external nature was not a guide to high summits, that 'natural' beings, peasants and children, were not mighty prophets, seers blest, that the conventions of society, poetry and religion were not mere obsolete symbols of an unawakened past. The *Ode to Duty*, "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God," is in many respects a palinode:

Me this unchartered freedom tires;
I feel the weight of chance desires . . .
. . . I myself commend
Unto thy guidance from this hour.

The change seems to have been consummated early in 1805. The passing of the exuberance of youth with its illusions, and, in particular, his disappointment at the failure of the

French Revolution, definitively sealed by the crowning of Napoleon, were probably the chief contributing causes; the more immediate occasions were the beginning of his estrangement from Coleridge and the death of his brother John. But he who seems never to have been able to admit openly that he had been in error, or to destroy a verse that he had written, however bad it was, never published a resounding recantation, and probably never allowed himself to become fully convinced that he had reason to recant. "Study and self-culture did much for him, but they never quite satisfied him that he was capable of making a mistake," says Lowell. Evidence is not lacking of a changed attitude; it lacks volume, however, and is so slight that it has produced little or no impression on the mass of his readers. Fairly early he came, at least occasionally, to look upon sense-impressions as "unstable" and to see that man's real concern is with the mind, with "objects that endure:"

. . . they are of the sky,
And from our earthly memory fade away.

Those words were uttered as in pensive mood
We turned, departing from that solemn sight:
A contrast and reproach to gross delight,
And life's unspiritual pleasures daily wooed!
But now upon this thought I cannot brood;
It is as unstable as a dream of night;
Nor will I praise a cloud, however bright,
Disparaging Man's gifts, and proper food.
Grove, isle, with every shape of sky-built dome,
Though clad in colors beautiful and pure,
Find in the heart of man no natural home:
The immortal Mind craves objects that endure:
These cleave to it; from these it cannot roam,
Nor they from it: their fellowship is secure.

(Composed?—Published 1807.)

The last books of the *Prelude*, written immediately after the death of John Wordsworth, again and again betray the changed attitude:

The mind is lord and master—outward sense
The obedient servant of her will.

With the following verses from the same book (XII) compare Coleridge's ode:

I am lost, but see
In childhood something of the base
On which thy greatness stands; but this I feel,
That from thyself it comes, that thou must give,
Else never canst receive.

Reason is beginning to gain in honor, and Nature is no longer supreme:

Imagination, which, in truth,
Is but another name for absolute power
And clearer insight, amplitude of mind,
And reason in her most exalted mood. (*Book XIV*)

At a time
When Nature, destined to remain so long
Foremost in my affections, had fallen back
Into a second place . . . (*ib.*)

It is perhaps in attempting to reconcile the old and the new that he forges that hybrid "feeling intellect" (*Book XIV*, v. 226) which is clear evidence of a confusion that reigned in his mind at the time and was destined to reign in the minds of many who came after him: in that of Shelley, for instance, who speaks of Wordsworth finding "a sort of thought in sense."

In his later life he expressly disparages those senses to which he had earlier surrendered himself:

With Thought and Love companions of our way,
Whate'er the senses take or may refuse
The Mind's internal heaven shall shed her dews
Of inspiration . . . (1833)

We are far removed here from the scornful references to "our meddling intellect," and are very near to an appreciation of a spiritual realm, in reference to which nature must be looked upon as an enemy, not a loving guide:

Dear be the church that, watching o'er the needs
Of Infancy, provides a timely shower

Whose virtue changes to a christian Flower
 A Growth from sinful Nature's bed of weeds!—
 (Composed?—Published 1827.)

This strain represents a native spiritual depth which the romantic creed could not entirely kill. That Wordsworth never really succumbed to the romantic aberrations, or that he recovered from them, is interesting rather than important since it cannot be doubted that they were powerfully reinforced by his influence, that the name Wordsworth recalls the kind of nature-worship, of subservience of man to nature, set forth in the *Lyrical Ballads*. And a poet's greatness is to be estimated by his effect on his readers. He above all others has through his powerful influence led us to accept the equivalence of feeling and thought, or the proscription of intellect altogether:

. . . that false secondary power
 By which we multiply distinctions (*Prelude* II, 216-217).

The estate of man would indeed be forlorn
 If false conclusions of the reasoning power
 Made the eye blind, and closed the passages
 Through which the ear converses with the heart (*Excursion*
 IV, 1152-1155).

To replace the cult of reason, Wordsworth followed the spirit of his times in setting up the cult of the naïve, the spontaneous. In revolt against the rationalism and artificiality of the eighteenth century, he proposed nature as the proper subject of poetry, and simple language as the proper medium. He became a victim of his theories, and wrote his greatest poetry only in the moments when he escaped from them. He seeks inspiration in simple human beings, but he did not find it there. When he writes of peasants he is apt to produce *The Thorn* and *Peter Bell*; when he writes of children, he gives us *We are Seven* and *The Idiot Boy*. There is something of condescension, of superior wisdom in his attitude which is quite distinct from the true feeling of comradeship with the humble which marks so

much of Burns's work. Despite what he believed and said about his relation to nature, and despite his creed, he never went forth in simple-hearted faith to hearken to nature's voice. He demanded lessons of her, and in the lessons he received nature was often not the mighty teacher he so frequently apostrophizes but a mere collaborator with himself. The *Daisy* and the *Mouse* are creations of a real nature-poet. Wordsworth could never write poems like these, for he was incapable of forgetting himself.

A comparison of the *Daisy* and the *Mouse* with similar poems of Wordsworth, chosen among his masterpieces, will show why it is said that Wordsworth is not, strictly speaking, a nature poet. The Green Linnet is not a real bird, one of nature's creatures; he is, in truth, a bird, but he is also

A Life, a Presence like the air,

and he is, or chooses to feign that he is, a "voiceless Form."
The Cuckoo, too, is

No bird, but an invisible thing,
A voice, a mystery.

The *Daisy* is

A nun demure of lovely port;
Or sprightly maiden . . .

Such poems as these and the *Solitary Reaper* and *There was a Boy* are not about nature, peasants, and children; they are about a poet's mind, with nature as a background; and they are written in simple language, to be sure, but not in the language Wordsworth the theorist considered best adapted to poetry. Burns expressed himself naturally in simple words. In adhering to his doctrine of simple diction, Wordsworth encumbered his works with uninspired verse.

The intrusion of the moralizing intention or of one of the various theories he is bent upon forcing on the world has brought a false note into many a poem of rare beauty. All readers have been offended by the word 'machine' in *She was a phantom of delight*, yet to Wordsworth 'machine'

was doubtless, unless it was an unhappy reminiscence of Hamlet, an element of that natural style which was to be consecrated by the new poetry. When it was objected that the verse

'Tis three feet long and two feet wide

was good mathematics but bad poetry, humble and puzzled, he answered merely "It ought to be liked." He lacked poetic tact. As some good poems are weakened by infelicitous words or images or by a tone of sermonizing, so, conversely, in a dull waste one comes upon rare gems. One of the most unpoetical of all poems ends with these fine verses:

She looks, and her heart is in heaven; but they fade,
The mist and the river, the hill and the shade:
The stream will not flow, and the hill will not rise,
And the colors have all passed away from her eyes.

The fact seems to be that Wordsworth misunderstood his own genius. At heart a conservative, he tried to make of himself a radical; interested primarily in man, he made himself a priest of nature; in point of style akin in spirit to Pope or Milton, he insisted upon the virtues of unpolished diction; introspective and self-searching, he proclaimed the wisdom of unthinking men and children and shows an unusual interest in the mentally deficient; a man of fine spiritual temper, apparently not sensuously constituted, he preached the gospel of the senses. Endowed as few were to resist the intoxications of his environment, he seems to have allowed himself to be carried along by the current, steadfastly resisting his genius, spreading error and darkness where he might have brought truth and light. The real Wordsworth seems to have been the later Wordsworth, the "lost leader." It would seem that, as a result of the circumstances already alluded to, in 1805 he came to be more or less conscious of the antinomy between the doctrines advanced in his poems and the convictions which were really his own. Decline of poetic power is the inevitable outcome of such a

condition. The calamity is that, if all this is true, he should have considered himself irretrievably committed to a point of view which was not really his, that he should not have had the courage to admit he had been wrong and start anew.

Wordsworth was all too preoccupied with his didactic mission. His misconception of the manner in which the great poet teaches brought into his work an obtrusively didactic note which repels by its presumption and its insistence. "Every great poet is a teacher," he says; "I desire either to be considered as a teacher or as nothing." Great poets are always teachers, truly,—but unconsciously. The æsthetic purpose of art is almost exclusive in their minds, but in proportion to their natural moral superiority the ethical element will make itself felt in their works. The greatest poets teach indirectly; Wordsworth spoke from a pulpit. Had he sought merely to express himself, his innate nobility would have made itself felt and the world would be richer. But he made his muse the handmaid of certain definite doctrines; he became a preacher, not a poet, and the doctrines to which he sacrificed his birthright were false.

It is the transcendental in Wordsworth that marks him a great poet, as it marks all supreme poets, but the transcendental in him does not come from any religion he could have got from hearkening to nature's teaching. When a man is spiritually endowed as Wordsworth was, there are moments when something of true spiritual elevation comes to him, a product always of his ethical and intellectual insight, and not, as he himself would certainly insist, traceable to the influence of sensations derived from external nature. There is a high serenity whose source is not in the promptings of nature added to the sensuous elements in poems such as *Westminster Bridge* and the passage quoted from *Tintern Abbey*, which stamp them as everlasting masterpieces. But it is too often forgotten that the quality which raises them above *It is the first mild day of March* and the Matthew poems is not derived from sensuous responsiveness to

nature but from the English civilization which Wordsworth inherited and interpreted with the aid of faculties far removed from the five senses.

Wordsworth seems rarely to have written under the immediate inspiration of a natural object. He sees a flower and is impressed by its unpretentious modesty; he leaves the spot and his long-continued meditation carries him far beyond the emotion experienced in the presence of the flower. There is, in fact, in the poem finally written surprisingly little of the original sensation. During the poet's meditation he has been drawn away from the spell of nature to the influence of the wisdom of the past as it is represented in the civilization about him. His "emotion recollected in tranquillity" has been transmuted into something far finer than a sense-impression received from a natural object: it is his meditation during which he is in communion with the best that has been known and thought in the world, and not his sensitiveness to nature's beauty that has enabled him to write a poem of real and permanent significance. In the case of most other romantic poets the enriching step of meditation is omitted entirely or is merely casual; from this difference springs Wordsworth's superiority to them. It would seem that as far as Wordsworth is concerned, at least, the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" does not mean composition under the immediate influence of the inspiring object, but presupposes an interval of meditation during which the "emotion [is] recollected in tranquillity." "Scott," said Wordsworth, "should have left his pencil and notebook at home, fixed his eye as he walked with a reverent attitude on all that surrounded him, and taken all into a heart that could understand and enjoy. Then, after several days had passed by, he should have interrogated his memory as to the scene."³ It is remarkable that with so clear an understanding of his own method Wordsworth did not realize that the profounder notes in his poetry proceeded not from nature's

³ From Aubrey De Vere, quoted by F. W. H. Myers, *Wordsworth*, p. 144.

teaching but from inspired meditation under the guidance of principles of right and wrong, of beautiful and ugly, which had been established by men.

It seems certain that the transcendental mood can come only to the poet who is spiritually rather than sensuously endowed, that such a poet attains this height only when the world of external nature and sense fade, not when they are vividly present to him. The loftiest visions are not the result of contemplation of nature, or of revery. It is only after the world of sense has been lulled to sleep that the world of spiritual intuition is accessible.

The romanticists did not distinguish these two regions. Poetic inspiration, they felt, was to be found in the keenness of all the senses, not in the sleep of the senses, in the active contemplation of nature, or revery in the presence of nature, the senses actively or passively communing with nature. The condition we have supposed is neither of these; it is based on the complete submersion of the world of sense. At first thought it may seem that contemplation may dissolve in revery and revery lead without a break to spiritual insight. This is not possible. Spiritual insight is the product of faculties active; contemplation and revery imply the dulling of the faculties since their object is the escape from the "meddling intellect" to absorption in sense.

The romanticists did not distinguish between revery and meditation. In general, their purpose was to create the mood of revery. Revery is that state in which mind and body sink into the delicious halfsleep which precedes total unconsciousness, providing thus an escape from the world of responsibilities into the realm of chimaeras,—the nearest approach, I should imagine, to the opium-induced condition, so dear to many of Wordsworth's contemporaries. Meditation, on the contrary, is a stilling of the physical faculties, the senses, and a gradual intensifying of the mental faculties till they reach the highest possible pitch of activity. Revery dissolves mind and body; meditation dulls the sense and rouses the mind. From meditation proceed those highest

visions of the greatest poets wherein all the efforts of their lives come to fruition: their long ponderings on the mysteries of life, informed with the flame of that vitalizing imagination which reveals long-sought truth, gain strength from a profound emotion, all the deeper because controlled, and issue in sublime verse which possesses the spontaneity of inspiration, intensity of passion, inevitableness of movement, and perfection of form, that consecrate the final interpretation of one of the secrets of human existence.

The mood of spiritual insight is associated with meditation, not with revery. Wordsworth, unlike most of the romanticists, is hardly a poet of revery, for, despite his own belief to the contrary, and despite his doctrine, he is incapable of abandoning himself to sensuous absorption in nature. He is not naturally a poet of sense at all. He dwells habitually rather in the region of meditation than in that of revery. The beauties of natural objects rouse him to activity; they do not instil in him the disintegrating process of sensuous revery. Too often his activity spends itself in moralizing; frequently it evokes some spirited presentation of a recollection of his youth; often it finds in a bird or a flower a point of departure for inspired flight into the higher regions of song, far from birds and flowers:

No bird, but an invisible thing
A voice, a mystery.

It is but one step from this to the mood of *Westminster Bridge*, the *Calais* sonnets and all that is best in Wordsworth, the mood nearest approaching true spiritual elevation, "that blessed mood" in which we seem half to understand something of

the mystery
Of all this unintelligible world.

The mood of romantic revery has its beauty and its value; it attunes the reader to the joy of life on the plane of sense. The mood of spiritual elevation which Wordsworth some-

times attains, never completely, to be sure, serves a far higher purpose and possesses a far nobler beauty.

There are many peaks on Parnassus. The world has need not only of the supreme masters, but of all masters, even to the smallest. It is important only that we recognize a scale of values. Wordsworth means so much to many of us that he is to us the brightest star in over two centuries of English poetry. And yet we cannot help feeling that his admirers have often been indiscriminating, that it is to do him a disservice to fail to recognize that he appears not to have made the most of his genius, that he was led astray and has led others astray. It would seem that those who cannot see his mistakes must fall short of an adequate estimate of his virtues. One who finds no serious error in *Tintern Abbey* can hardly appreciate to the full its loftiest passage.

In the great body of Wordsworth's work there are fewer masterpieces of highest inspiration than we might justifiably expect. As an artist he is inferior to Shelley and Keats, and we do not ask of him sheer beauty as we do of them, the sheer beauty which compensates somewhat for lack of profounder insight. Wordsworth's insight was more profound than that of any other romantic poet, but there is all too little of it in his poetry. There is so little, in fact, considering the extent of his work, that even where it appears we are inclined to suspect that we may be deceiving ourselves. In the great passage of *Tintern Abbey* he reaches what seems really to be the spiritual peace of the highest poetry, the poetry beyond the senses, but the high level there attained is not held, and his false gospel of nature prompts the suspicion that here, too, we have only the emotional ecstasy of the romanticist, not the true serenity of the mind which has risen into the realm of supersensuous insight. Wordsworth rarely attained such heights, rarely did he escape from his besetting sin of didacticism, rarely did he disentangle himself from the romantic doctrine of nature and allow himself to be carried onward by that spiritual power which was a part of his being, native to him and not acquired

by being "A worshipper of Nature. . . . Unwearied in that service." Where he is greatest he belies the greater part of what goes by the name of Wordsworthianism; the bleak didacticism of the poet-moralist with the religion of nature, teacher of virtue and wisdom, as his guiding-principle; the "choice of incidents from common life" as the substance of poetry and "a selection of the language really used by men" as the proper diction of poetry. Where he is greatest he gives expression in the majestic, impassioned diction of high poetry to the noble surmises of a discerning mind, contaminated occasionally by the heritage which he shared with his fellow-romanticists. His noblest work is almost free from the influence of the theories which, unfortunately, have been handed down from generation to generation as the essence of Wordsworthianism. It is not extensive (what lyric poet, indeed, has bequeathed to the world a great number of masterpieces?)—a few miscellaneous poems, though even in these there appears occasionally that idyllic mood which he fostered against his truer self; and a score of imperishable sonnets that seem likely to prove the nineteenth century's most precious contribution to poetic literature. It is not here that he assumes the rôle of preacher to show that the way to true religion and true wisdom is wise passiveness in the vernal wood. There is here a fine emotional outburst, and the expression of the native wisdom of a man whose ethical perceptions are sound, a man, however, who brought his religion and his wisdom to nature and did not acquire them from her.⁴ Wordsworth insisted that he got his religion and his wisdom from his cult of nature and his devotion to the lowly, the second of which sources, intimately connected with the

⁴ It is as Emerson, a good lover of nature, says:

We flee away from cities, but we bring
 The best of cities with us . . .
 . . . We praise the forest life:
 But will we sacrifice our dear-bought lore
 Of books and arts . . . ?
 And Nature, the inscrutable and mute . . .

first, cannot here be discussed; he was deceived, and the outstanding effects of his volume of poems is the deception of the world into the belief that religion and wisdom may be found where the master of Brougham Castle found them: in nature and humanitarianism, in expansive sentiment:

Alas! the impassioned minstrel did not know
How, by Heaven's grace, this Clifford's heart was framed:
How he, long forced in humble walks to go,
Was softened into feeling, soothed and tamed.

Love had he found in huts where poor men lie;
His daily teachers had been woods and rills,
The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills.

In him the savage virtue of the Race,
Revenge, and all ferocious thoughts were dead:
Nor did he change; but kept in lofty place
The wisdom which adversity had bred.

It is this expansive sentiment that has brought into existence, along with the religion of nature, a second new religion, the religion of indiscriminating sympathy which is very likely to contribute even more than the first to the undermining of true religion and true wisdom, that is, to civilization. "I call Shelley," says Browning, "a moral man because he was true, simple-hearted, and brave, and because what he acted corresponded to what he knew, so I call him a man of religious mind, because every audacious negative cast up by him against the Divine, was interpenetrated with a mood of reverence and adoration." The man who could write that seems to know neither the difference between virtue and the lack of it nor between religion and the lack of it.

In the religious poetry of the romanticists adoration and revolt are close neighbors: much is in praise of God, not a little is in denunciation of God's cruelty. This is quite to be expected since nothing is closer to disgust than the ecstasy of the senses, and romantic religion is not looked upon, even by its votaries, as anything but sensuous. A religion in which there is a constant see-saw between adoration and revolt is a hectic fever; it is not religion at all.

The fundamental error in the romantic outlook proceeds from a shifting of interest away from man to nature. We know in our hearts that the proper study of mankind is man. We know that the poet's business is to fathom for us the secrets of human experience. We know that to do this his eye must be directed within, not without;—and yet we have allowed the romantic poets to fool us into the preposterous belief that wise passiveness in a vernal wood can teach us more than undisturbed, concentrated thought.

There are instincts in man similar to those of the beasts of the field. When man dies, his body and the things of his body become a part of the earth, and so of external nature. But that which is highest in man is far removed from the beasts of the fields and has nothing whatever in common with external nature. That which is highest in man—whether his purely intellectual or his religious intuitions—can be most perfectly cultivated only when the world of the senses, including lovely external nature herself, is driven from him. Religion, like wisdom, is to be found rather in the closet than in the vernal wood.

Some day a higher poetry than that of the romanticists will come into the world. Then the poet will think less of sunsets, of autumn (the sadly voluptuous season so dear to the romanticists), of expansive dissolution in nature, of the oneness of man and nature; he will emphasize, on the contrary, the insignificance of the inanimate world in comparison with man, the godlike ruler of the earth; the *difference* between man and nature, the gulf which separates them; he will sing of human experience as he sees it through his own purified, enlightened consciousness, and he will dwell in the region of true religion and true wisdom. The poetry of nature will be always with us, for we shall not give up the gain romanticism has brought; it will be overshadowed, however, by a higher poetry, the poetry of man, of that which is eternal in man, as seen by the poet who is elevated to that coign of vantage from which he “sees into the life of things.”

BARRY CERF

XXIX. THE DOCTRINE OF LEADERSHIP IN THE GREATER ROMANTIC POETS

In his interesting discussion of the politics of the greater romantic poets, Mr. Walter Graham¹ throws light not so much upon the work of the poets as upon the men themselves. The illumination is biographical rather than critical. Is it not possible to carry the analysis of the material further, to view the problem involved in the political doctrines of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, and Shelley in such a way as to give a literary as well as a biographical significance to the data? The importance of such analysis for Scott, Southey, and Keats is less, and in any case cannot be undertaken in the present paper. With respect to Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Byron, however, such a consideration has not only its own value but would confirm and also perhaps offer a correction of the biographical view.

In "the permanent politics of human nature"—to use Coleridge's phrase—as distinguished from party politics and domestic policies, the central fact for any political theory is its doctrine of leadership. To discover successively in the case of each of the four poets the nature and sources of authority, to fix the conception of leader explicit or implied and to indicate the importance of the result for a critical reading of the work of each poet is the object of this discussion.

I

WORDSWORTH AND THE GREAT MAN

Wordsworth's biographers have always made much of the crisis of his sympathy and love for France. And it is beyond question that with him, as with Coleridge, that crisis is the psychological key to the change from republicanism to a more

¹ *P. M. L. A.* XXXVI, 60-78.

conservative point of view.² His new doctrine he delivered in his great tract *Concerning the Relations of Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, to each other, and to the common enemy, at this crisis, and specifically as effected by the Convention of Cintra*. What has never been adequately, if at all, pointed out is that the conception which lifts this tract upon the Miltonic plane includes a fusion of the fundamental ideas of equality and worth of men and of their capacity for sovereignty—though not under the earlier Rousseauistic nomenclature—with a conservative, certainly a less radical idea of great men. Wordsworth stands in a new light with regard to “the paradoxical reveries of Rousseau,” but he none the less clings to the solider parts of them. These have coalesced into a new identity—“the wisdom of the people.” For the present two sentences will suffice as testimony. “This was the feeling of the people; an awful feeling: and it is from these oracles that rulers are to learn.” “The People might see, upon great occasions,—in the practice of its rulers—a more adequate reflection of its own wisdom and virtue.”³

Wordsworth’s conception of a great man is implicit in all but his very earliest writing. It is explicit and even elaborated in the great tract and in the essay contributed to *The Friend* in 1809, not many months after the tract was written. The great man is marked by “*intellectual* courage” which is found with “talents matured by experience without which it can not exist at all”; or with “the rapid insight of peculiar genius, by which the fitness of an act may be instantly determined, and which will supply higher motives than mere talents can furnish for encountering difficulty and danger, and will suggest better resources for diminishing or overcoming them,” or with that fixed and habitual “principle, which implies the absence of all selfish anticipations, . . . and the inward disavowal of any tribunal higher or more dreaded than the mind’s own judgment upon its own act.” Best of all—at its

² See *Ode*, “Who rises on the banks of Seine.”

³ *Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, London, 1896, II 205.

highest—it is found with all three in one man.⁴ These gifts yield "the supreme comprehension of intellect and passion";⁵ they lead to "elevation, the absolute possession of the individual mind, . . . a consistency or harmony of the being within itself, which no outward agency can reach to disturb or impair."⁶ This high quality governs the actions of heroes, statesmen, legislators, and warriors, produces the works of pure science and of the "combined faculties." The conception is the stuff of Wordsworth's most imposing political thinking and of his long-brewing philosophy of education; moreover, it was wrought into the fibre of many of his greatest poems—even before the Convention of Cintra pamphlet was undertaken.⁷ And in that conception the *vox populi* continued to hold a place, for into the generation about him the great man directs his "quickest glance." From it he learns as from an oracle,—but the power to determine what is oracular in the *vox populi* is enshrined in the great man's "elevation," for he disavows any higher tribunal. The great man is a *selective* focal point of the wisdom and virtue of nature and of ordinary men.

In Wordsworth's poetry are to be found enough restatements of this conception to establish it as a cardinal doctrine of the poet. There is the appeal to great men in the sonnet to Milton and the sonnet beginning

Great men have been among us.

Presentiments and many passages in *The Prelude*⁸ reveal the sources of the leader's power. As early as 1802 the leader and these sources are brought together in the sonnet to *The King of Sweden*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I 129 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I 208.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I 84 ff.

⁷ Wordsworth wrote in 1840 to Professor Reed: "It was . . . gratifying to me . . . that you should have considered the Tract on the Convention of Cintra in relation to my poems . . ." *Memoirs of William Wordsworth* Boston 1851, I, 418.

⁸ *E.g. Prelude* V, ll. 39-41; XIV, ll. 188-192.

. . . that great king: . . .
 Who, taking counsel of unbending Truth,
 By one example hath set forth to all
 How they with dignity may stand.⁹

Of the education of "The Governor" he wrote in 1801 with a half-conscious vision of his fullest theory,

'Tis not in battles that from youth we train
 The Governor who must be wise and good,
 And temper with the sternness of the brain
 Thoughts motherly, and meek as womanhood.
 Wisdom doth live with children round her knees:
 Books, leisure, perfect freedom, and the talk
 Man holds with week-day man in the hourly walk
 Of the mind's business: these are the degrees
 By which true Sway doth mount; this is the stalk
 True Power doth grow on; and her rights are these.¹⁰

Nearly forty years later (1838) he described for the last forceful time the quality and character of heroic action.

Blest Statesman He, whose Mind's unselfish will
 Leaves him at ease among grand thoughts: whose eye
 Sees that, apart from magnanimity,
 Wisdom exists not; nor the humbler skill
 Of Prudence, disentangling good and ill
 With patient care. What tho' assaults run high
 They daunt not him who holds his ministry,
 Resolute, at all hazards, to fulfill
 Its duties; . . . ¹¹

And just half way between, in the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets IX*:

Calm as an under-current, strong to draw
 Millions of waves into itself, . . . the spirit of Nassau
 Swerves not, . . . from its end
 Swerves not—diverted by a casual law.
 Had moral action e'er a nobler scope?
 The Hero comes to liberate, not defy; . . . ¹²

⁹ *Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson, p. 305.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 442.

But no one would be foolish enough to base a judgment on a few instances such as these from a poet who was sometimes capable of entertaining ideas not in perfect harmony with each other. Fortunately there spring to the mind of any reader of Wordsworth's poetry numberless occasions on which this theory of his manifests itself. One recalls that Rob Roy

. . . was wise as brave;
As wise in thought as bold in deed:
For in the principles of things
He sought his moral creed.¹³

Dion and especially its conclusion stir in one's memory. There are among many other sonnets, *Seathwaite Chapel* and *London, 1802*. Indeed, this theory lights up—nothing else could do so—the tributes to Schill, to Hofer, to Palafox, the lines written in expectation of the *Death of Mr. Fox*, the portrait of Burke, and the passage in *The Prelude* (XIV, 112) beginning

Such minds are truly from the Deity.

Many, many poems on political and ecclesiastical subjects, notably sonnets, are newly significant in this light. The sonnet *To Toussaint L'Ouverture* becomes at once something deeper, and something more precise, than a semi-pantheistic, semi-mystic tribute to an individual. And, with all its admirable economy of policy, the *Character of a Happy Warrior* rests upon the law of reason. He

Through the heat of conflict, keeps the law
In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw.

Over all such instances hangs the capital instance of Wordsworth's own conception of himself. For Wordsworth conceived himself as forming in the mould of the ideal leader. There is *The Prelude*¹⁴ to prove it, *The Recluse*, and certain of the sonnets and letters. In all these we have not only the leader, but the source and quality of his leadership.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

Finally, we have to assure ourselves that this theory and practice of Wordsworth is in thorough agreement with the fundamentals of his general philosophy. The latter "depends upon the asserted identity between our childish instincts and our enlightened reason."¹⁵ Sir Leslie Stephen, whom I have just quoted, elaborates thus: "Our vague instincts are consolidated into reason by meditation, sympathy with our fellows, communion with nature, and a constant devotion to 'high endeavors.'"¹⁶ Sir Leslie's categories are not strictly ours, but they so nearly coincide that no one would find contradiction in them. But should we not choose to appeal to such authority, we may make our own affirmation. The terms of the great man theory are the essential terms of all Wordsworth's teaching, as indeed the quotations from *The Prelude* and *The Recluse* prove: Reason, Nature, Unbending Truth, Virtue, Duty (resolute obedience to the vision seen). And, whether Wordsworth would have been pleased at the thought or not, a leadership theory is a more logical development of his general philosophy than a maundering sureness that every dalesman within thirty miles of Rydal Water was sensitive to the high things whose dwelling is the light of setting suns—and more consistent with the neighborly facts.

II

COLERIDGE: THE STATESMAN AND THE 'CLERISY.'

For Coleridge's change from an early radicalism to a more conservative position, Mr. Graham's case is clear. Yet in themselves the earlier doctrines are not soluble in the later. So much is certain. We must examine the evidence to see what new idea harmonized these oppositions, and what in-

¹⁴ See e.g. *Prelude* XIV, ll. 147 ff., *Recluse*, Part First, ll. 669 ff. and sonnets 'composed while the author was engaged in writing a tract occasioned by the Convention of Cintra.'

¹⁵ Stephen, *Hours in a Library*, London, 1907, III, 146-7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 166.

fluence of idea or of event moved him from one position to the other.

The psychology of the situation is simple. Coleridge, like others who once held faith in the wisdom and righteousness of the proletariat, found himself convinced by the French events that the theories upon which he had once explained them were not true. He inherited at this juncture the best of Burke's conservatism. The people were not compact of vision and the power to initiate achieving action. The Voice of God was, at the least, not always in residence in the people. The more unquestioning heard the voice, no longer audible in that quarter, speak from the Man of Destiny. Men of thought, like Wordsworth and Coleridge, with unerring logic brought themselves to a new, founded position. What the new position was, exactly, and how, in the case of Coleridge, it was arrived at is clear from the following passage. On April 29, 1832, to whatever auditors were at Highgate, Coleridge said:

I never said that the *vox populi* was of course the *vox Dei*. It may be; but it may be, and with equal probability, *a priori*, *vox Diaboli*. That the voice of ten millions of men calling for the same thing is a spirit, I believe; but whether that be a spirit of heaven or hell, I can only know by trying the thing called for by the prescript of reason and God's will.¹⁷

The new doctrine, then, does not desert for good and all the old, that *vox populi* is *Vox Dei*. But it subjects the popular will to the test of reason and divine intent in the mind of one who has knowledge of the high and holy prescript. In other words the new idea of leader is introduced, a leader with power to affirm or forbid.

Coleridge, indeed, pretty freely recognizes that there are men of a common order and men of genius.¹⁸ He without question sets aside as a superior the gifts and services of

¹⁷ *The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, New York, 1854, *Table Talk*, VI, 393.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, *Table Talk*, 318, 380, 415.

"the Cranmers, Hampdens, and Sidneys."¹⁹ And he recognizes with some explicitness, though not with rigorous consistency, the three orders of mental capacity that Machiavelli designates.²⁰ He translates: "There are brains of three races. The one understands of itself; the other understands as much as is shown it by others; the third neither understands of itself, nor what is shown it by others."²¹ In *The Friend* he introduces the quotation with "Machiavelli has well observed." The first order is genius. Its capacity to "understand of itself" is a gloss on the cryptic "the greatest and best of men is but an aphorism."²² Genius is "the action of reason and imagination."²³ This action affords "one of the most characteristic and infallible criteria of the different ranks of men's intellects . . . the instinctive habit which all superior minds have of endeavouring to bring, and of never resting till they have brought into unity the scattered facts which occur in conversation, or in the statements of men of business."²⁴ The second order—the taught—finds itself illustrated by those persons, for example, who in philosophy are incapable of pushing back the frontiers in speculative science but to whom the charted science need not therefore be a *terra incognita*.²⁵ The distinction between these two orders is made perfectly clear by the phrase: "the few men of genius among the learned class."²⁶ The nature of the third class, the not-learned, is set beyond doubt by a passage in *The Statesman's Manual*: "To the immense majority of men, even in civilized countries, speculative philosophy has ever been, and must ever remain, a *terra incognita*."²⁷ The whole matter under consideration is neatly touched off by

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, *The Friend*, 68.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, *The Manual*, 427; II, *The Friend*, 114–115.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, *The Manual*, 427.

²² *Ibid.*, I, *Aids*, 129.

²³ *Ibid.*, VI, *Table Talk*, 319.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, *Table Talk*, 380.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, *Manual*, 428; *Biographia Literaria*, III, 251.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, *Biographia Literaria*, 251.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, *Statesman's Manual*, 428.

the "*profaccia* with a desponding sigh" in *The Statesman's Manual*: "From a popular philosophy and a philosophic populace, Good Sense deliver us!"²⁸

The basis for Coleridge's idea of a great man lies in that "contradistinction of the understanding from reason—for which," he writes in 1825, "during twenty years I have been contending."²⁹ "By the 'understanding,' I mean the faculty of thinking and forming judgments on the notices furnished by the sense, according to certain rules existing in itself, which rules constitute its distinct nature. By the pure 'reason,' I mean the power by which we become possessed of principles."³⁰ "The reason itself is the same in all men, yet the means of exercising it, and the materials,—that is, the facts and conceptions—on which it is exercised, being possessed in very different degrees by different persons, the practical result is, of course, equally different."³¹

The greatness of the mind, then, depends upon its bringing into unity with themselves and all things *all* the facts and conceptions, that is, upon the power to make the understanding serve the reason and the reason subserve the understanding. It is the function of reason in this reference "to comprehend," that is, to subordinate the notions of sense and the rules of the understanding's experience to absolute principles or necessary laws. Thus the reason "comprehends" all in the unity.³²

If, now, we bring together the elements so far set forth we find that the laws or principles of reason and the regulations of prudence or understanding can make contact only in the unifying mind of superior men. This indeed, in practice, is Coleridge's conception. Pure reason in its fullness is Almighty Wisdom. "The laws of the Hebrew Commonwealth," for example, "which flowed from the pure reason, remain and

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, *Statesman's Manual*, 442.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, *Aids*, 257.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, *The Friend*, 164.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II, *The Friend*, 148.

³² *Ibid.*, II, *The Friend*, 146.

are immutable." From the statesman "we have a right to expect a sober and meditative accommodation to our own times and country of those important truths declared in the inspired writings *for a thousand generations*."³³ Here then is that "prescript of reason" by which the leader, Wordsworth, Coleridge, or another, shall try the *vox populi* to discover whether it be *vox Dei* or *vox diaboli*.

The development of Coleridge's conservatism, which is nothing more than the subjection of the vague urges of a populace or a mob to the control of a seer, may be traced at the critical moment in his so-called political poems. In *The Destruction of the Bastille* and the lines *To a Young Lady*, the approval is for the freeing of Freedom—nothing more. Of the twelve sonnets in the *Juvenile Poems*, several exalt individual genius, one or two imply the value of the great leader to the cause of liberty, and the sonnet to Priestley looks with sharp disapproval upon the voice of the people and its result in the special case.

Though roused by that dark Vizir Riot rude
Have driven our Priestley o'er the ocean swell; . . .

In *Religious Musings*, in which the French Revolution is heralded as the beginning of that great upheaval of the innumerable tribes of the oppressed, not only are these tribes roused by "eloquent men" "stung to rage with pity," but "the mad careering of the storm" thus set going is tamed by "Philosophers and Bards,"

Conscious of their high dignities from God,
Enamored with the charms of order . . .

and hating "the unseemly disproportion."³⁴ These, who realize the charms of order, are "Coadjutors of God," "the elect of Heaven," and their function is to dart their strong eye through the deeds of men and to adore steadfastly, yet

³³ *Ibid.*, I, *Manual*, 423.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, *Poems*, 77.

humbly, Nature's essence, mind, and energy—in short what Coleridge later designated "Reason."

The Destiny of Nations carries us forward by a definition of freedom.

For what is freedom but the unfettered use
Of all the powers which God for use had given?
But chiefly this, him first, him last to view
Through meaner powers and secondary things
Effulgent, as through clouds that veil his blaze.³⁵

It is not the possession of those

who deem themselves most free
When they within this gross and visible sphere
Chain down the winged thought, scoffing ascent,
Proud in their meanness.³⁶

The Ode to the Departing Year adds nothing. *France, an Ode* is the record of the crisis in the poet's soul, which followed France's assault upon Switzerland. So after all, runs the burden of the conclusion, the great upheaval was the vain rebellion of "the Sensual and the Dark," was not informed by the voice of God. *Fears in Solitude*, written in April of 1798, is a call to Britons. The lines have fed on bitter disappointment, but they confirm the *Ode*.

When we assemble the evidence of the poems, we find, then, that freedom of man, liberty, is through them all the continued object of the poet's devotion. Nevertheless, from the first he does not exclude freedom secured to men by a Kosciusko, let us say; specifically in his most elaborate statement he not only allows to the "Coadjutors of God" the initiation and propulsion of freedom's ideals but also assigns to these "Philosophers and Bards" the task of molding to perfect forms the "confusions" of "the outrageous mass." Finally—and with intensest significance—his own reversal of judgment on the French upheaval is based soundly on his devotion to freedom and illustrates, in his own person, the

³⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 83.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, *Poems*, 83.

Philosopher and Bard trying events by the prescript of reason and concluding that *vox populi* is in the instance before him *vox diaboli*.

In the light of the same doctrine, Coleridge's conception of the *jus divinum* of kings becomes an intelligible matter. For the "direct relation of the state and its magistracy to the Supreme Being"³⁷ is merely the fact of the unity of reason and the access to reason of all men fit to rule. And it is to be remembered that, though "the reason hath faith in itself in its own revelations," by his acts a man of power may write himself down a demagogue,³⁸ and no leader. Camiola seems almost to have had her eye on this teaching when she addressed the King of Sicily:

Since, when you are unjust, the deity
Which you may challenge as a king, parts from you.

In the same light, too, much of the material interpolated in *The Friend* for entertainment of the reader and refreshment—God save the mark!—after the philosophical disquisitions, becomes significant, taking on for the reader the associative values that it bore in the author's mind. For example: in Essays XI and XII of the *General Introduction* Napoleon is finally ruled out of court as "the mimic and caricaturist of Charlemagne."³⁹ Charlemagne more or less is accepted at Alcuin's evaluation as the embodiment of the Platonic philosopher become king. Napoleon is no philosopher and no king because he takes to mimicing his predecessor's acts instead of accommodating anew to the circumstances the principles and prescript of Reason. Likely enough, had Coleridge known Eginhard's document he would have ruled out Charlemagne for his attempt at an *Augustus Redivivus*. Nevertheless, though this throws a question at the doctrine itself, the choice and treatment of the material is illuminated.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, *Manual*, 429.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, *Lay Sermon*, 170-1.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, *The Friend*, 79 ff.

Of Coleridge's praise of Sir Alexander Ball nothing more need be said than that, if his perspectives were crooked and his judgment wrong, the exaltation of the little great man was orthodox, well within the teaching. In his recondite Royal Society *Essay on the Prometheus of Aeschylus*,⁴⁰ even one in the porch of the temple can see the god out of the machine: for Aeschylus, the Eleusinian, has concealed in his tragedy and poetry (so says S. T. C.) a *philosophema*. The mythos of the colossal hero is "the generation of the *voûs*, or pure reason in man!"⁴¹ Upon no other theory can I explain Coleridge's explanation than upon his obsession with the doctrine of leader as already set forth. This Coleridge who uplifted Sir Alexander Ball and degraded the *Prometheus Bound* is, one reminds oneself, the Coleridge who protected his leader against quack competition by telling the Higher Classes of Society how to recognize the demagogue with eleven tests,⁴² at least four of which we might here turn upon the analyst himself.

For Coleridge regarded himself as leader, beyond question. It was the basic inconsistency of his earliest addresses that they were "*Conciones ad Populum*"—the discourses of a leader. In *Lines on a Friend*, written in his youth, he says,

To me hath Heaven with bounteous hand assigned
Energetic Reason and a shaping mind,
The daring ken of Truth, the Patriot's part . . .⁴³

And long before Coleridge sat upon Highgate Hill mumbling to his disciples, he was leading statesmen to the fountain of political truth, and philosophers to the source of Reason. The Highgate *Table Talk* is proof for the latter end; just as the tone of the addresses is for the first—not to speak of his judgment after the Swiss episode, that the *vox populi* in France was not *vox Dei*, but *vox diaboli*. The serious concern

⁴⁰ Delivered May 18, 1825.

⁴¹ *Complete Works*, IV, *Essay on Prometheus*, 351.

⁴² *Ibid.*, VI, *Lay Sermon*, 170-1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, VII, *Poems*, 56.

over his success and failure with the distinction of Reason and Understanding is evidence in the interval. The best of all evidence, however, if we hold in mind the relation of the great man to the learned classes, is the correction in Coleridge's own hand upon the title page of a copy of the *Statesman's Manual*.⁴⁴ After the words *A Lay Sermon Addressed to the Higher Classes of Society*, the author has added *but more particularly to the Learned*.^{*} The asterisk guides to the following footnote: "So it was ordered to be printed, and so, I believe, it was advertised." Furthermore, by merely measuring against his doctrine Coleridge's method of performance—with him so conscious a process!—it would be clear to a child that he conceived himself with some wistfulness but with some complacency, also, as leader.

It still remains to point out that the rights and duties of the early Jacobinical faith, recognized in the problem of government by Rousseau, maintain their place in the new scheme. For since Reason is resident in all men, every man may unite himself to the form of society planned and perfected by the leader in accordance with the prescripts of Reason and yet obey himself only and remain as free as before. Thus with both poets the leader is the interpreter of the will of all.

III

SHELLEY: THE LIBERATOR

The youth of Byron and Shelley, coming twenty years after that of Wordsworth and Coleridge, was subjected to different influences. And for all their democratic zeal they were strongly taken with the glamor of the Man of Destiny. With them consequently the great man is a more salient feature. Shelley comes chronologically last in this group, but psychologically he precedes Byron.

At the outset we must remind ourselves that the universe struck Shelley as a myth-maker and poet, and it struck him as what may be termed a humanitarian or sociological

⁴⁴ In the Widener Collection, Harvard College Library.

philosopher. The world that struck the poet in these distinct ways is in the large a sociological laboratory. In it certain facts like winds, and dropping leaves, and sweet voices that fall silent are quite outside sociological generalizations. For them he is a lyre. All other facts he forced to submit to the analysis of his reason. He discovers a formula and, like all his kind, he thinks he has found the philosopher's stone.

This formula presents the human situation in terms of good and evil. Shelley is a perfectibilist. Love is the sole law which should govern the moral world.⁴⁵ Under its sway all men will be good. The misery of men is not grounded in nature or in the tyranny of the Maker, but is caused by "the absence of reason."⁴⁶ Who shall introduce reason? The leader. How? "By an unadorned display of moral truth."⁴⁷ So shall men be liberated. Shelley's own practical devices as an eager reformer seem small when compared with the cosmic convulsions of the *Prometheus*. Yet in spite of the distance measured between the real world and the ideal, Percy Bysshe Shelley and Laon and Prometheus are one type. They are, in Shelley's mind, the enemies and victims of tyrants, the idealized benefactors of men who for their efforts to bring men happiness suffer oppression.

Slave, tyrant, rebel—these constitute the Shelleyan triangle.

The slave and the tyrant are twin-born foes.⁴⁸

When Liberty, inducted always by rebelling men, comes,

. . . tyrants and slaves are like Shadows of night
In the van of the morning light.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. Hutchinson, 1914, p. 37.

⁴⁶ Notes to *Queen Mab*.

⁴⁷ Irish Pamphlet, written with this conviction.

⁴⁸ *Poetical Works*, ed. Hutchinson, 1914, p. 571.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 616.

The rebel may be the lowliest of men; his name may be legion. Hear the trumpeting last line of *The Mask of Anarchy*:

Ye are many—they are few.

But when, as in *The Revolt of Islam*, an army of rebellious patriots moves upon the oppressors, they meet disaster. A leader is needed: his mere name—Laon—turns defeat to victory and he is proclaimed

The friend and the preserver of the free! (l. 1875)

Since the aim of the leader here is to create a perfectibilist world, it follows that in the ideal anarchy of universal intelligence he becomes useless. He is therefore a temporary phenomenon. Shelley takes casual note of this fact in the sonnet on *Political Greatness*. Political greatness creates a world in which it is not needed. This is practically illustrated in the conclusions of Shelley's plots—and explains these. Upon what he himself would have spent his humanitarian energy in such a world, there is no hint.

There are three longer works which deal with social questions: *Queen Mab*, *The Revolt of Islam*, and *Prometheus Unbound*. In the first, a juvenile piece entirely under the influence of Godwin,⁵⁰ there is no sign as to how the ultimate millenium is to be achieved, though there is a vision of it. In the second a fleeting glimpse of the millenium is attained. In the third good begins its eternal reign. This progress in achievement moves on, *pari passu*, with the potency of the liberator. In *Queen Mab* the future does not become the present. Two conditions are set side by side, without any hint as to how the change is to come. It may be that there is no change because there is no leader; it may be that there is no leader because the change is not depicted. *The Revolt of Islam* does not arrive at the end Shelley dreamed because the forces of right have no adequate protagonist. Or, once more, it may be that the leader fails Shelley because he does

⁵⁰ B. S. Allen: *Shelley and Godwin*, Unpublished dissertation in Harvard College Library, p. 325.

not see quite what the leader is to achieve. But the humanitarian ideal in relation to the shameful present is taking a clear shape; and step by step the need of a chief mover is becoming clear. In *Prometheus Unbound* we come near to a final position. But when at length the Spirit of the Hour blows upon "the fairest shell of Ocean," and the prophesy of "one brotherhood" is achieved, the liberator—as liberator—being useless drops out of sight. Act IV has no place for Prometheus, unless we were to suffer the bathos of hearing him exalt his own good and perfect work.

Shelley's conception of a leader is that of a reformer not that of a philosopher. He is concerned with an instrument for achieving freedom,—religious, political, economic. The sources of a leader's gift, the nature of it, how specifically he is to enlighten the world, these are not his affairs. Great men are excellent in proportion as they defy and strike down tyranny. He illustrates his theory in his own practice and in that of his heroes. Sometimes his writings are the weapons of his assault, sometimes they depict the assault upon tyranny of other real or imagined people. Of the illustrations as of the theory it must be said that they are at home in the mind of an indignant visionary, somewhat obsessed by a vulgar love of confrontations in which the high are cast down and the lowly raised up. (*Ozymandias* has a much more precise motive than sadness at the shortness of man's works.) The whole conception has not the completeness of mind that looks before and after and sees the great world in the little.

IV

BYRON: THE REBEL

Byron had, like Shelley, an unconquerable social interest. It comes out everywhere in what is enduring in his writings. It comes out not least of all in the use he makes of his sense of beauty. He, himself, and his heroes, when they are most isolated from humanity, are most bound to it by ties as deep as the human heart. Their division is negative, forced upon

them by society, not positive, the result of desire. Rebellion against the world and the world's law is their course. They seek life unconditioned. So to him—and to the heroes—nature is the consoler, and not infrequently leads through consolation to a new, ideal union with the world that is to be.

The mountains look on Marathon—
And Marathon looks on the sea;
And musing there an hour alone,
I dream'd that Greece might still be free.⁵¹

But almost as frequently the consolation breeds a savage pity for self and self's trials. There result two Byrons—and two types of heroes in the poems.

It is the fault of certain critics that they do not make this distinction, and that, in one phrase or another, they depict Byron dragging the pageant of his bleeding heart through Europe. They interpret Missolonghi as a pose. They can not have read the letters. A noble desire to espouse the cause of those who seek any temporal improvement runs through them. In the "war of *men* with monarchs," he would give his blood.⁵² He speaks almost with yearning of an Italian republic.⁵³ Yet he knows that the dream can be made real only by leaders. "If the Neapolitans have but a single Mas-saniello amongst them, they will beat the bloody butchers of the crown and sabre."⁵⁴

Let one living head,
But one arise,—we come, we come!

As the hope of some such leadership waned, he thought—and spoke—of taking a part in the business himself.⁵⁵ His part

⁵¹ The Poetical Works of Lord Byron, Oxford edition 1914, *Don Juan*, III; cf. also *Childe Harold*, IV, CLXXVIII.

⁵² *The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, ed. R. E. Prothero, London, 1898, V, 383, 403.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 188-9.

⁵⁵ *Letters and Journals*, VI, 112; cf. also V, 20 and VI, 257.

would have been a leading one whether for good or for bad, as that last Greek adventure was to prove.

For I will teach, if possible, the stones
To rise against earth's tyrants.

The same aspect of Byron shows through—with a bit of flourish, one feels—in the comment on the brilliant narrative of his taking in the murdered military commander. "I shall," he writes, "never be deterred from a duty of humanity by all the assassins of Italy, and that is a wide word."⁵⁶ Of one Byron "a duty of humanity" was the watchword. To the last he dreamed of leading men to a less conditioned life. The other uttered sobs of personal anguish and his bitter-sweet "gypsy laughter from the bushes," for he saw himself no hope of a life less cabined.

The famous dictum, then, that Byron is the hero of all his poems is misleading. For if there are two Byrons there may be two kinds of heroes. So it proves.

There are those whom we may represent by Lara. Lara moves as Byron would have, among the amazing properties of the Gothic romance. Clearly this hero is not bent on serving his kind. He differs seriously from Byron only in his tight-lipped habit. He is almost inarticulate, which the real Byron was never for one moment in all his life. But the "scattered dints of many a scar"⁵⁷ and the accumulated weight of the narrator's phrases imply that he sought once to find for himself through physical protest a free environment. He could not, and his cheek never changed "from its callow gloom." At the last "a calm disdain. . . rose to reconcile him with his fate."⁵⁸ Childe Harold, "the world's tired denizen"⁵⁹ expresses the philosophy upon which Lara acts.

Existence may be borne, and the deep root
Of life and sufferance make its firm abode

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 136.

⁵⁷ *Lara*, II, xxiii.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, xxiii.

⁵⁹ *Childe Harold*, II, xxvi.

The bare and desolated bosoms: mute
 The camel labors with the heaviest load,
 And the wolf dies in silence,—not bestowed
 In vain should such example be; if they,
 Things of ignoble or of savage mood,
 Endure and shrink not, we of nobler clay
 May temper it to bear,—it is but for a day.⁶⁰

The situation which prompts this reaction is simple:

First Freedom, and then Glory—when that fails,
 Wealth, vice, corruption,—barbarism at last.⁶¹

Harold, Lara, and their like dream of the glorious Freedom which in their time has departed from the earth; for a day, perhaps, they struggle to bring it back. But struggling decays into protest, protest into grim despondence. The cause of this declension is that the hero thinks of and yearns for his right of humanity, instead of concerning himself with his duty of humanity.

Byron could, however, interpret rights in terms of duties. His preoccupation with Prometheus is significant. Yet Prometheus is not the perfect type of those of Byron's heroes who are more than egoists. Shelley once pointed out that "The only imaginary being in any degree resembling Prometheus, is Satan,"⁶² and Carlyle asserted that "Satan also is Byron's grand exemplar, the hero of his poetry, and the model apparently of his conduct."⁶³ Shelley, furthermore, carefully marked the distinction between the two figures. They both are characterized by "courage and majesty, and firm and patient opposition to omnipotent force"; Prometheus is "exempt from the taints of ambition, envy, revenge, and a desire for personal aggrandisement," and Satan is not.⁶⁴ The difference is that Prometheus is actually a whole being, all the contradictory elements brought into a reverend unity, and

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, XXI.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, IV, CVIII.

⁶² Preface to *Prometheus Unbound*.

⁶³ Carlyle, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1857, I, 238.

⁶⁴ Preface to *Prometheus Unbound*.

that in Satan the contradictions are still contradictory. This, it seems to me, must be what Carlyle had in mind when he said Satan is Byron's grand exemplar.⁶⁵ Now, though Byron's noblest heroes may be said to oppose the moral law for the purpose, in part, of advancing their own interests, their opposition is not grounded in a wilful desire to secure their own rights but in a courageous and majestic ambition to secure the rights of others against an omnipotent force. In this way duty enters into the formula.

In *Cain* the stimulus is Lucifer himself. It is possible, even, to rationalize Lucifer as the rebellious thought of man.

Cain:

How!

You know my thoughts?

Lucifer: They are the thoughts of all

Worthy of thought;—'tis your immortal part

Which speaks within you.⁶⁰

Cain's complaint against Adam and Eve is that they served themselves with no eye, no love for their offspring. Their rights, not their duties guided them. He speaks always in terms not of himself alone but of his children. Even the beasts of the field he would redeem from the curse of the fruit. Yet, finally, in spite of all that is courageous and high-minded in his opposition, the taint of envy and revenge leads him to confuse service with personal gratification, and he who desired to be free of death and to free men, leads Death into the world for the first time. Cain had attained no inner unity, although the "duty of humanity" may be said to have been emerging into a central place.

Between those early heroes, like Conrad and Lara (1814), and Cain (1821) there is a transition group represented by Manfred (1817). Manfred seeks oblivion, self-oblivion." He has found that "The tree of Knowledge is not that of life. In him courage, firmness, and patience have gathered power over men and over material and over spirits. Yet all's but

⁶⁵ See Froude, *Thomas Carlyle*, I, 216.

⁶⁸ *Cain*, Act I, Scene 1.

naught. His taint was ambition; for though he could say

I have done men good,
And I have met with good even among men,—⁶⁷

he was not content. "This avail'd not." He could not define life in duties, he asserted and exercised the arrogant rights of a satanic spirit. In the Hall of Arimanes, a spirit of evil admires him.

Yet, see, he mastereth himself, and makes
His torture tributary to his will.
Had he been one of us, he would have made
An awful spirit.⁶⁸

Manfred had never that desire to free men which animated Cain, and he never came to humiliate himself as did Cain. As a character, he looks forward toward the condition in which service is a goal and humility a reaction upon arrogance. But he is none the less still very much like those who protested vigorously against their world. He does not fall into mere vociferous despondency, as they, however,—until he has conquered. Then he is overwhelmed by the desperate boredom of omniscience, without love. As a fact it seems to me, Manfred can not accurately be called Promethean; he can not even be called Satanic. He typifies the degree of rebellion beyond the vague sullenness of Lara but this side the intelligent opposition of Cain and Lucifer. Such is the Byronic Rebel.

With respect to the thought of Wordsworth, of Coleridge, of Byron, and of Shelley, it is, then, possible to expound the phrase "the permanent politics of human nature." Such an interpretation confirms and indeed constitutes a gloss upon Mr. Graham's assertion that, with these poets, "a deeper expediency of humaneness and justice" regulated the political outlook. It reveals their philosophy of politics, not their practice. And yet it makes clear that the "change of political face" in Wordsworth and in Coleridge was not

⁶⁷ *Manfred*, Act I, Sc. I.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Act II, Sc. IV.

apparent but real, and that it consists largely of the introduction of a leader into the Jacobinical formula. And, finally, it seems to me to raise seriously the question whether one can say even of Shelley and Byron that their politics "were upon an emotional basis." For in each of the four—whatever his success—there is a powerful effort of thought directed toward a solution of the permanent human problem of leadership.

B. H. LEHMAN

XXX. WILLIAM GODWIN'S INFLUENCE UPON JOHN THELWALL

At two periods in the eighteenth century, literature was more closely and more frequently associated than is its wont, with immediately contemporary events, and instead of being a disinterested interpretation of life it was enlisted in the service of propaganda. At the outset of the century party-politics, the bickering of Whig and Tory, more than once roused Defoe, Arbuthnot, Addison, and Swift to seize a polemic pen, and from the tumult of controversy emerged works like *The Campaign* and *The History of John Bull*, inspired as much by anticipated rewards as by agitated feelings. Again, at the close of the century, in the presence of such a social upheaval as the French Revolution, it was impossible for thinking men to remain neutral. Problems, born of the intellectual ferment of the age and concerned with the fundamental issues of religion, morals, and government, stirred men to a white heat of partisanship and set them writing passionately, according to their sympathies, in behalf of liberty, equality, the state of nature and civilization, Christianity and atheism, and traditional ethics and individualistic morality. Losing contact with beauty, imaginative literature indeed at this time too often staggers under a weight of social philosophy.

Among the most persistent in the cause of radicalism was John Thelwall. As one of the early agitators for Parliamentary reform and as a vigorous pamphleteer and popular lecturer on politics who fearlessly upbraided the ruling powers and expounded the detested doctrines of liberalism, he was a constant thorn in the side of the anti-Jacobins. Tried for high treason in 1794, he like Hardy and Horne Tooke was acquitted. Then he courageously renewed and continued his objectionable lectures until Pitt and Grenville, in ex-

asperation, finally succeeded in silencing him in 1795 by their bill for the suppression of sedition. At this gagging of a most obnoxious opponent Burke expressed satisfaction in sneering terms,¹ the *Anti-Jacobin*² rejoiced, and that most foul of contemporary satires, *The Pursuits of Literature*, which went through a discreditable large number of editions, was triumphant.³ A little later, when he was being driven from town to town by frantic prejudice and was tracked about by government spies, Thelwall enjoyed the friendship of Coleridge, and about the same time his early poem, *The Peripatetic* (1793) provided Wordsworth with the plan of *The Excursion*.⁴

In the course of his stimulating study of Thelwall, the only one that has yet been made, M. Cestre, particularly interested in Thelwall as a practical reformer, has explained his relationship to William Godwin, but has not given a full and systematic account of that indebtedness, and, as not germane to his purpose, has left out of consideration the novel, *The Daughter of Adoption*, which, as much as Thelwall's lectures and pamphlets, is under obligations to the author of *Political Justice*. To focus the attention upon these Godwinian elements in Thelwall's work and to deal with them more completely than has yet been done is the aim of this paper. To students of literature who are acquainted with the extent of Godwin's influence upon the fiction of his time and the poetry of Wordsworth and Shelley, such a discussion may not be without interest.

¹ A Letter to a Noble Lord.

² *The Anti-Jacobin*—April 9, 1798.

³ *Pursuits of Literature*. First American, from Seventh London edition, revised. Philadelphia 1800, p. 116, pp. 99, 297.

⁴ *John Thelwall*,—Charles Cestre. London and New York, 1906. After comparing *The Peripatetic* and *The Excursion* Cestre concludes that the resemblance is "more than a fortuitous coincidence," (p. 29). A contemporary opinion which he has overlooked, confirms his inference. After a visit to Thelwall, Crabb Robinson states in his *Diary* (February 12, 1815) "He talked of *The Excursion* as containing finer verses than there are in Milton, and as being in versification most admirable; but then Wordsworth borrows without acknowledgment from Thelwall himself!!"

I.

Thelwall's primary concern is undoubtedly with contemporary conditions, with the wretchedness that presses for immediate relief, and with the measures of partial reform that may be carried into effect without overturning the foundations of society. He complains of very real evils: the frightful taxes and the infamous activities of the press-gang because of the French War, the emigration to America, the high cost of living as the result of monopoly, and the national debt, the interest on which is wrung from the laborer. His cry is that the war is depopulating the country, ruining it financially, and reducing the masses to misery. He notes with indignation that the increase in the cost of provisions has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in wages, and he deplotes the neglect of land capable of cultivation. Nor is his knowledge of these questions purely academic. To gather information at first hand he dropped into wayside ale-houses for a chat with the ragged laborers, and he engaged in conversation with fellow-travelers in stage-coaches, on ferries, and in the street. Indeed in his discussion of agrarian matters, Thelwall was no amateur economist; it was his belief in the social importance of the laborer that made him an advocate of universal suffrage. This man had a warm-blooded sympathy with his fellow-men that was many spans removed from Godwin's self-complacent detachment from actuality. Coleridge did Thelwall only justice when he declared that "energetic activity of mind and of heart is his master feature."

Yet Thelwall's preoccupation with contemporary affairs is misleading. It is surprising to find to what extent he was on the speculative questions of the day a Godwinian ideologist, although this aspect of his opinions was less often revealed because as a public lecturer he knew the value of sticking close to concrete problems, and, besides, he was chary about the premature enlightenment of the masses, believing the mind must be gradually prepared for the reception of the abstract,

startling truths of the new philosophy. His acceptance of the principles of *Political Justice* was not unaccompanied by reservations. Possessing a keener sense for the hard facts of life and for the complexities of the social body, and in this respect unlike the youthful Shelley, who in later years was to subscribe to Godwinism *in toto*, Thelwall was not entirely blind to the limitations of *Political Justice*. He recognized that "its daring excellencies" were alloyed with "visionary peculiarities of mind" and that the book, though "very valuable," was certainly very imperfect."⁵

In some matters, as we shall see, he did not—and in this he showed common sense, if not merciless logic—follow Godwin to those extremes that made the *Political Justice* frequently a *reductio ad absurdum* of its own Utopian principles. But in the main, it must be confessed, Thelwall left no doubt as to his discipleship. At his trial for high treason in 1794, one John Taylor, a government spy and informer, gave evidence that at one of his lectures Thelwall had read aloud and commented upon passages from the *Political Justice*.⁶ The next year even after Godwin's unsympathetic attitude at the time of Pitt's Sedition Bill had estranged Thelwall, he remained nevertheless loyal to the opinions of the philosopher. It is evident, moreover, from Coleridge's letters, although Thelwall's share in the correspondence has, unfortunately, not been preserved, that at the time Thelwall was vigorously defending some of the most radical principles of *Political Justice*, and that he had taken Coleridge sharply to task for his unqualified condemnation of those ideas. Coleridge has to admit, however, that Thelwall is "perhaps the only

⁵ *The Tribune, A Periodical Publication, consisting chiefly of the Political Lectures of J. Thelwall*, 3 vols. London; 1795–1796, Preface VIII, Vol. II. See also marginal comment in Thelwall's own hand on p. 7 of the British Museum copy of *Democracy Vindicated. An Essay on the Constitution and Government of the Roman State; from the Posthumous works of Walter Moyle; with a preface and notes, by John Thelwall, Lecturer on Classical History*, Norwich; 1796.

⁶ *State Trials for High Treason—Part Third Containing the Trial of Mr. John Thelwall; Reported by a student of the Temple, London (1795).*

acting democrat that is honest," the majority of the patriots being "ragged cattle, a most execrable herd." It would seem that reflection and contemporary events did not convince Thelwall of the fallacies of Godwinism. Wordsworth, endowed with a better mind, recoiled from the sophistries he had at first accepted with enthusiastic faith, and wrote *The Borderers* as his recantation. But Thelwall's novel, *The Daughter of Adoption*, in 1801 and his lecture in Edinburgh in 1803 make clear that even after the beginning of the new century he was supporting doctrines that some other men had outgrown.⁷

Thelwall is Godwinian in his ideological method of conceiving man. As he delineates him especially in more speculative discussions, man appears not as the being we daily encounter at home, on the street, or in the shop, but as a mere philosophical abstraction with neither flesh nor blood. In *a priori* fashion he reduces the complexity of man's nature to the fewest possible terms, and what he exalts as man *per se* is a purely imaginary being, a highly generalized type, arbitrarily detached from historical tradition, considered apart from every form of social organization, and deprived of every suggestion of either personal or national individuality. To determine man's rights, Thelwall assures us, such an abstract conception is "absolutely necessary."⁸ In other words, he will put the discussion on a firm basis by considering man as he never existed, an unhistoric individual living in a social vacuum. Such a method may be all very well as long as man, thus conceived, remains an inhabitant of a speculative state of nature or of an Utopia of the future, for there he injures nobody. But such a method is fatal when the attempt is made to carry theory into practice. The French Revolution itself was a gigantic effort to realize such impotent idealism, and only at terrible cost was it discovered

⁷ *A Letter to Francis Jeffray* (sic), Edinburgh, 1804.

⁸ *The Rights of Nature, against the Usurpations of Establishments. A series of letters to the People of Britain, occasioned by the recent effusions of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*, London, 1796, Letter II.

that forms of social organization, suitable for man in the abstract, were entirely unfit for the perverse, vigorous being of the actual world.

For Thelwall as for Godwin, the supreme possession that dignifies man, is his reason. Like his master he regards it as omnipotent, and because he has such absolute faith in its operations, he believes in the finality of private judgment for the determination of truth. Let every current opinion and established tradition, he urges, to be taken before the bar of reason and be examined as to its validity. He reveals the blind confidence of a Godwinian individualist when he insists upon this necessity of subjecting every accepted belief to "the same test of experimental investigation," and again when he impresses upon each of his hearers as an obligation the importance of conducting this investigation independently.

You may listen, it is true, to the doctrines of another; but if you make not use of your own reason to inquire and investigate whether they are true or false, you . . . will never attain the true philosophical light of truth and benevolence. Scrutinize everything you hear from every one; and most of all, everything that you hear from me. . . . Think not, therefore, that I wish you to take for granted everything I tell you. You must have your knowledge not as a parrot has his by rote; but from the labours of your own minds; from the feelings and convictions of your own hearts.⁹

If Thelwall is Godwinian in his unequivocal recognition of the individual's right to act upon the dictates of his own understanding, no less closely does he follow the teachings of *Political Justice* in his belief that complete freedom in the pursuit of truth is the necessary condition of growth for both the individual and society. To anything like the petrification

⁹ Lecture: 'On the Nature and Calamities of War.' *The Tribune*, I, 61 (seq.)—cf. p. 149. Compare Godwin's statement: "But, by conforming ourselves to the principles of our constitution, in this respect (i.e. "to employ our understandings and increase our discernment"), we most effectually exclude all following, or implicit assent. . . . We must bring everything to the standard of reason. Nothing must be admitted either as principle or precept, that will not support this trial." *Political Justice*, Third Ed., London, 1798, Book I, Ch. V.

of thought in the form of prejudice or tradition he is antagonistic. Like Godwin he emphasizes that opinion must be in a state of constant flux and flow. Man must be in a position to revise his past judgments, to act in the light of newly acquired knowledge, to sift the true from the false without reference to external authority. No conclusion should be regarded as final; no principle should be formulated dogmatically. The mind should be on the alert, always hospitable to fresh ideas, never so attached to the old as to slam the door in the face of the new. Thelwall, consistent with his doctrine, assures his audience that if reflection reveals to him any flaws in his own reasoning, he will feel no shame in publicly announcing his change of belief.¹⁰ Thelwall, measuring man by an individualistic formula, would, like Godwin, turn him adrift in an ocean of speculation with no light to guide him but that furnished by his intelligence. The fact is, had these ideologists observed man as he appears in the world and had they really made a serious attempt to employ their reason in analyzing the data of experience, they would have soon been convinced that man was a far more complex and more helpless creature than they conceived him to be. Ironically enough, the error of their own deductions is sufficient proof that the reason is not infallible. Coleridge with justice realized that uncompromising rationalists like Godwin are "arrogant because they are ignorant and boastful of the strength of reason because they have never tried it enough to know its weakness."¹¹

In his amazing chapter on "Human Inventions Susceptible of Perpetual Improvement," Godwin infers the probability of continual moral and social evolution from what man through his reason has already accomplished in the course of his development from a savage state. In the golden age of the future, when mind shall be supreme over matter, it is not impossible that desire will be bridled, men,

¹⁰ *The Tribune* I, 149.

¹¹ *Early Recollections, chiefly relating to the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Joseph Cottle, 2 vols. London 1837, I. 254.

guided by reason, will cease to propagate when they realize the evil of over-population, disease will be a thing of the past, life will be indefinitely prolonged, and adults will indulge in the austere pleasures of speculation and benevolence. Thelwall accepts this doctrine of perfectibility, and throws out hints of that "paradise of felicity into which the unrestrained improvement of human intellect might in time convert this hitherto contentious globe." But his mind is of too practical a turn and is too engrossed with the consideration of concrete contemporary evils to busy itself with the domestic privacies of the millennium. He gives us only occasional glimpses of that future the delights of which Shelley loved to dwell upon in terms of passionate, glowing beauty. Nevertheless, we must recognize that because he does think "the tendency of the human mind, considered in the aggregate, is to perpetual improvement,"¹² and because he does expect so much to result from free intellectual inquiry, he is outraged that the government by every means in its power seeks to interfere with the operation of those forces upon which the process of perfectibility depends. Pitt, for example, has attempted to stop Thelwall's own lectures, packed his audience with spies and informers, and threatened with severe penalties landlords who wished to rent him rooms for his discussions. In its anxiety to crush liberal opinion the government prosecutes independent thinkers who would change social institutions that have outgrown their usefulness, and in pursuance of such a tyrannic policy it has condemned to transportation the English patriots, Gerrald and Margatrot. It is characteristic that Thelwall whose mind habitually worked with more concrete conceptions than did Godwin's, should thus bring home to his audience his general idea by reference to contemporary events with which they were all familiar.

Consistent with his Godwinian faith in truth as the supreme regenerating force, Thelwall at all times opposes the

¹² Lecture on the system of terror and persecution adopted by the present ministry. *The Tribune*, I, 261.

employment of any kind of violence as a means of hastening reform in social conditions. He thinks that in an atmosphere, tempestuous with tumult, the passions have full sway, issues are beclouded with hatreds, and reason cannot pursue its investigations. This sound doctrine of *Political Justice*, insisted upon so many times in its pages, Thelwall preached continuously at his lectures in the Beaufort Buildings and at the great public outdoor meetings of the English radicals. On October 26, 1795 at the huge gathering in the neighborhood of Copenhagen House, when the audience was estimated at 150,000, Thelwall took as his subject, "Peaceful Discussion, and not Tumultuary Violence, the means of Redressing National Grievance." He deplored the excesses in France, and frequently impressed upon his hearers that conditions in England did not warrant resort to such desperate measures. There "Reform, like a long-woo'd virgin, shall come at last, in the unsullied robes of Peace, and, in the Temple of Concord, shall give her hand to Reason."¹³

In Godwin's opinion, however, Thelwall's methods, notwithstanding his condemnation of violence, were not sufficiently pacific to advance the cause of truth. Poor Godwin's disciples, indeed, frequently more impetuous than he, and eager to accelerate in some degree the approach of the millennium, gave him more trouble than he bargained for. Many years later he had to bring to bear upon the youthful Shelley all the weight of argument to induce him to desist from his Irish propaganda as calculated to stir up strife and to impede rather than advance enlightenment. Now, in Thelwall's case, Godwin, heartily disapproving of his disciple's incessant activity as a lecturer, was mightily disturbed and on more than one occasion sought to dissuade him from his undertaking. Thelwall listened to his admonitions, but thinking that Godwin was over-scrupulous and failed to comprehend justly the tendency of his discussions as a means to reform, continued his work zealously. The up-

¹³ *Sober Reflections on the Seditious and Inflammatory Letter of the Right Honorable E. Burke to a Noble Lord.* London, 1796.

shot was that, when Pitt and Grenville's bill (1795) for the suppression of sedition was being considered by Parliament, Godwin published an anonymous pamphlet in which he supported the action taken by the government against the radicals.¹⁴

Godwin argues that it is the business of the governing powers to see to it that reformers, in their effort to eradicate the abuses that have crept into the social structure, do not overturn this vast, complex organization and destroy beyond repair the precious accomplishment of generations of human exertion. After condemning the activities of the London Corresponding Society and emphasizing its perilous resemblance to the Jacobin Society of Paris, he points out in particular the dangerous possibilities of the lectures Thelwall had been delivering for two years in the Beaufort Buildings. Godwin advances his well-known objection that as social reconstruction is "a delicate and awful task" which can be achieved only by the gradual enlightenment of the public mind carried on through a long period of preparation, a political speaker, especially when he is "an impatient and headlong reformer," is not in a position to weigh his words with necessary deliberation and arrive at truth before a large excited audience and under the demoralizing stimulus of their clamorous applause. He appeals to their passions rather than to their reason, and if, as "saving clauses," he urges the practice of universal benevolence and utters remonstrances against violence, he is like "Lord George Gordon preaching peace to the rioters in Westminster Hall" or "Iago adjuring Othello not to dishonor himself by giving harbour to a thought of jealousy"—"Reform!—How often has thy standard been unfurled by demagogues and by assassins been drenched and disfigured with human gore!"

Godwin, the philosopher of anarchy, on this occasion has been driven by his frigid logic into an incongruous alliance

¹⁴ *Considerations on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Pitt's Bills concerning Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Unlawful Assemblies*, by a Lover of Order, London.

with the conservatives. He sounds the note of alarm, says nothing that would not increase the fears and intensify the hostility of the public against the reformers, and indeed forces the action of the government. Certainly his unfeeling, inept comparisons and ill-timed rhetorical flourishes were calculated to afford poor Thelwall only the bitterest consolation. Godwin provides Thelwall's enemies with the bludgeon with which they may beat him down. That upon analysis he finds the two bills iniquitous and ill-adapted to accomplish the results they aimed at would make little impression upon conservative readers. They would forget the sentiments they did not approve, and remember that a Lover of Order, himself an avowed reformer, admitted that the tendency of Thelwall's lectures was to prepare men for "purposes, more or less similar to those of the Jacobin Society of Paris." The fact is Godwin's philosophy made him, in this instance, at any rate, cruel and treacherous, and when Thelwall, wounded and indignant, bitterly reproached him, he defended himself with irritating self-complacency. But, as we have already remarked, even though this incident strained the personal relations of Godwin and Thelwall, it did not destroy the latter's confidence in the philosophy of *Political Justice*, for the very next year in his correspondence with Coleridge Thelwall was warmly defending the most radical doctrines to be found in the book.

II.

We have seen the extent of Thelwall's indebtedness to Godwin in the matter of his conception of man as an intellectual being. For his attitude toward man as a moral being Thelwall is under no less obligation to the author of *Political Justice*. Godwin, denying in their relation to human character the influence of innate ideas, instincts, antenatal impressions, and climate, argues that man is born into the world without any predispositions, and what he afterwards becomes is the result of the molding forces of his environment. As an eighteenth century determinist, Godwin believes man

cannot help being what he is, since he is without means of controlling the circumstances that shape his character. As he puts it, "Man is in reality a passive, and not an active being."¹⁵ And the logically consistent, though startling, conclusion follows, "The assassin cannot help the murder he commits, any more than the dagger."¹⁶ This doctrine of necessity, which Godwin has derived from the French philosophers, Thelwall makes his own. The principle which Shelley later in *Queen Mab* was to exalt as the "mother of the world," Thelwall in one passage states thus: "For men are but machines performing, under the inevitable laws of necessity, precisely the part which under circumstances exactly similar any other individual must inevitably have performed."¹⁷ Because it does relieve man of all responsibility for his acts, there obviously flow from this doctrine most significant ethical consequences. In particular it sanctions, and indeed makes morally imperative, a large charity toward the wrongdoer as the victim of circumstances. It revolutionizes the whole theory of punishment as a justified penalty inflicted by society for violation of its laws, and, accordingly, stamps such methods of social vengeance as both irrational and brutally cruel. Upon this conception rests Godwin's whole condemnation of penal codes; and Thelwall is only following in his footsteps when, with the horrors of the Terror in his mind, he laments the folly of punishing men who were merely victims of the system under which they lived.¹⁸

Like Godwin, Thelwall also believes that a wrongdoer is to be brought to righteousness, not by the infliction of physical pain, but by the power of argument and the sweet persuasiveness of truth. "Virtue and beneficence are still attainable; and the same energies which, under the delusions

¹⁵ *Political Justice*—Vol. I, Bk. IV, Ch. VIII.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Bk. VII, Ch. 1.

¹⁷ *The Tribune* I, 54. cf. *On the Moral Tendency of a System of Spies and Informers*. London 1794. For Shelley on necessity see *Queen Mab*. Canto VI.

¹⁸ *The Tribune* I, 54.

of error, made him criminal, guided by the light of truth, might produce such qualities and such effects as would make full compensation to the world."¹⁹ When Thelwall was in the Tower awaiting his trial for high treason, Godwin with a stern consistency that at the time may not have been entirely palatable to the prisoner, took him severely to task for his resentment against his prosecutors. "How senseless and idiot-like it is to be angry with what we know to be a mere passive instrument, moved according to certain regular principles and in no degree responsible for its operations!"²⁰ Then, after this questionable consolation, Godwin, as he had done a few months previously in the case of the patriot Joseph Gerrald, charged with treason, urges Thelwall to practice benevolence and to bring to bear upon the minds of the jurymen the infallible appeal of the truth in all her unadorned simplicity.²¹

Thelwall, it is evident, accepts Godwin's solution of the problem of evil. Similarly he agrees with him that justice, synonymous in this instance with the utilitarian ideal, the greatest good of the greatest number, is the supreme virtue, the absolute criterion by which conduct is to be judged.²² His application of this standard has Godwin's ideological inflexibility, and though he may mellow his statement of his ethical convictions more frequently than does his teacher, yet, in the final analysis, Thelwall is in harmony with him. He insists that "all virtue must be an *active*, not of a *passive* nature," and in so doing he stresses a doctrine that impelled

¹⁹ *The Tribune* I, 151. Compare this statement from Godwin's *Caleb Williams* (Vol. II, Ch. VI) when reference is made to the murderer Falkland. "If he have been criminal, that is owing to circumstances; the same qualities under other circumstances would have been, or rather were sublimely beneficent."

²⁰ Cestre, *John Thelwall*, Appendix.

²¹ For letter to Gerrald see Kegan Paul, *William Godwin and his Contemporaries*, I, 125.

²² The material for this part of the discussion is based on the lectures "On the Moral and Political Influence of the Prospective Principle of Virtue." *The Tribune*, I, 147, 222.

sincere Godwinians to give unremitting attention to the destruction of prejudice and the propagation of truth, as the only adequate means of advancing the cause of universal benevolence.

In this connection it is curious to note how Godwin's followers echo one another. Thelwall says, "that every moment of our existence has its duties . . . therefore, . . . not one thought can virtuously be cast away in any other employment but that of seeking to promote the present and future happiness of mankind." Shelley, young, impulsive, and sympathetic, writes to Godwin how *Political Justice* affected him. "I beheld, in short, that I had duties to perform. . . . My plan is that of resolving to lose no opportunity to disseminate truth and happiness." Acting upon his conviction, Shelley sent his little tract, *The Necessity of Atheism*, to dignitaries of the Church of England, and not long after set out on his journey of enlightenment to Ireland. Certainly this ideal is indicative not only of generosity of spirit, but also of a futile optimism that refuses to be restrained by a sane respect for man's limited capacity for both discovering the truth and influencing his fellows by his convictions. It is the romantic faith of an individualistic age.

Thelwall's adoption of utility as his ethical criterion leads him to make, with reference to moral tendencies, an interesting classification that is unquestionably Godwinian in origin, but what was implied rather than fully expressed in *Political Justice*, Thelwall has elaborated and definitely formulated. His philosophy required Godwin to rank energy as a precious excellence because it was the native power by which the utilitarian ideal might be achieved, and so highly does he evaluate it that the mere expenditure of force wins his admiration, regardless of the ends for which it may be exerted. Accordingly, he is able to describe with enthusiasm the misdeeds of a robber-band in *Caleb Williams* and the crimes of a Bethlam Gabor in *St. Leon*. Sin—what is it for him? Merely energy misdirected, the result of ignorance, and possible for the individual only so long as he remains

unenlightened. As is shown in *Fleetwood* especially, Godwin disapproves of the "Weltschmerz," that lassitude of pessimism, because it exhausts the energies of the individual and impairs his usefulness. Likewise he condemns any form of punishment which has for its end the infliction of pain for a past irrevocable action rather than such a reformation of the wrongdoer's character as will increase for the future his social value.

Now Thelwall, having completely assimilated Godwin's thought, makes clear its implications by distinguishing between what he calls "the retrospective and prospective system of ethics." The former is preoccupied with the individual's relation to his past and sets a premium upon repentance and remorse, regarding as the essence of moral action the wasteful expenditure of energy in unavailing regret for irretrievable errors, and inspiring penal codes with the savage spirit of retributive justice. The latter system is concerned not with the individual's past, but seeks to increase his effectiveness as an instrument of social good by urging him to an exertion of energy in behalf of the future happiness of mankind. Thus will be saved from blight "powers of mind" that "might have darted like lightning from one extremity of the universe to another." In other words, Thelwall, like Godwin, aims at the accomplishment of the greatest good to the greatest number, and condemns whatever interferes with this ideal of moral action. With a conscientiousness which to-day impresses us as almost comic, these ideologists attempted to practice their doctrines. Godwin refused to visit Thelwall, while the latter was imprisoned in the Tower, on the ground that as some danger was entailed by such a visit, he sacrificed the personal gratification of seeing Thelwall to the greater utility served by protecting his life for the public benefit! Thelwall himself was inspired to lecture upon the evil of retrospection by his recognition of his duty to control his grief at his mother's recent death and to betake himself, even at that painful hour, to his humble task of spreading truth among the living.

As Thelwall studied the society of his time, he became convinced that it was the policy of those in power to support the retrospective system of ethics. Princes, stirred by a desire for revenge, carry on devastating wars, and priests make capital out of the past errors of men, prolonging the periods of repentance and by the fearful punishments which they preach are in store for the evildoer, enslaving him to their will and rendering nugatory his capacity for the achievement of positive good. Among "the pretended virtues" of the retrospective system which Thelwall slaughtered on the altar of universal benevolence, was patriotism, that foolish sentiment which fosters hatred between men who are separated from one another merely by "a fancied line upon a map, or a little dirty pool of troubled water." Especially significant of Thelwall's allegiance to Godwin's principle in its most extreme form is his discussion of gratitude. He admits that he has "a delicate task to perform" in raising any question as to its essential nature, especially as Godwin's repudiation of gratitude as a virtue has brought him into so much odium. But "a chain of serious reasoning" has convinced Thelwall that it is a vice. It requires the individual to act in violation of the supreme principle of justice and to bestow favors upon and to exert his energies in behalf of others, not because their capacity for benefiting mankind as a whole is greater, but because they have in the past conferred a kindness upon him. Godwin, with an imperturbable logic that shocked some of his contemporaries and merely amused others, had asserted that if a son had to choose between saving from death by fire his own father and a philosopher, the principle of public utility exacted the rescue of the latter. In a similar uncompromising spirit Thelwall insists that we should prefer to the needs of one to whom we are attached by blood and appreciation of past favors, the claims of our bitter enemy in case the latter has the greater power to "diffuse felicity through a wide sphere of human population." In *St. Leon* and *Fleetwood* Godwin sentimentalized over the fidelity of dogs. Thelwall sternly withdraws such moral

approbation, for poor Fido, merely selfishly grateful to the hand that has fed him, protects his master with equal courage whether he be a perjurer or "Benefactor of the sentient universe." Can we wonder that Thelwall's Edinburgh audience interrupted with contemptuous laughs this public elimination of the dog as a moral being?²³

It is evident that Thelwall's exposition of the moral and intellectual character of man and its consequences for the development of the individual and society was deeply indebted to Godwinism. But, as we have seen, while he accepted the doctrine of perfectibility, he refrained from specifying the attributes of the millennium, not describing with minute particularity the mode of domestic and social life in the future, but wisely confining himself to generalities about the supremacy of reason and benevolence. His human sympathy in the presence of immediate suffering and his eager wish to hasten practical reforms like universal suffrage and the abolition of "rotten boroughs" made him indifferent to futile closet speculations.

In his discussions of reforms in social organization, he significantly held aloof from the sheer anarchism of *Political Justice*, and did not set up as the goal of political evolution an age in which men, absolutely free, shall be without the restraint of law or government of any kind. Even in his *Rights of Nature* in which his discussion is purely speculative, Thelwall does not follow Godwin in advocating equality of property. In dealing with this question, he again and again exhibits extreme caution. He even doubts whether Godwin's bold threshing out of the matter in *Political Justice* was not premature. He believes that the philosopher who speculates about the problems of property, is under obligation to exercise the greatest care lest by a rash conclusion, a hasty generalization, or an untimely enunciation of truth favorable to the masses, he should incite cut-throats to pillage and weaken the very foundations of social security. At the same time, Thelwall takes as his basis of property the Godwinian

²³ *A Letter to Francis Jeffray.*

principle as to "the right of the individual to the advantages resulting from his own industry and faculties, employed upon the common elements of nature."²⁴ This principle the landowner presumptuously violates by an unjust monopoly of the benefits that are the result of the "labour and diligence of the mass of mankind." He ignores his indebtedness to the common toiler, treats him with contempt, pays him a miserable pittance, and condemns his family to misery. Thelwall is profoundly distressed at the incessant drudgery, the innutritious food, and the dreary stagnation of the mind and body which make up the life of the poor and for which the vast accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few is largely responsible. Although as a humane man he would rejoice to see a more equitable division of property through the agency of sound legislation, yet he shudders at unseasonable measures which, if carried into effect, would loosen the bonds of society and produce only tumult and violence. What Thelwall is really pleading for is no radical re-organization of the whole system of property, but the just recognition of the social importance of the agricultural laborer, accompanied by a consequent impartial distribution of the necessities of life by virtue of his activity in production. In general it should be observed that in the case of those matters which Godwin discussed at length, but which Thelwall does not touch upon, he omits mention of them, but does not deny their truth. The impression is that his procedure is dictated by his interest in practical measures and a policy of wise caution rather than by disbelief in any of Godwin's radical conclusions.

III.

The authorship of Thelwall's novel, *The Daughter of Adoption*, belongs to that period of his life when, having been driven from the field of public activity, he was living in retirement at Llys-Wen and struggling with bitter difficulty to

²⁴ *The Rights of Nature*, Letter III.

support his family.²⁵ Finally, with the manuscript of the first chapter in his pocket, he walked to London to see if he could dispose of it to some bookseller. Phillips accepted it, and he was responsible for the attribution of the authorship to John Beaufort, a pseudonym obviously derived from the Beaufort Buildings in the Strand where Thelwall had conducted his famous political lectures. The protection of anonymity was sought by more than one writer of Jacobin sympathies when, conscious of social antagonism, he wished to gain an unprejudiced hearing for his work. Under such disguise were produced Godwin's *Antonio* and Holcroft's *The Deserted Daughter* and *He's Much to Blame*.²⁶

The incidents in *The Daughter of Adoption* are a tissue of absurdity: kidnapping, long-lost parents, sliding-panels, and stolen documents are all in evidence as in many other contemporary novels. After reading this book one appreciates all the more the sobriety and self-respect of Jane Austen's situations and dialogue. His story, indeed, Thelwall has made the vehicle of Godwinian ideas of marriage. The mind of the heroine, Seraphina, who has been brought up by an Englishman of liberal opinions, has never become the seed-ground of foolish prejudices. She expresses scorn for a "slave of forms and ceremonies" who "believes that the bond of conjugal chastity exists not in the purity of the heart, but in the gingle of mystic phrases." She becomes the mistress of Henry Montfort, but in this relationship she feels neither humiliation nor self-reproach, for she is supported by "conscious innocence." This phrase which is so often in the mouth of revolutionary heroes and heroines, deserves a word of comment, for it is significant of the individualism of the period. The person who is sustained by this feeling

²⁵ *The Daughter Of Adoption. A Tale of Modern Times* by John Beaufort L.L.D. 4 vols. London 1801. The identity of the authorship is established by the Prefatory Memoir in *Poems Chiefly Written in Retirement* by John Thelwall, Hereford, 1802.

²⁶ See the present writer's article, "The Reaction against William Godwin," *Mod. Philol.*, Sept., 1918.

has usually violated the laws of established society; nevertheless, he denies the consciousness of guilt because he has acted in accordance with principles, not sanctioned by society, it is true, but formulated by nature and reason. He has defied "antiquated prejudices," has set up his own moral code, and, confident of the purity of his motives, regards himself as a martyr if he becomes the object of social censure.

Seraphina is a rampant Godwinian in her insistence upon the right of private judgment. She bitterly resents Morton's interference in her affairs on the ground that the latter is attempting to "abridge and counteract" her right as a moral agent. When Morton foolishly asserts her authority as a mother, Seraphina bursts out: "A right to direct, madam! What but reason can have any right to direct the moral conduct of a rational being?—I must therefore be the thing my reason bids me be, or I am guilty of the parricide of mind." In the end, however, social ostracism breaks Seraphina's spirit, and she enters into the relationship she had so long condemned. But her marriage is not due to conversion to conventional opinion. Far from it. Her motive indeed is distinctly Godwinian. She recognizes that her position as mistress detaches her from society, hampers the development of her personality, and interferes with the exercise of virtues of social utility, and that as society is at present constituted, it is premature for the individual to carry into practice radical conceptions of marriage. In their own private lives both Godwin and Shelley found it necessary to make similar concessions to received opinion.

We have made it clear that the substance of Thelwall's thought is derived from *Political Justice*, and that, unlike other disciples of Godwin, he does not seem to have outgrown the principles which he had adopted when events in France appeared to justify the glowing hopes of the extreme radicals. One inquiry alone remains. How are we to account for Thelwall's transition from the Rousseauism of such an early work as *The Peripatetic* to the rationalism of *Political*

Justice? The transition is, we believe, more apparent than real. Critics have preoccupied themselves with *Political Justice* and have insisted upon its cold, repellent reasoning, failing to observe the paradoxical fact that the logician who wrote *Political Justice*, is responsible for a series of novels that can scarcely be distinguished from the typical sentimental story of the eighteenth century. The explanation would seem to be that a sentimental strain inheres in the thought of *Political Justice* itself, and that the novels merely reveal its ultimate tendencies.²⁷ Godwin's doctrine that man is the product of circumstances, relieves the individual of responsibility for his own acts, and undoubtedly sanctions the expression of unrestrained pity for the wrongdoer as is exemplified by Godwin's own compassion for the prisoners and thieves in *Caleb Williams*. The theory of universal benevolence, presented in cold, intellectual fashion in *Political Justice*, expands into the rhapsodic effusions of *St. Leon* and *Mandeville*. Indeed, Godwin may be said to sentimentalize about reason itself, for certainly his faith in its power creates a boundless optimism that plays upon susceptible feelings. If this point of view be warranted, it is easy to see that Thelwall, a man of ardent temperament and a Rousseauist, would not find it as difficult as might at first be imagined, to respond to the teaching of *Political Justice*. In the midst of its austere rationalism and dignity of intellectual statement he encountered doctrines amply satisfying to his emotional nature and permitting the free play of his eager sympathies. Accordingly, he is consistent in his Godwinism when he utters an apostrophe to "the kind and candid feelings of the heart," and assures "the sooty African" that he "need lift his fettered hands no more to remind him that he is a *Man* and a *Brother!*"²⁸

B. SPRAGUE ALLEN

²⁷ See the present writer's article, "William Godwin as a Sentimentalist," *P. M. L. A.*, XXXIII, 1.

²⁸ *On the Moral Tendency of a System of Spies and Informers*.

XXXI. AN ITALIAN "IMITATION" OF SHELLEY'S *THE CENCI*

Among the English Romantic poets of the early nineteenth century, Byron is undoubtedly the foremost in the amount of attention he has attracted from Continental critics and imitators. Shelley, however, has also received a rather generous amount of attention. The German translation of *Prometheus Unbound*, by Helene Richter, and the French translation of *The Cenci*, with its introductory appreciation by Swinburne, testify to the fact that Continental readers do not ignore Shelley, and a considerable number of German theses on such subjects as "Shelley und die Frauen," "Shelley's Belesenheit," and "Shelley's Quellen" show that he has not escaped his portion of industrious German scholarship. Italians, though not so voluminous in their attentions, have felt a special interest in him on account of his Italian residence and sympathies and his use of Italian material in *The Cenci*. Italian scholars have added a few minor details to our knowledge of Shelley's last years and have devoted some critical attention to *The Cenci*.

One evidence of Italian appreciation of Shelley's *The Cenci*, however, has been allowed to go practically unnoticed by English scholars and somewhat strangely has not been set in its proper light by Italian writers, so far as the present writer has been able to ascertain.¹ The *Beatrice Cenci* of G. B. Niccolini does Shelley the ultimate honor of plagiarizing him.

It is not, perhaps, so peculiar that English scholars have failed to notice this fact as it is that Italians have not set it forth with sufficient definiteness. Niccolini was by no

¹ It is a pleasure to acknowledge the friendly assistance of Professor A. M. Webb, of Trinity College, in dealing with the Italian material involved in this article.

means an obscure author. He was an intimate friend of Manzoni. His early tragedy of *Polissena* received the prize of the Academy della Crusca in 1810. His idolatrous editor, Corrado Gargioli, quotes appreciations of Niccolini from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and a German publication, *Il Giardino della Poesia Alemanna*. In addition to Gargioli's edition of the *Tragedie Varie*, D'Ancona and Bacci in their *Manuela* list Vanucci's *Ricordi della Vita e delle Opere di G. B. Niccolini*, Florence, 1866, two volumes; Guardine's *Di G. B. Niccolini de' Suoi Tempi e delle Sue Opere*, Palermo, 1895; and Arcari's *Niccolini e la Sua Opera Drammatica*, Milan, 1901. Nor is the particular poem in question, his *Beatrice Cenci*, ignored by Niccolini's commentators. It is several times noticed, and its connection with Shelley is mentioned, but the precise extent of the connection is ignored. Niccolini himself makes no mention of Shelley in connection with the play except in a letter to Felice Bellotti, dated May 9th, 1844, (the play was written between 1838 and 1844), in which he refers to it as an "imitazione della *Beatrice Cenci* [*sic*] dello Shelley." "Imitò" is also the word employed by Vanucci.² "Nel tempo stesso imitò dall' inglese di Shelley la *Beatrice Cenci*, orribile storia" etc. D'Ancona and Bacci merely say that his *Mathilde* is derived ("deriva") from the *Douglas* of Home, the *Beatrice Cenci* from Shelley. Gargioli in his preface also refers to the play merely as an imitation of Shelley: "Si conducesse a imitare con libero ardimento di poeta la *Beatrice Cenci* dello Shelley." More significant still is the statement in Benedetto Vollo's preface to *Prose Scelte di G. B. Niccolini*:³ "Tradusse i *Sette a Tebe* e '*L'Agamemnone* d' Eschilo; imitò la *Beatrice Cenci* dello Shelley." Here then is a definite distinction implied between translation and imitation.

Niccolini's *Beatrice Cenci*, is nevertheless, a translation, if not a plagiarism. Throughout the whole of acts 1 and 5 and the first half of act 2, Niccolini's play corresponds with

² Vanucci, op. cit. 2, 331.

³ Op. cit. I. 62.

Shelley's speech for speech, and often line for line. The correspondence is sometimes one of substance, as in a paraphrase, sometimes one of actual language, as in a translation. After this a speech-for-speech comparison of the remainder of the two plays seemed unnecessary, but in several additional passages picked at random the same general correspondence was found to exist. In a few cases Niccolini combines two of Shelley's speeches, and occasionally he elaborates or condenses a little. Niccolini gives in footnotes some of the stage directions that Shelley gives in the text, and creates a new scene for the entry of each new character. In these particulars his play differs both from a simple and bona-fide translation and from an outright and simonpure plagiarism. The percentage of plagiarism or disingenuous translation, whichever it is to be called, may be crudely represented by the amount of correspondence generally found between an Italian opera libretto and its ordinary English counterpart. Since it is impossible to quote all the corresponding passages, I have selected for parallel quotation a passage from each act. In order that the selection might be more representative, the passages were not picked for their resemblance, but according to a purely arbitrary scheme of choosing from the first scene of the first act, the second scene of the second act, the third of the third act, etc., of Niccolini's play.

It will be seen that Camillo's speech in Niccolini's play is really "imitated" from Shelley, in that it is a condensation and paraphrase of the corresponding passage in Shelley, and that all the other selections are merely liberal translations (in some lines, literal translations) with a general tendency toward condensation, as in the omission of four lines of dialogue in the fourth selection. Niccolini's cast is the same as Shelley's. The action develops in the same way and the characters are given the same interpretation. When they are not saying the very words of Shelley's characters, they are repeating the corresponding thought. In all the essential facts the play is a duplicate, not an "imitation," of Shelley's play.

Atto 1. Scena 1

Cammillo

Sei reo, provarlo è lieve: i tuoi delitti
 Pria coperse il silenzio, e poi l'oblio.
 Non più coll'oro di comprar t'affida
 L'impunità, chè qui risorge il santo
 Rigor della giustizia, e in te son volte
 Gli occhi di Roma, ed ogni cor vi
 freme.

(Act I, Scene I, lines 1-15)

That matter of the murder is hushed
 up
 If you consent to yield his Holiness
 Your fief that lies beyond the Pin-
 cian gate.
 It needed all my interest in the con-
 clave
 To bend him to this point; he said
 that you
 Bought perilous impunity with your
 gold;
 That crimes like yours if once or
 twice compounded
 Enriched the Church, and respited
 from hell
 An erring soul which might repent
 and live;
 But that the glory and the interest
 Of the high throne he fills little con-
 sist
 With making it a daily mart of guilt
 As manifold and hideous as the deeds
 Which you scarce hide from men's
 revolted eyes.

Atto 2. Scena 2

Beatrice e detti.

Beatrice (con voce affanosa)

Ei vien . . . Fratello
 Non lo vedesti . . . ? il suon dei
 passi ascolto . . .
 Ei sal . . . Schiude le porte . . .
 Oh ciel, mi salva!
 Se in me figliuola obbedienta avesti,
 Deh, madre mia, mi salva. O Re del
 cielo,
 Di cui l'immagine è sulla terra un
 padre,
 Così potesti abbandonarmi? ei gi-
 unge . . .

(Act II, scene I, lines 12-22)

Enter Beatrice

Beatrice (in a hurried voice)

Did he pass this way? Have you
 seen him, brother?
 Ah, no! that is his step upon the
 stairs;
 'Tis nearer now; his hand is on the
 door;
 Mother, if I to thee have ever been
 A duteous child, now save me!
 Thou, great God,
 Whose image upon earth a father is,
 Dost thou indeed abandon me? He
 comes;

La porta è schiusa, ed il suo volto io
miro . . .
Truce per gli altri, a me sorride . . .
oh Dio,
Qual nella notte che successe all'
empia
Notte, ei sorride.

Atto 3. Scena 3

Orsini

Che far degg'io? Senza terror con-
viene
Dell 'occhio altero indagatór pro-
fondo
La fiera luce sopportar: S'ei chiede
Qual cagion qui m'addusse, allor se
celi
Con frivolo sorriso il mio disegno.

Atto 4. Scena 4

Davanti al castello di Petrella.
Beatrice e Lucrezia sul terrapieno.

Beatrice

Nè ancor son giunti!

Lucrezia

Ancor non è la notte a mezzo, o fig-
lia;
Se si desta colui . . .

Beatrice

Non fia L'inferno

Un rio demon, che in uman corpo
alberga,
A sè richiama.

The door is opening now; I see his
face;
He frowns on others, but he smiles
on me,
Even as he did after the feast last
night.

(Act III, Scene I, lines 273-278)

Orsino

What shall I do?

Cenci must find me here, and I must
bear
The imperious inquisition of his
looks
As to what brought me hither; let me
mask
Mine own in some inane and vacant
smile.

Act IV, Scene 2, lines 1-17)

Scene 2—Before the Castle of
Petrella. Enter Beatrice and Lucre-
tia above on the ramparts.

Beatrice

They come not yet.

Lucretia

'Tis scarce midnight.

Beatrice

Behind the course of thought,
How slow even sick with speed,
Lags leaden-footed time!

Lucretia

The minutes pass.

If he should wake before the deed is
done?

Beatrice

O Mother! he must never wake
again.
What thou hast said persuades me
that our act
Will but dislodge a spirit of deep hell
Out of a human form.

Lucrezia

E mostruosa al certo
 La sua fiducia. Ei mi parlò di morte
 E d'eterno giudizio; ei crede in Dio,
 E l'offende e non cura, indifferente
 Al bene, al male; di morir non trema
 Senza accusarsi di sue colpe.

Beatrice

Oh cielo

Credilo, è giusto; nè per nuova offesa
 Ch'egli ci rechi, accrescerà la nostra
 Necessità tremenda.

Lucrezia

Eccoli: vedi

(mostrando gli assassini)

Beatrice

Ogne cosa mortal quaggiù s'affretta
 Al sui fin tenebroso. Andiamo.

(Beatrice e Lucrezia escono
 dal di sopra del castello di Petrella;
 gli assassini in basso)

Atto 5. Scena ultima

Beatrice:

Or cura alcuna

Non ti prender di noi-(Note: A

Lucrezia) Stringimi il nastro,

E con semplice nodo al crin lo lega,
 Madre: a te pur così: d'entrambe il
 viso

Copran le chiome. Oh quante volte
 abbiamo

Fra noi ciò fatto! Or non mai più.
 Siam pronte.

Lucretia

'Tis true he spoke

Of death and judgment with strange
 confidence

For one so wicked; as a man believ-
 ing

In God, yet recking not of good or
 ill.

And yet to die without confession!—

Beatrice

Believe that Heaven is merciful and
 just,

And will not add our dread necessity
 To the amount of his offences.

Enter Olimpio and Marzio, below

Lucretia

See,

They come.

Beatrice

All mortal things must hasten
 Thus to their dark end. Let us go
 down.

Exeunt Lucretia and Beatrice
 from above.

(Act V, Scene iv, lines 158-165)

Beatrice

Give yourself no unnecessary pain,
 My dear Lord Cardinal. Here,
 mother, tie

My girdle for me, and bind up this
 hair

In any simple knot; ay, that does
 well.

And yours I see is coming down.
 How often

Have we done this for one another;
 now

We shall not do it any more. My
 Lord,

We are quite ready. Well—'tis very
 well.

If Shelley's play had been the only source of information about the Cenci family, a general similarity of treatment might not have been unnatural, but the story was well known. Shelley, who used only one manuscript as his source, makes some significant changes in the characters. Mr. Clarence Stratton, in *The Cenci Story in Literature and Fact*,⁴ lists fourteen books in French, English, German and Italian, all bearing upon the Cenci story. Some of this material was in existence at the time Niccolini wrote. The historical documents show Beatrice and her brothers to have been radically different from the same characters as treated by Shelley. It would have been very strange for an educated Italian to know nothing of the Cenci legend outside of Shelley's treatment of it, and it would have been psychologically impossible for anyone with or without an independent knowledge of the story to have paralleled Shelley's play so closely without design. Landor, who knew and admired Shelley's play, gives in his *Beatrice Cenci: Five Scenes* an example of the differences that must necessarily develop when two men handle the same theme honestly. Landor's poem is not a drama, but merely a psychological study of five different stages in the action. In only one of these does he use the same incident that Shelley uses. He supplies new incidents and changes character, making Cenci less inhuman and Beatrice less heroic and self-sufficient than does Shelley. Landor's treatment, in other words, is a bona fide artistic production; Niccolini's is undoubtedly a fraud, presumably intentional. No writer could parallel Shelley so closely without knowing it, and no writer could honestly refer to such a production as his own creation. It is indeed puzzling that Niccolini and his commentators acknowledge a partial indebtedness in the manner already shown. One would expect the obligation either to be ignored entirely, in the case of deliberate plagiarism, or openly admitted, in

⁴ University of Pennsylvania *Studies in English Drama*, 1917. Mr. Stratton lists Niccolini's play, but does not comment upon its relation to Shelley's *The Cenci*.

the case of honest translation. The way in which Niccolini's editors have echoed his words, "imitazione," and repeated his erroneous title for Shelley's play suggests that they have accepted his statement without comparing the two plays. It is also strange that apparently no English or Italian scholar has since called attention to the true state of the matter. Despite this minor puzzle, however, it is perfectly clear that G. B. Niccolini's *Beatrice Cenci* is not an original production, but is essentially only an Italian reproduction of Shelley's *The Cenci*.

NEWMAN I. WHITE

XXXII. THE BEGINNINGS OF BOOK-REVIEWING IN ENGLISH PERIODICALS

The English newsbooks of the Civil War and the Restoration have long been known to be historically interesting and valuable. That they have also some slight literary interest has not been so generally recognized. Yet a quarter of a century before the first regular "journal of books" appeared in England, the noticing of books was an established practice in the English newspaper; and the notices themselves, indeed, make a certain contribution to literary history.

It should be remembered that newspapers in the modern sense begin in England about the time of the long Parliament, in 1641.¹ During the Civil War, in spite of various attempts to restrict publication, newspapers flourished, and were extensively used by both parties for propaganda. While Cromwell was in power, the only newsbook regularly published was under official control. At the Restoration the censorship was lifted for a time, only to be applied more vigorously when Roger L'Estrange became Licensor of the Press. The first issue of the *London Gazette* in 1665 marks an important modification of control, and offers a convenient terminus for this discussion.

These quarto newsbooks, many of them published in uncertain, if not illicit ways,—were controversial and inaccurate, and made no distinction between matter of opinion and matter of fact. Their editors, even the best of them, were partisan to the core. They showed little sense for news

¹ J. B. Williams, in his *History of English Journalism*, gives the fullest account of these newsbooks and their relation to Parliament. Elbert N. S. Thompson has treated them from a different aspect in his article, "War Journalism Three Hundred Years Ago," *P.M.L.A.* XXXV, 93-115. A summary treatment will be found in Chapter I of my thesis, *Book Reviewing in English Periodicals, 1640-1712*, Harvard University, 1918.

values, and almost no realization of the possibilities of advertising.

The simplest and earliest type of book notice in these journals came into existence through the extensive literary activities of the Long Parliament.² Along with the other news of the week, we read that "One Simonds, a Printer," was called in for printing "A Booke against the Liturgie of the Church"; that "Bond, the poet," author of "a scandalous letter from the Queen to the King," "stood in the Pillory at Westminster";³ that the printer and the author of a book reflecting upon Parliament were "to be whipt and imprisoned."⁴ "Sportive Wit, or the Muses Merriment," was reported to contain "Much Scandalous, Lascivious, Scurrilous, and prophane Matter."⁵ A correspondent from Coventry reported the arrest of one Cops, implicated in a book called "the Flying Roll": "Whoever writ it," he adds, "it is the most blasphemous book that ever I saw or heard of."⁶ Similar notices continued to appear even after the Restoration, when Parliament was no longer the chief censor. But these brief notices, though numerous, afford little information beyond the fact that the book mentioned was condemned.

Of greater interest and value are the notices of books connected with some controversy, or used as propaganda. The source of book notices of this second sort is not far to seek. It was an age much given to argument; on almost every page of the *Thomason Catalogue* one meets with some

² Although the final licensing bill was not passed until June, 1643, Parliament attempted to control printing as early as February, 1641, and various committees were ordered to take some action "for preventing the inordinate License of Printing, till the Bill can pass." See *Journals of the House of Commons*, ii, 266, and ii, 84; and *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1640-41, 530; *ibid.*, 1641-43, 129. A surprising number of pamphlets, books, and printers became subjects of Parliamentary investigations.

³ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 12, p. 7; 28 March-4 April, 1642.

⁴ *Perfect Diurnall*, p. 2022, 22-29 May, 1648.

⁵ *Publick Intelligencer*, no. 30, p. 512; 21-28 April, 1656.

⁶ *Several Proceedings in Parliament*, no. 16, p. 213; 11-18 January, 1649.

such entry as this: "Master Rigby's Speech in answer to the Lord Finch, delivered before the House of Common in behalfe of himselfe."⁷ Bishop Hall's *Humble Remonstrance* called forth seven books in less than a year and a half.⁸ In this controversial material the opponent's work was often summarized, as a starting point for the fresh argument, or it might be refuted point by point, in a sort of running commentary. Books were cited to bolster up argument, or were referred to for further information, or again, were mentioned with superb contempt. A similar treatment of books in the newspapers of the time, then, may be anticipated.

From 1643 to 1649 the periodicals of both Cavaliers and Puritans gave much space to condemning books and pamphlets issued from the other camp. *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, for example, in an attack upon the Royalists, devoted three pages to a summary of a book called *Rome's Masterpiece*.⁹ In like manner the Royalist newsbook, *Mercurius Aulicus*, commented on *The Statute of Treason*, attributed to Robert Holborn, as follows: "which booke the most charitable reader must at least think to be broken and imperfect notes taken by one who were (it seems) no competent Auditor; for therein are many things false, most mistaken, and all imperfect."¹⁰

Mercurius Rusticus, a Royalist paper written by Bruno Ryves which supplemented the famous *Aulicus*, devoted itself largely to accounts of loyal ministers who had been attacked by Parliamentary forces.¹¹ After an account of the prosecution of an Essex minister, Edward Symmons, the reader for better satisfaction is referred "to that Learned and

⁷ *Thomason Catalogue*, i, 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 7-8, and ff.

⁹ *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, no. 30, pp. 231-234; 8-15 August, 1643.

¹⁰ *Mercurius Aulicus*, "The Seventh Weeke," p. 90; 12-19 Feb. 1643.

¹¹ See F. Madan, *Oxford Books*, ii, 431-2. This began in May, 1643, and appeared weekly, with gaps, to no. 21. 16 March, 1644. My references are to the 1647 edition.

Orthodox Book of his lately published, called, *A Loyal Subject's Beliefe*, worthy every mans reading, wherein he shall see a solid and satisfactory answer to all those Arguments divulged by way of a Letter by Stephen Marshall the great Patriarch of Rebellion."¹² The paragraph concludes with a summary of the book. Not all the notices, however, are commendatory: ". . . Sandyes writes (I blush to mention so degenerate a Pamphlet) a book, and was not ashamed to call it, *His Travailes into Kent*, unworthy his Predecessors, to staine the Name of Sandyes with such Travailes: In this worthless commentary, the Register of his perpetuall Infamy" . . . , the author was none too scrupulously exact, and *Rusticus* obliges us with a paragraph of his inaccuracies.¹³

After *Mercurius Aulicus* had been upholding the royalist party for some months, with only feeble and scattering opposition from the parliamentary side, it met a worthy foe in the *Mercurius Britanicus*. The controversy between these papers raged for two years. The opponents reviewed each other constantly, *Britanicus* usually giving more space to reviling *Aulicus* than to the news of the day. In these quarrels both papers availed themselves of contemporary books to substantiate argument, and attacked with equal alacrity books written in the opposing camps. In true controversial style, both papers sometimes discussed the same book, highly colored opinions issuing from either side.

An interesting example of a book viewed from both angles appears in 1644. Nathaniel Rogers, "a godly Divine now in New-England," had published a pamphlet called *A Letter discovering the cause of Gods continuing Wrath against the Nation*. He incidentally rebuked *Britanicus* for printing "bitter and most contemptuous scoffes upon His royall Person," King Charles.¹⁴ The opportunity was not to be resisted, and *Aulicus* wrote: "*The scurrility of their Pamph-*

¹² *Mercurius Rusticus*, 1647 ed., no. 2, p. 21-2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. vii, p. 70.

¹⁴ *A. Letter*, &c. p. 9.

lets is grown so inexpressibly shamefull that the Zealots of New England, do both preach and write against it, for an instance whereof be pleased to looke into a Printed Letter by Master Nathaniel Rogers, now in New England."¹⁵

Aulicus made much of the point that the book had appeared "according to Order," and concluded that Calamy's "Imprimatur" carried with it the full approval of those in authority. *Britanicus* replied that the book, "by the Phrase and scope of it,—should be both made, licenced, and printed at Oxford."¹⁶ In answering the charge of scurrility against the King, *Britanicus* protested that his own fashion of speech had been intended as a jest, that "he might render the wayes and plots of the *Kings party* as ridiculous, as they had made God and his Ordinances."¹⁷ "If it be thus dangerous to cast a jest upon his wayes, which it seemes by most of our Sermons and Treatises that are come forth, admit of the most serious accusations, and aggravations; Alas, what will become of good Master Peters? Hath not he innocently jested? What will become of the bookes we so much admired, and were so countenanced by all? *Plain English*, and *The Mystery of Iniquity*, that made such serious sport with the King and Queenes crimes: . . . What will become of the famous and godly Master *Prynn*, that called even the King himselfe, *Popish Royall Favorite* in his booke?"¹⁸ The book was still a sore point with the editor of *Britanicus* a month later, when we find him replying feebly to another thrust from *Aulicus*.¹⁹

In 1644 Dr. Featly's *Sacra Nemesis*, which had attacked the parliamentary journals, was much reviled by them on account of its learned character. "Your Nemesis is only constituted for Oxford and Cambridge; you have pumped

¹⁵ Quoted in *Mercurius Britanicus*, no. 46, p. 359; 29 July-5 August, 1644.

¹⁶ *Britanicus*, no. 46, p. 365.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 360-1.

¹⁹ *Mercurius Britanicus*, no. 49, p. 387; 26 Aug.-2 Sept. 1644.

Dictionaries, Scapulaes, Corpus Criticorum, etc. and out of these ends of Greek and Latin you have made up your grand work."²⁰

A still more extended treatment of a book is found in the Royalist journal, *Mercurius Pragmaticus*. After reporting the King's imprisonment, the writer continues: "And if you would know the reason of this, you may doe well to take a view of his majesties' late Declaration to all his subjects, the main particulars whereof I shall quickly runne over."²¹ The pages following are given to an informal summing up of the Declaration, with occasional interpretative comments. These comments are, of course, usually political, rather than critical in character, but their purpose is evidently to make the meaning of the book itself plainer and more effective.

Of the same sort is the following notice from the *Perfect Diurnall*, dated from "Dunbarr, 5 September 1650"; regarding "Mutatus Polemo, The Horrible strategems of the Jesuits": "It is a Tractate very delectable to read through some intervening witty passages, and cunning observations; and it is a true Mirrour for the Royalist to behold how he has beene quite throughout from the beginning most lamentably deluded and wretchedly gull'd; . . . and a usefull one for the Presbyterian, who is in as likely a way (at present) of tripping up his own heels, and by forain fomentations is forging of fetters for himself as fast as he can."²²

This controversial treatment of books continued after the Restoration. In the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* for 20 August 1660 appeared the following: "The most impudent, dull, and senseless Pamphlet that even London itself hath known, crept yesterday upon a stall, by the help of *Livewell Chapman* (possibly acquainted with Praise God Bare-bone) . . . which pitifull Design, under pretence of piety, spread

²⁰ *Mercurius Britanicus*, no. 47, pp. 367-8; 12-19 August, 1644. (It is worth noting that prior to this the Royalist paper *Aulicus* had called Miles Corbett "a learned Gentleman of an high forehead.")

²¹ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, no. 22; 8-15 February, 1648.

²² *A Perfect Diurnall*, no. 40, p. 450, 9-16 September, 1650.

about such pretty, bottomless, impossible fictions, as those very Saints (if they knew how) would Blush at."

When L'Estrange began editing the *Intelligencer*, in 1663, he, too, printed savage opinions of such books as called forth his contempt or wrath. When he had been editor scarcely two weeks he wrote: "Commend me in the First Place to that Audacious, and Scandalous Pamphlet entitled—*Farewell Sermons*; which is nothing else but an Appeal from *Authority*, to the Rabble—" ²³ He must have printed with keen joy a letter from Antwerp, which characterized a recent pamphlet as, "one of the lewdest pieces for *foulness of Language* and *weakness of Argument* that ever came into the light with the pretence of *Authority* in the face of it." ²⁴ In his only approach to artistic comment, he objected to the *History of the Turkish Wars*; not only because the Licenser was, as he complained, "injured," but because "Severall Parts whereof (being broadly borrowed, at Best) are as unaptly, and irregularly patch'd together, as they are Confidently Published." ²⁵

Always, this second type of book notice owed its origin to the pronounced bias of the newswriter. He desired to establish his own position, or to destroy his enemy's, and had no time to waste in appreciations. He was frankly prejudiced in opinion, and usually ungraceful in expression. But the notices themselves, though unquestionably valueless from a critical standpoint, foreshadow the reviewing which came later, in their large use of summaries and abstracts, in the bitterness of their attacks, and in their arrogant note of authority.

This early political and controversial interest in books was also instrumental in preparing the way for book advertisements. After one has commended a book for its argument, the next step is to advise readers to purchase a copy, and then to tell them where they may obtain it. The putting

²³ *Intelligencer*, no. 3, p. 23; 14 September, 1663.

²⁴ *Intelligencer*, no. 17, p. 133; 27 February, 1665.

²⁵ *Intelligencer*, no. 21, p. 176; 14 March, 1664.

forth of actual advertisements may also have been suggested by the occasional commendations of the licensers, sometimes printed on the title page. "I approve it to be imprinted, and commend it, Reader, to thy most serious consideration," wrote the licenser of Edwards' *Antopologia*, in 1644.²⁶ Title pages, as is well known, were early used for advertising. It may be, as Rollins suggests,²⁷ that another approach to newsbook advertising can be found in the broadside ballad, which frequently referred its readers to the book in which, for their greater satisfaction, they would find all the details of the story faithfully set down.

An instance of newsbook advertising, which appears to have passed absolutely without imitators in its day, occurred in the coranto *Mercurius Britanicus*, no. 6, 1 February 1625-26, when George Marcelline's *Epithalamium Gallo-Britanicus* was announced as "this present day published."²⁸ Not until twenty years later did another advertising notice appear in a newsbook. Then Samuel Pecke, one of the foremost journalists of his day, after writing of the surrender of Oxford, added:

A little further likewise to let the Reader know what great cause we have to take notice and to rejoyce in that God hath blasted and brought to naught the vaine conceits and proud boastings of the Parliaments enemies, we would prefer to your reading a booke now in the Presse and ready to be published, entituled *Magnalia Dei Anglicana*, or *Englands Parliamen-*

²⁶ This custom was by no means uncommon. See, e.g., the licensers' opinions as printed on the title pages of the following: Joseph Hall's *Christian Moderation*, 1640; Case's *Quarrel of the Covenant*, 1643; Cobbet's *Civill Magistrates Power*, 1652. Humphrey Moseley's eulogistic preface, "The Publisher to the Reader," prefixed to his edition of Milton's poems in 1646, is an interesting attempt by an alert bookseller to appeal to the reading public.

²⁷ H. E. Rollins, "The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad," *P. M. L. A.* XXXIV, 295.

²⁸ Williams, *History of English Journalism*, p. 26. Williams thinks that Archer, the publisher of the book, may from this notice be identified with the publisher of the Coranto. It seems plausible that the newsbook publisher would advertise his own book; but it is by no means inevitable that he would refuse to advertise a book by another publisher.

tary Chronicle, and the most exactest hitherto collected, containing a full and faithfull Series, and exact Narration of all the most memorable Parliamentary mercies, and might[y] (if not miraculous) De[l]iverances, great and glorious Victories, and admirable Successes, of the Counsels and Armys of this present Parliament, both by Sea and Land, over the whole Kingdome of England, in the most just defence and vindication of her Religion, Laws, and Liberties, from the yeere 1640 to this present yeere 1646. Compiled in 4 parts; the two first entituled *God in the Mount*. The third, *Gods Arke overtopping the Worlds waves*. The 4, *The Burning Bush not consumed*. This last part comming up to these present times, and to our most renowned Generall Sir *Tho. Fairfaxes* late famous actions in the West, and the happy rendition of Oxford, and other strong Garrisons, comming up to this present moneth to July 1646. And is printed for *Michael Sparks* at the Bible in Green Arbour; *I. Rothwell* at the Sun in *Pauls Church-yard*, and *Tho. Underhill*, at the Bible in Woodstreet.²⁹

The *Perfect Diurnall* two weeks later, in relating the cases of some "scandalous ministers," was put "in mind of a Booke newly published (and we wish were well examined) intituled *Suspention suspended*."³⁰ Another advertisement occurred in November. "There is a Booke of Collections wee understand now in Presse, and will be within a day or two extant, singularly usefull for all conditions of men in the Kingdome; . . . printed for *Edwards Husbands* Printer to the honorable House of Commons."³¹

The following advertisement in the *Diurnall* is remarkable in two respects. In the first place, it is most unusual at this time to find a woman's book noticed, particularly with any deference to her sex. Again, no less noteworthy is the pains taken by the writer of the notice to disclaim any partiality. There is an obvious desire to impress the reader with the integrity and reliability of the announcement. The notice reads:

²⁹ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 156, p. 1250; 20-27 July, 1646. This was written by John Vicars. To Professor C. N. Greenough I am indebted for the suggestion that the title of Cotton Mather's great work, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, was closely modeled on the *Magnalia Dei Anglicana*.

³⁰ No. 158, p. 1268; 3-10 August, 1646. William Prynne was the author. A paragraph of summary is given, which follows very closely the words of the title page.

³¹ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 174, p. 1398; 23-30 Nov. 1646.

There is a book lately published, written by a woman (indeed the mirror of her time) *M. Eliz. Warren*, it is called *Spirituell Thrift*; or Meditations wherein Christians may view the verity of their saving graces, and how ro [sic] make a spirituall improvement of all opportunities and advantages of pious proficiency (or a holy growth) in grace and goodnesse; and wherein is laid open many errors incident to these declining times; We intend not to flatter the Authour or her worke, nor to put any false glosses upon it to delude the Reader (the Author being a stranger to me). It is printed for *Henry Shepheard*, and to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Bible in Tower Street.³²

Perfect Occurrences, written by Henry Walker, Pecke's principal rival, did not long delay in following the *Diurnall's* lead. In the issue for 26 March-2 April 1647, Walker announced an Independent book, *The Divine Right of Church Government*, as "applauded by the clergy of England."³³ From this time on, advertisements come to be of regular occurrence in the more important papers, and appear occasionally in some of the poorer ones.

In the early stages of newspaper advertising, no attempt was made to separate the advertisements from the news. The book notices in *Severall Proceedings*, for instance, occur with the news items as late as 1650, when most of the papers began the custom of printing all the advertisements on the last page of the issue, separating them from the news by a single rule.³⁴ In 1656 the *Publick Intelligencer* devoted two or more inside pages in each issue to advertisements. Italics, rarely seen at first, became general in the last years of the Protectorate, and small capitals also were used to catch the eye.³⁵

In the period before the advertisements had been segregated from the news, are found the nearest approaches to

³² *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 188, p. 1580; 1-8 March, 1646.

³³ See Williams, p. 161. Williams speaks of this notice as the "first practical realization" of an advertising scheme. But Pecke's first advertisement antedates this by eight months, and he had printed several by this time.

³⁴ See e.g., *Perfect Diurnall*, 22-29 July, 1650.

³⁵ An unusually early instance of italics in book advertisements is found in *The Perfect Diurnall*, no. 277, p. 2212; 13-20 November, 1648.

reviewing. In addition to the commendatory words of the title page itself, which these early advertisements generally copied almost *verbatim*,³⁶ expressions of approval appear which may have come from the editors: "There is newly set forth in print a briefe, but excellent Treatise, containing the Doctrine of godlinesse . . . by that Reverend and learned Teacher, M. *Ja. Norton* of New Enlgand . . . " "There is newly set forth by an ingenious authour, and now published in print an excellent and pleasant discourse of Mathematicks, entituled *Mathematicall Magick*. . . ."³⁷ The following notice not even remotely echoes the title page:

There is now published the much expected work of that Famous, and Learned, and Iuditious Divine Mr. *Iohn Diodati* of Geneva being his Annotations upon the Holy Bible, corrected and much enlarged, with a methodicall analysis before every book thereof: the first on this Subject ever yet in English. The book very necessary for people of all Estates and conditions, and greatly beneficiall in private families for the better understanding of the sacred Scripture, . . .³⁸

William Bullock's *Virginia* also received liberal space:

*There is a Book intituled Virginia, Impartially examined of a smale price . . . It is a booke directing men of all conditions to the improvement of their Estates; written only and solely for the publicke good by Mr. Bullock, And since it is not fit a booke of such a nature should be stifted: I thought good to insert it here, that all men might know where to have it.*³⁹

³⁶ The journals made no secret of this practise. After an advertisement of *Rome ruined by White-hall*, is this parenthetical note: "(Thus much are the words of the Title of the book)." *Severall Proceedings*, no. 12, p. 148; 14-21 Dec. 1649.

³⁷ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 242, p. 1946; 13-20 March, 1648.

³⁸ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 270, p. 2175; 25 Sept.-2 Oct. 1648.

³⁹ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 301, p. 2484; 30 Apr.-7 May, 1649. The *Diurnall*, perhaps from its semi-official character, seems to have been the best advertising medium in this period. Other journals printed advertisements, but not to such an extent. *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, for instance, in 1648 wrote: "Reader, take notice, that the excellent *Sermon* preached at *Gray's Inn* is in print. (no. 4, 18-25 April, 1648.) The *Moderate*, the organ of the Levellers, announcing the appearance of William Dell's *Way to Peace and Unity*, wrote, "There came forth an excellent Book this week, very usefull for the Kingdom." (no. 31, 6-13 Feb. 1649.)

The notice of Milton's *Eikonoklastes* likewise departs from the phrasing of the title page:

The Reader may please to take notice of a book published the last weeke intituled IKONOCLASTES, in answer to a late book intituled EIKON BASILIKE, the portrature of his sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings, wherein they who are not willing to be imposed upon, and would be content to be delivered from the danger of that Idolatry which many have committed, may see the gold taken off from that Idol, and that grosse hypocrisie, and incongruity, betweene those specious professions, and the late Kings constant practise, sufficiently and clearly laid open by Mr. JOHN MELTON.⁴⁰

In 1650, when the advertisements were separated from the news and printed together on the back pages of the journals, comments become more rare, most of the notices giving simply the brief titles of the books, with the names and locations of the booksellers. There is a gain, however, in that under this system many more books are advertised than under the older arrangement of running notices in with the news. These notices may possess importance in establishing the actual dates of publication for books in this period, and may be in other ways an aid to bibliography. The Thomason Catalogue, we are discovering, is neither absolutely complete or accurate,⁴¹ and the Stationers' Registers from 1640 to 1665 are notably poor guides to actual publication.

But it is as an index to public taste that the advertisements most enlighten a modern reader. During the period of the Civil War, almost nothing of any literary or artistic nature is advertised. Sermons, political tracts, treatises, and the like, with an occasional volume of travel, tell the story of book production up to 1650, so far as it may be read in the newspaper press. If foreign books were imported, they were sold without any announcement.

Under a stable government, however, even though a rigid control was exercised over the press, literature came back

⁴⁰ "A Briefe Relation of Some Affairs," 20 Nov. 1649, p. 96.

⁴¹ The Gay Collection in the Harvard College Library, for example, contained in 1918 1028 pamphlets printed between 1640 and 1660, which are not listed in the Thomason Catalogue.

into favor. The first inkling of a new order is found in the advertisement of Gondibert: "The first Heroick Poem in the English Tongue, written by Sir *William Davenant*, a Booke much commended by the learned Mr. Hobs, and long expected, is now published in Print."⁴² Then various works of John Donne appeared,⁴³ the "much expected worke of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Policy,"⁴⁴ and *The Compleat Angler*.⁴⁵ "Choice *Poems*, newly reprinted of that incomparable Author Mr. *Franck Beaumont*,"⁴⁶ Sidney's *Arcadia*,⁴⁷ Howell's *Letters*,⁴⁸ Sir Thomas Browne's *Hydriotaphia*,⁴⁹ and Cowley's *Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*⁵⁰ are other instances of the change in popular taste.⁵¹

In 1652, popular interest in drama, in spite of the closed theatres, began to show itself in the publication of plays. "*The Changeling*, Written by *Thomas Middleton* and *William Rowley*, Gent.," was advertised.⁵² The "known Play of the *Spanish Gipsie*, never till now Published," came out in

⁴² *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 54, p. 716; 16-23 Dec. 1650.

⁴³ *Perfect Diurnall*, 10 Feb. 1650; 14 April 1651.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 5 May 1651.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 179, p. 2716; 9-16 May 1653.

⁴⁶ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 186, p. 2828; 27 June-4 July, 1653.

⁴⁷ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 254, p. 3900; 16-23 Oct. 1654. The *Kingdomes Intelligencer* advertised this as "now the eleventh Time Printed," no. 23, p. 364; 9-16 June 1662.

⁴⁸ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 291, p. 4468; 25 June-2 July, 1655.

⁴⁹ *Publicke Intelligencer*, no. 181, p. 509; 13-20 June, 1659.

⁵⁰ *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 12, p. 185; 21-28 March 1661.

⁵¹ Sir Balthazar Gerbier, whose "Philosophy Lectures" were advertised in 1649, (*Severall Proceedings*, no. 10; 30 Nov.-7 Dec. 1649) was perhaps a little premature in starting his famous "Academy" at his house in London. The *Diurnall* for 1649, *passim*, gave him much space, but his project failed.

Other examples of this change are not far to seek. *Mercurius Politicus* in one issue, for 17-24 April, 1656, advertised four books by Cowley, and John Denham's *The Destruction of Troy*. Three weeks later *An Essay on the first Book of T. Lucretius . . . Interpreted and made English Verse* by J. Evelyn, Esq. was noted in the same paper. (No. 309; p. 6969; 8-15 May, 1656.)

⁵² *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 157, p. 2364; 6-13 Dec. 1652.

1653.⁵³ "Five new Playes—by Rich. Broome," were advertised in the next week.⁵⁴ Massinger's *The Bashful Lover*, *The Guardian*, and *The Very Woman* were published in 1655,⁵⁵ and in the remaining years of the period plays were published frequently.⁵⁶

Interest in foreign books, which had been dormant for some years before 1650, was also quick to assert itself.⁵⁷ "The Grand Cyrus, an excellent new Romance. Written by that famous wit of France, *Monsieur de Scudery*, Author of the *Illustrious Basha*," appeared but shortly before the following notice; "There are now come forth two Books of the most excellent Work of the famous *Rabelais*, translated out of the French, wherein are treated the Heroick deeds of *Gargantua* and his son *Pantagruel*."⁵⁸ In the next year "*Heptameron*, or, The History of the Fortunate Lovers: Written in French by the most virtuous Princesse *Margaret*

⁵³ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 179, p. 2716; 9–16 May, 1653.

⁵⁴ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 180, p. 2732; 16–23 May 1653.

⁵⁵ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 290; p. 4468; 25 June–2 July, 1655.

⁵⁶ In 1655 appeared John Cotgraves' *English Treasury of Wit and Language*, collected out of the most and best of our English Dramatick Poems, according to the *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 286, p. 4406; 28 May–4 June, 1655. "R. B.'s" "*Mirza*, a Tragedy really acted in Persia in the last age," was given space in the same paper for 18–25 June, 1655. "Three Excellent Tragedies" by Thomas Goff were advertised as "reprinted" in the *Publick Intelligencer*, no. 30, p. 509; 21–28 April, 1656. Three plays by Middleton and two by Carleile were advertised as "new" in the same paper, no. 90, p. 1483; 6–13 July 1657. No. 148, p. 924; 18–25 Oct. 1658, announced "that antient Comedy called *Ignoramus*." The *Kingdome Intelligencer* for 3–10 Feb. 1661 carried the notice of "Twenty one Plays, Written by the thrice Noble, Illustrious and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of *Newcastle*." (No. 6, p. 88.) These examples do not pretend to be an exhaustive list, but serve merely to illustrate the range of interest within the general field of drama.

⁵⁷ "There is newly published, The second part of the *Christian Combate*. Written in French by Mr. *Peter du Mouli* of the University of *Sedan*, And translated into English by *Jo. Bulteel* Minister." *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 48, p. 616; 4–11 Nov. 1650.

⁵⁸ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 184; 13–20 June, 1653, and no. 202, p. 3084; 7–24 Oct. 1653.

de Valoys Queen of Navarr; Now Englished by R. C." was announced,⁵⁹ and the same year were advertised the *Letters* of M. Balzac and *The Imitation of Christ*.⁶⁰

There are a few chance references to books and authors, not very easily classified, but curious enough to bear mention. In 1644 Sir Arthur Haslerigg's soldiers had pillaged the library of a minister near Wantage, and the Royalist journal had complained of this barbarity. The reply in the parliamentary journal reads: The books "were only some Lady Psalters, and *Cosins* Devotions, and *Pocklingtons* Altar, and *Shelfords* sermons, and *Shakespeares* Workes, and such Prelaticall trash as your Clergymen spend their Canonically houres on."⁶¹ To the same paper we are indebted for this: "Doctor *Jeremie Taylor*, a most spruce neat *formalist*, a very *gingerbread* Idoll, an *Arminian* in *print*."⁶² "He that desires to advance the Plantation of *Ireland*," reads another journal, "can hardly find better hints, then are in Mr. *Ed. Spenser* his view of the state of *Ireland*, published almost three score years agoe, 1596."⁶³ The *Kingdom's Intelligencer* wrote in 1661 that Lord Clarendon, at Oxford, heard the learned Dr. Barker preach, "who (although his Library was burn'd) gave his lordship an excellent Sermon."⁶⁴

Such examples as these, which, it should be remembered, are characteristic, though far from exhaustive, point to a few conclusions. The conditions affecting publication early brought about a form of book notice in the journals. When books were referred to by editors in a newspaper controversy, something like reviewing is found, in the summarizing and appraisalment of authors. The first forms of advertising likewise approach reviewing, and the later developments afford a

⁵⁹ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 229, p. 3512; 24 Apr. -1 May 1654.

⁶⁰ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 240, p. 3686; 10-17 July 1654; no. 243, p. 3734; 31 July-7 Aug. 1654.

⁶¹ *Mercurius Britanicus*, no. 49, p. 386; 26 August-2 September, 1644.

⁶² *Mercurius Britanicus*, no. 69, p. 547; 3-10 February, 1645.

⁶³ *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 130, p. 1928; Monday, June 7, 1652.

⁶⁴ No. 37, p. 591; 9-16 September, 1661.

valuable glimpse into the intellectual life of the time. These early notices cover a wide range, from the simplest account of the burning of a book by parliamentary order, to reviews of several pages. Nor are the newsbooks limited to English material; foreign books are noticed, and even foreign reviews are quoted. Most of the technical elements in reviewing are to be found, often in embryo, to be sure, but unmistakable.

ROGER PHILIP MCCUTCHEON

XXXIII. THE ACCENTUATION OF OLD FRENCH LOANWORDS IN ENGLISH

The old explanation of the modern English accentuation of Old French loanwords (via Anglo-French) as due to the analogy of Germanic stress has been regarded by several investigators with suspicion. It is too summary. Jespersen¹ is not satisfied with it because of the existence of many end-stressed words in English, such as *begin, forget*, and proposes several explanations of his own. Van Draat² takes issue with some of these, but also regards the old explanation as incomplete. Tamson³ attempts to deduce some regularity from occurrences of varying accentuations in late Middle English poetry.

It is true that from the earliest times Latin loanwords (i. e., popular words) in the Germanic languages come down to us in forms that prove first-syllable stress to have been the rule with them as with the inherited Germanic words. Nevertheless, it is not safe to conclude that the accent of all loanwords was habitually shifted to the first syllable, because there was in Old Latin a strong first-syllable stress, and we do not know what rôle this may have played in the Germanic treatment of the loanwords. It is certain, at any rate, that the Vulgar Latin dialects of a much later period show persistent traces of a first-syllable stress.

Was an early Latin loanword, when taken into Germanic, clearly felt to be, for instance, paroxytone like *acētum*, and did it later shift its accent to the first syllable (**ākit*) in conformity with the inherited Germanic words; or was the Old Latin first-syllable stress (perhaps the origin of the

¹ *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, 105; *Modern English Grammar*, 5.52.

² *Rhythm in English Prose*, Anglia 36, 1-59.

³ *Word Stress in English*, Halle 1898.

later Vulgar Latin secondary stress: **àcétò*) the starting point for the Germanic accentuation?

The Germanic accent has been remarkably stable. Once fixed on a certain syllable in a given word (cf. the inseparable prefixes) it does not shift to some other syllable, in genuine Germanic words. Variations like *cáthedra*: *cathēdra*, *íntegrum*: *intégram*, *spíritum*: *spirttum* do not occur in Germanic dialects. And after a word, from any source, had become thoroughly naturalized in the language, it is hard to believe that any but the rarest scholars could ever have thought of it as not a native word.

It seems to me doubtful that there have ever been general shifts in the first accentuation of foreign loanwords in Germanic. It seems much more likely that truly popular words have retained the accent where it was, or was felt to be, for one reason or another, when these words first became current in popular speech. Later loanwords like *machine*, *bouquet*, used for generations by all ranks of society, show not the faintest sign of a tendency to shift the accent; and if still more recent *chauffeur* and *garage* have acquired first-syllable stress, it is due to the perfectly obvious analogy of words like *driver*, *butler*, *carriage*. The hesitation in words like *decadent* has, of course, nothing to do with the question, since these are learned words. Where we have been able to observe the process, Germanic stress alone has been powerless to shift an established accentuation. If it ever did operate in this way, it has long ceased to do so.

Germanic phrase rhythm (suggested by Jespersen and van Draat) can hardly have been responsible for any particular accentuation of loanwords, since it did not affect native words. Phrase rhythm in English has always been (at least since Middle English times) a matter of word order and choice of words; that is, a particular word will be avoided or placed elsewhere if it would not fit the rhythm of a particular passage, in artistic prose or in verse; but its *accent* is fixed, whatever the position of the word. The practice of Middle English poets in this respect will be discussed later.

Preliminary analysis of our problem in Middle English shows that

(a) French words do not appear in ME texts in any considerable number before the middle of the thirteenth century;⁴

(b) the present accentuation was fixed before the first traces of the vowel-shift in ME appear, since words like *counsel* have the complete development of the accented vowels (e. g., $\bar{u} > au$, beginning in the fourteenth century);

(c) the usage of the ME poets often belies facts evident from the vowel developments;

(d) many Old French loanwords to-day do not have the accent on the first syllable.

Let us examine these points and their implications in detail.

The fact that French words do not make their appearance in considerable numbers before the middle of the thirteenth century does not allow much time for such a striking development as a complete inversion of accentuation, which would necessarily have come about, as Behrens remarks,⁵ quite gradually; for this process must have been finished by the middle of the fourteenth century, when we find the first indications of the vowel-shift, affecting *only* the *accented* vowels. A century seems hardly sufficient time for the change.

Besides, the appearance of a French word in an English document at a certain date does not prove that it was current among the unlettered populace at that date; while a phonetic development recorded in a document is evidence that the word was so current, because phonetic developments begin usually at the bottom of the social order and take a long time to gain recognition in writing.

It is likely, on the contrary, that many French words would appear in written documents at an earlier date than that at

⁴ Mettig, *Engl. Stud.* 41, 177, gives eight per cent for the period 800-1258; Jespersen, *Growth and Str.*, 95, reckons one-half of one per cent before 1150, two per cent before 1200.

⁵ *Beiträge*, *Franz. Stud.* 5, II, 63.

which they became thoroughly current in the speech of the masses, because those who had achieved the art of writing in medieval England are pretty certain to have come into close contact with the official and aristocratic language, while it is unthinkable that the masses could have been in any sense bi-lingual. It may thus be safe to assume, for most documents, that the date of the first appearance of a French word is at least not much *later* than the date of its adoption into the speech of the masses.

The usage of the Middle English poets as to the accentuation of French words seems to be based solely on metrical convenience. From the *Owl and Nightingale* to Chaucer and even later, literally countless examples of wavering occur where the real accentuation cannot be doubted, since it conditions the vowel changes, as in *dīvers: divērs, mērci: merci, sēsūn: sesūn*. Chaucer's *vīctorte: victōriē* cannot represent a popular variation. The Middle English poets had, on the other hand, plenty of precedents in French poetry for free accentuation of French words. It would be idle to bring modern theories of French metrics into this discussion, because we cannot imagine that any such considerations entered the heads of men like Langland and Chaucer: they must have read French verse just as they read English verse, with so and so many theses and so and so many arses; that is, an iambic pentameter line like

Cumpainz Rollanz, car sunez vostre corn

could not fail to call for an accent on the first syllable of *sunez*, to their ears, while in the cases of *cumpainz* and *Rollanz* the accent would fall on the last syllable, and so on. Examples are so numerous and so obvious that it seems unnecessary to stress this point further. The Middle English poets felt at liberty to place a French word in any convenient position in a line, regardless of its accentuation in prose, hence with an accent anywhere, since they saw, or thought they saw, French poets doing just this. Their usage is therefore entirely detached from the actual popular accentuation

of the same words, and cannot serve as the basis for a discussion of popular developments.

The great number of truly popular Anglo-French loanwords which are still accented (in English) on some other syllable than the first must be explained. They fall into two main classes: the first, those in which we can trace the operation of principles which would have prevented first-syllable stress in inherited Germanic words, namely, verbal compounds, and other words influenced by them; and the second, those whose accentuation cannot conceivably be based on any Germanic principle and must therefore be due to some French phenomenon or other, reflected somehow in the language of the non-French-speaking masses.

The words that were unconsciously felt by the English populace to be verbal compounds, or that were treated in an analogous manner, may easily be disposed of. On any theory they could not have first-syllable stress. This would be the case when either element was in common use, or was frequent in other compounds; thus the composite nature of words like *receive*, *deceive* would be clearly recognized.

We cannot make a clean-cut division here because, first, a number of words that ought certainly to have been recognized as compounds nevertheless accent the first syllable, for instance *ensign*, *profit*, *purchase*, *purpose*; and second, the English (Germanic) distinction in accent between verbal and nominal compounds (*overflow*: *overflow*) is not consistently carried out: *purchase*, n. and v.; *escape*, n. and v.; *offend*: *offense*; *incense*, n.: *incense*, v.; *perfect*, adj.: *perfect*, v.

In discussing popular recognition of compound words, we must not lose sight of the fact that aphetic forms like *scape*, *prentice*, *pert*, *fend*, *dropsy* (<*ydropeci*), *gin* (<*engin*) were due to an English pronunciation of the full French forms (some of which also persist), and hence these short forms were not responsible for the feeling that the fuller forms were compounds; in other words the weak first syllable must be older than the aphetic forms, not the reverse.

Tamson⁶ explains the accent of words like *apparel* and *a(d)vantage* as due to recognition of their compound nature. I do not see how the masses could have etymologized such words, even vaguely, as compounds. The insertion of the *d* in *advantage*, *adventure*, *admonish* is late, from fifteenth century French spellings (*NED*). Furthermore, where there were three or more syllables the original French accentuation (last syllable) must necessarily have thrown a secondary accent ("accentuation binaire") on the first syllable (**advantâge*, not **advântâge*), as in the English verb *overflow*. This group of words will be fully discussed later.

At any rate, whether this widespread aphaeresis was entirely a Norman phenomenon, or due in part also to English influences, the existence and retention of doublets (full and aphetic forms) certainly can not serve as evidence of a tendency to first-syllable accent in English.

Naturally we find popular etymology playing a rôle in words like *ambush*, *andiron*, *abridge*, and perhaps also in *benign*, *disciple*, if these last were really popular and do not rather reflect a learned accentuation. In any case, words popularly felt to be compounds are subject to special laws which dismiss them from further discussion here.

The other class of words which do not have first-syllable stress must now be considered. Many of them, if we assume, for the present, French end stress as the starting point, are covered by Jespersen's reminder⁷ that we regularly find, in English words, an alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. He would have this principle apply to phrases like *the king's cousin* and *cousin mine*, causing, first, a different accentuation in the two cases, *cousin* and *cousin* respectively to allow an unaccented syllable to intervene between the two accents; after which first-syllable accent would gradually become standard, due to Germanic tendency. It may well seem questionable whether an esthetic principle of this kind could have found such universal application in

⁶ *Word Stress in English*, p. 115.

⁷ *Modern English Grammar*, I, 5.41 ff.

vulgar speech as to stabilize the new accentuation of the *same* syllable in *all* such words, and so quickly (within a century or so). It would seem more likely that the varying rhythm of different phrases should, if anything, prevent any feeling for fixed accent in these words, perhaps even giving doublets in modern English, as is the case with some non-popular words, having double vowel development. It is hard to see why an inconvenient stress on such a word should not have been avoided by placing it in another position, as would have been done with words like *forgotten*, without shifting the accent.

The principle of alternating thesis and arsis ("accentuation binaire") did, however, apply to individual words of more than two syllables, like *maintenance*, *a(d)miral*, *element*, *authority*, *familiarity*, *grammarian*. But it is important to note that such words—big, strange words—are not of the type the Anglo-Saxon used in everyday speech. Most of them were probably unintelligible to the common Englishman; at least, it is fair to assume that they never formed a sufficiently intimate part of his speech to share the phonetic treatment of homelier words. We shall not be surprised to find that the accentuation of polysyllables, used no doubt almost exclusively by persons who had been taught French, or Anglo-French, seems to proceed from the original French end stress, moving forward by skipping a syllable, in the English way, and eventually becoming the primary stress on the first part of the word, whether first or second syllable depending upon the number of syllables from the end. Hence these words also are disposed of.

There are a few polysyllables whose accentuation is strikingly at variance with the foregoing type: *abeyance*, *a(d)monish*, *a(d)vantage*, *a(d)venture*, *apparel*, *attorney*, *avouter* (*adulter*), *environ*, *establish*, *imagine*. If these words were less current than the last type (with two or more accents, paragraph above) they might serve to illustrate a half way stage in the forward "shift" of accent; but, on the contrary, some of them express very common ideas for which English equivalents

are hard to find. Nor can they have been conceived of as compounds by the English. Their accentuation is neither analogical Germanic nor theoretical French, but due to some other principle, as we shall presently see, operating in popular speech.

Lastly we must eliminate purely bookish words, including legal and clerical words. Learned words generally fail to conform to popular laws. Examples are *benison*, *devout*, *entail*, *exchequer*, *emperor* (cf. *NED*), and so on. Many of them might also be classed elsewhere. The possibility of direct Latin or Greek influence is often present.

We have left a list of words we may assume, for the purpose of discussion, to have been genuinely popular, current, naturalized in the language of the untutored masses, from Anglo-French, at a sufficiently early date to enable them to share in the vowel-shift; furthermore, words which were not felt, so far as we can see, to be compounds; and finally, words whose accent is independent of the English tendency to alternate stressed and unstressed syllables. We may conclude that this residue should furnish reliable statistics as to the accentuation and reliable evidence as to the principles governing it.

Words beginning with a consonant regularly accent the first syllable. Where second-syllable accent occurs, it is in accordance with the rules cited above:⁸ obvious compounds: *betray*, *contain*, *convey*, *debate*, *defeat*, *deliver*, *disdain*, *maintain*, *perfect*, *portray*, *purvey*, *receive*, *succeed*, *survey*, *sustain*, *vouchsafe*; cases showing the alternation of thesis and arsis: *courageous* (four syllables), *delicious*, *maintenance*, *perpetual*, *remedy*, *remnant* (for *remenant*); learned influence

⁸ Words like *comfort*, *compass*, *profit*, *promise*, *purchase*, *purpose*, *rescue*, *respite*, *retail*, *surcoat*, *surfeit*, with first-syllable accent, are difficult by the side of *compare*, *proceed*, *purvey*, *relief*, *detail*, *surmount*; but these lean in the direction of first-syllable accent, that is, first-syllable accent is only more consistently carried out here than we should expect, so that the difficulties in this case are not very disturbing. These exceptions may point to the conclusion that the force of analogy has been neither very strong nor very consistent in fixing accentuation.

is probably reflected (unless in some cases popular etymology operated) in the irregularity of *benign*, *malign*, *cathedral*, *disciple*, *minute* (Latin, adj., cf. popular *minute*, n.), *relic*.

While it is possible to generalize on words beginning with a consonant, it seems worth while in the case of those beginning with a vowel to collect as complete a list as possible, at least a representative list, and to attempt a more thorough classification, because here the reasons for the place of the accent are not always so evident.

We shall exclude, as before, real and fancied compounds, such as *acquit*, *affray* (cf. perhaps *fray*, v., OF *frayer*, "rub" *NED*), *afraid* (pple. of last), *agree* (cf. *degree*), *allay*, *allot*, *allure*, *arrear*, *arrest* (*em*)*bezzle*, (*em*)*broider* (cf. *broid*, *braid* *NED*); polysyllables of the type *maintenànce*; and learned words. Let us examine the residual list.⁹

The accent, in a strikingly large number of these words beginning with a vowel, is on the second syllable: *abase*, *abash*, *abandon*, *abate*, *abeyance*, *abound*, *achieve*, *adieu*, *admonish*, *adorn*, *advance*, *adventure*, *advice* (in the last five the *d* is late, cf. *NED*), *affair*, *alarm*, *alas*, *allege*, *allow*, *ally*, *amend*, *anneal*, *annoy*, *apert*, *apparel*, *appeal*, *appear*, *arraign*, *arrive*, *assail*, *assault*, *assay*, *assess*, *attorney*, *avaunt*, *aver*, *endow*, *enhance*, *entire*, *environ* (not felt as compound because consistently used with prepositions *by*, *in*, *NED*), *escape*, *escheat*, *eschew*, *espouse*, *espy*, *essay* (v.), *establish*, *estate*, *estrangle*, *imagine*, *inveigle* (F. *aveugler*), *obey*, *oblige*, *overt* (cf. *covert*, with first-syllable accent, as beginning with a consonant).

The great predominance of words beginning with *a* may be due in part to the analogy of English locutions like *ago*,

⁹ Based on the *Wortregister* in Behrens *Beitr.* with additions from Skeat's *Rough Lists* and Brüll, *Untergangene u. veraltete Worte des Franz. im heut. Englisch*, Posen 1912, hence including only words taken into English while Anglo-French was still spoken in England. Only words now current in English, whose accentuation cannot therefore be questioned, are here given. The list lays no more claim to completeness than the sources indicate. For Skeat's *Lists* cf. *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, Lond. 1880-1, App. V, p. 93.

alive, away, a-fishing and verbs like *awake*; so perhaps *alarm, avaunt*, for instance; but it is hard to see how even popular etymology could have extended this analogy to other words like *annoy, apparel, attorney*, and so on, not used in a manner reminiscent of these English phrases. And if the attempt be made to cut down the list still further on the ground that certain other words may have been felt as compounds (cf. *NED* s. v. *inveigle*), the objection at once arises: what could the component parts have meant? On the other hand, of all French words beginning with vowels, and fulfilling our conditions, the greatest number begin with *a*, far fewer with *e*, and so on, so that the proportions in our list are not far from representing the actual condition of the French vocabulary.

A number of words beginning with a vowel and having first-syllable accent must be considered separately, for various reasons. Thus the Latin loanword *abbot* must have influenced *abbey, abbess*; *angel* and *altar* are simply modifications of Latin loanwords found in Anglo-Saxon; *equal* is Latin, not French; *err, error, errant, arrant* must have been grouped together, if popular; *offer* is a Latin loanword found in Anglo-Saxon;¹⁰ learned words are perhaps *almond, alter*

¹⁰ It may not be too venturesome to associate *advent, aloes, article, idol* (*ideles* is the form in Behrens' list), *image* (*ymage*), *office, (offiz), olive*, which appear in Behrens as coming from Anglo-French, with pre-conquest words taken more or less directly from Latin, such as *abbot, altar, angel* (A-S *engel*), *apostle, offer* (A-S *offrian*), because of the first-syllable accent of the former group, otherwise hard to explain. Our oldest Latin loanwords, as *engel*, came into English *aurally*, from the speech of persons who used (Vulgar) Latin as a living language, often as their mother tongue, for instance the *mercatores* and the early missionaries, so that the English hearers who made these words their own must have adopted the sounds and accentuation current at the time in Vulgar Latin, and these would persist in English, under English laws. But such pre-conquest words as are too late to have been heard directly from the lips of persons speaking Vulgar Latin as a living language passed through a process which involves, at some stage or other, learning these foreign words from the written form, that is through learned mediation. In this latter process the visual impression was not controlled by constant corrections impressed upon the ear, or at best was guided only

(v., cf. popular *change*), *alum*, *ancient*, *author*, *autumn*, *ensign*, *entrails*, *exile*, *incense* (n.), *incest*, *infant*, *inquest* (cf. *request*, *bequest*, *quest*), *issue*, *odour*; some were monosyllabic in French, or were made from monosyllabic roots: *archer*, *armor*, *eager*, *eagle* (and *eaglet*, *egret*), *enter*, perhaps *idol* (OF *idele*, *idle*, *NED*), *order*, *oyster*, *usage*; some were polysyllabic: *ocean*, *urchin* (Norm. *ériçon*, *hériçon*; the consonant form may have played a part); *anguish* may have been re-accented to match *finish*, *punish* and the rest; *ostrich* to match the more familiar *partrich*, *partridge*; *ointment* goes like *payment*, *raiment* and so on; *auburn* underwent a striking sense development, and seems to be a special case in several respects (cf. *NED*); *ermine*, like *urchin*, might have been influenced by the form with initial *h*; *outrage* was popularly etymologized *out*+*rage*; *ewer* followed the analogy of *pitcher*, *platter*, *saucer*; in *eyelet* (F *œillet*) the first element was translated, making an apparently Germanic compound; *usher* is a clear *nomen agentis*, like *butler*; *umpire* is for *numpire* (Skeat, *Etym. D.*); which leaves the following with, for the present, an anomalous first syllable accent: *ague*, *engine* (but cf. *gin*), *envy*, perhaps *olive*, *onion*, *oyer* (in “*oyer* and *terminer*,”¹¹ and the uncommon word *ullage*).

From this grouping of our loanwords it appears that *those beginning with a consonant*, when free to follow popular laws, *have consistently first-syllable accent*; but that among *those beginning with a vowel*, and free to follow popular laws, a strikingly large proportion, I believe a considerable majority (from my lists the proportion is roughly 8:1), *appear with second-syllable accent*.

Was there any motive or tendency in English or in French

by school traditions becoming ever more vague and less trustworthy, and it is natural that inaccuracies and inconsistencies should become fixed. Germanic accentuation may thus have been given to some of these learned Latin words, in the absence of another standard. If this be admissible, it may perhaps furnish the solution of the problem presented by the first list here. In any case they are not strictly popular.

¹¹ But see below, note 13.

that can explain this differentiation, so soon (within about a century) after the acquisition of these words?

Before attempting to answer this question, it will be well to investigate the process or processes of the acquisition itself. This was undoubtedly by ear, since the masses must have been illiterate. In any case, the vowel shift had begun before the circulation of printed books, so that eye or spelling pronunciations are not to be considered.¹²

One of the first processes of acquisition must have been the object method familiar in the schoolroom: a Norman servingman, for instance, curtly demanding a fowl for the table, and finally making the Saxon serf understand, by repetitions and gestures, that "poulette" meant "hen," and a nice, young one, too. Or perhaps the serf would ask the name of a chicken or a sheep, and be told that it was "poulette" or "mouton."

We can hardly believe that French conversation was ever understood in its entirety by the common folk of England; but no doubt words spoken emphatically or with emotional stress, so that they stood out in the sentence, would, after many repetitions, be caught and understood. In the same way, very common legal terms, such as were often used emphatically and clearly spoken, would gain currency. Words like *pardon* and *merci*, almost always used alone, and hence emphatic and clearly spoken, would readily be picked up. In short the genuinely popular Anglo-French loanwords are those that were, in the spoken French, con-

¹² In spite of the passage in Higden's *Polychronicon* so often quoted, relative to "construing" in French in the schools, the situation probably was that French was used where French-speaking children predominated; but if, as seems hardly likely, French was expressly taught for the purpose of "construing" in schools where the children habitually used English, it must have been regarded by them as a mere classroom bore, to be got out of their heads as quickly as possible. Latin seems to have been the only language regularly taught in the English schools of the Middle Ages to which children of the populace were admitted. Cf. Rashdall, H., *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1895, 2,459; Jackson, G. L., *The Privilege of Education*, Boston 1908.

spicuous, emotionally or by emphasis, those that were forcefully articulated, so that they could be detached from an otherwise unintelligible conversation; or else words frequently uttered alone.

Now an emphatic word or an emotional word (and single words are always one or the other) has a special accent in French. No Frenchman says, for instance, *mercî, pardôn, attention, parfaitement*; what he says is *merci, pardon, faites attention* (or exceptionally, if uttered alone, *attention*), *parfaitement*, as everyone knows. And the same is true of emphatic or emotional words in connected discourse: a very conspicuous stress falls upon the first syllable of words beginning with a consonant, on the second syllable of words beginning with a vowel.¹³

It is unnecessary, for the purposes of this discussion, to consider the nature of the French accent in general; but the emphasis-emotional stress is so striking that it has misled even Frenchmen who attempted to describe their accentuation.¹⁴ It is so much clearer than the theoretical end stress that a Germanic hearer is often inclined to agree with Sweet when he says that the French accent is usually on the first syllable. P. Passy also observes the especially strong character of the "displaced" accent in emphatic words;¹⁵ while Grammont¹⁶ says: ". . . l'insistante attire notre attention au détriment de la rythmique (=tonic syllable) à tel point que . . . on peut croire parfois que cette dernière est désaccentuée."

Can this state of affairs have existed in the thirteenth

¹³ Bourciez, *Précis de phonétique française*, 9n., states the rule in this form. So also Grammont, *Traité pratique de prononciation française*, Paris 1914, p. 146, "accent d'insistance"; G. notes, besides this, an accent on the first syllable, even if it begins with a vowel, in case the word forms a complete "rhythmic element," of course a much rarer condition, as *attention* above, and, I suspect, *oyer* in our "*oyer* and *terminer*."

¹⁴ Bibliography in Viëtor, *Elemente der Phonetik*, 144 f. and notes.

¹⁵ *Les sons du français*, pp. 44, 81, 89 ff., 129 ff.

¹⁶ *Op. Cit.*, p. 142.

century in French? If so, it is the key to the problem before us.

Our earliest direct evidence on this point seems to be certain discrepancies and contradictions in statements by grammarians of the sixteenth century. Palsgrave, in his *Éclaircissement*, 1530, locates the accent (to his ear a higher pitch) on the last fully articulated syllable, this being, of course, the usual phenomenon. But Périon, 1554, and de Bèze, 1584,¹⁷ make such vague and contradictory statements as to the position of the accent that it is hard to understand exactly what they mean, beyond the certainty that they are trying to represent something, evidently in actual speech, very different from the normal phenomenon described by Palsgrave, and, of course, the basis for the earlier phonetic changes in the language. Further, H. Estienne¹⁸ says:

Il est certain que tout ce qui se prononce lentement, ou posément, ou pesamment . . . ne se prononce pas gravement: et qu'il est requis en quelques endroits, pour la gravité, que les parolles semblent aller de roideur: a quoi ceste pronontiation-la est contraire.

I take these statements as implying that displacement of the normal accent occurred with some frequency, and was striking—so striking as to obscure the true facts; in short, the emotional or emphasis displacement. And I see no reason why the sixteenth, or any other century during the development of French, should be assigned as the earliest date for the origin of such a characteristic trait; on the contrary, this peculiar speech habit may well be of great antiquity.

So what the untutored Englishman heard in the words he could catch from the speech of his masters was, at the very outset, *first-syllable stress* in words beginning with a *consonant* and (nearly always) *second-syllable stress* in those that began with a *vowel*; and he quite naturally placed his own heavier

¹⁷ Their works were not accessible to me except the passages quoted in G. Paris, *Étude sur le rôle de l'accent latin* etc., Paris 1862, p. 17.

¹⁸ *La précellence du langage françois*, 1579, reprinted etc. by E. Huguet, Paris 1896, p. 43.

Germanic stress just there, barring certain instinctive syntactical considerations that called for different treatment. He could not generally distinguish the words running on normally with end stress (which probably was then, as it now is, comparatively slight), because, if he had heard and recognized end stress, or had been taught it (as later happened in words like *machine*), he would not have shifted this stress to another syllable; probably could not have fixed the habit of the changed stress, in any event, in so short a time as that between the dates of the loanwords and the vowel-shift. Our present accentuation of these words is therefore not an English development, but the continuation of a French phenomenon.

We have still to dispose of the possibility that the Norman dialect brought to England might have been influenced in the direction of first-syllable stress by the Norse element in the Norman population. This supposition would be open to the same objection as that of analogical Germanic stress originating in English usage, namely, that it must have affected *all* first syllables alike, whether beginning with a vowel or with a consonant, and under all circumstances; to say nothing of the strikingly different phonetic developments which must in that case have occurred in continental Norman. In the absence of such results, we must abandon this possibility.

CONCLUSION. Germanic stress was a static, not an active influence, at least so far as our Anglo-French loanwords are concerned; their accentuation was fixed by French emotional or emphasis stress; exceptions are due to instinctive syntactical considerations, more rarely to analogy, or else are not really popular words.

HENRY DEXTER LEARNED

XXXIV. AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRIEST *GENRE* IN THE MODERN FRENCH NOVEL

As the best method of reading Balzac is to follow, through the course of several novels, the history of some one character, so possibly there is no better way of approaching the modern French novel as a whole than by a study of the Catholic priest as there portrayed. He has appealed to practically every writer of first rank, and, moreover, purely as a character of fiction, quite aside from any significance that he may possess as indicating the faith of the author, or as exhibiting the Church and the work of her clergy. It is, accordingly, exclusively from the point of view of his rôle in literature that he is here treated. I shall take up the main themes in the ecclesiastical novel in an endeavor to indicate their relationship and to discover their general trend—an aspect of the subject that is neglected by Paul Franche in his *Le Prêtre dans le roman français*. I shall also continue the examination by including novels published since 1902, the date of Franche's study.

In spite of the universality of the priest type, a few dominant themes suffice for its portrayal. The bad priest enjoyed ascendancy early in the century. De Vigny created in 1826 the treacherous and unscrupulous spy, Père Joseph, "the gray shadow of Richelieu." The year 1831 saw the selfish and cruel Claude Frollo rise from Victor Hugo's romanticism, and the cynic Julien Sorel, who has become the synonym for grasping and relentless ambition, from Stendhal's realism. Although of great importance as reflecting an attitude, Julien Sorel, as a clerical type, did not persist. The few other wicked priests are of a decidedly weaker stamp. Abbé Faujas in Zola's *La Conquête de Plassans*, (1874) as the priest *mal peigné*, offers a repulsive personality which makes no vigorous appeal to the reader. Le Chanoine

Docre, the priest of the black mass, in *Là-Bas* (1891), is the most revolting expression of Huysmans' decadence. Jules Lemaître and Renan, both of them once seminarists, declare that there are practically no bad priests.¹ This fact no doubt explains why the pencil and note-book period gave us no great impersonations of that type. The wicked priest belonged more particularly to the years of romanticism.

The good and devout priest, on the other hand, is legion; at the same time he is less important than the wicked priest in the general development of the clerical novel, and also as a character study. Just as the bad priest was the product of the first half of the century, so his kindly, and often simple minded counterpart, received his best portrayals in the second half. Hugo's Abbé Myriel, bishop of Digne, and Ferdinand Fabre's Abbé Courbezon, the French Vicar of Wakefield, both appeared in 1862. The latter was the victim of a passion for erecting charitable institutions which involved him in disasters even more overwhelming than those which befell the good Dr. Primrose. To the same period belong Daudet's priests, and those of Jules Lemaître. They are interesting primarily because their lives center about some pathetic or amusing incident of daily life, or, as in the case of Abbé Myriel, because the method of presentation is dramatic. The alertness with which the good bishop hands over the silver candlesticks to Jean Valjean and thus frees him from the suspicions of the police has ever its thrill for the reader. Abbé Constantin, on the other hand, lacks interest, for he is not amusing, neither has he any profound understanding of human nature. Paul Bourget, however, in *Le Saint* (1904) describes a simple and kindly priest whose strength of mind and character make a strong claim for our admiration. Although in his later novels, Fabre makes his priests so simple minded that they are foolish,² in *Mon*

¹ Lemaître, *Les Contemporains*, II, p. 297. Renan, *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse*. *Le petit séminaire Saint Nicolas*, I, "Je n'ai connu que de bons prêtres." Cf. Prévost, *Le Scorpion*, p. 335.

² Cf. Abbé Renaud, (Feuillet's *Sibylle*) who was put to eat with the children and treated as an inferior.

Oncle Célestin (1881) he has painted the finest portrait of the kindly priest in all French literature. This idealized portrait is rendered by a boy under the spell of affectionate admiration for his uncle. His love struck so true a tone that "Mon Oncle Célestin" is as real a character as the author has drawn. He is strictly a masculine type, and of a moral and spiritual eminence that bespeaks virility and fearlessness. Unlike Abbé Courbezon he is the victim of no charitable or pious illusions. His life is normal for one who has established the highest standards of rectitude and righteousness for himself, but who is tolerant and sympathetic toward others. His spirituality but reveals more clearly his human qualities. In *Le Curé de Campagne*, Balzac makes Abbé Bonnet the spokesman of an idealized ecclesiasticism. He desired to prove that "la religion catholique, prise dans ses oeuvres humaines, est la seule vraie, la seule bonne et belle puissance civilisatrice."³ This expresses the aim of all true priests, but it does not contain adequate motivation for a powerful novel of either character or plot.

The great ecclesiastical novels, those whose plots center in the soul stress of a priest, have not to do with either of the two foregoing types. With the exception of *L'Abbé Tigrane* and *Le Curé de Tours*, these portray the young man who has taken the vows, or at least has entered upon the period of noviciate, *sans vocation*. His unfitness is due either to a want of moral strength, or to a lack of the ecclesiastical mind,⁴ to an inability to subject *le sens personnel* to the will and personality of the Church. As Zola says somewhere, "Ça a mal tourné pour le garçon qui agonize sous la soutane." This agonizing struggle and its effects mentally, morally and physically, constitute the theme of prime importance in the entire *genre*.

The whole problem of the priest *sans vocation* was raised by *Jocelyn* in 1836. For that reason this poem is one of the most significant works of fiction of the century. It was not

³ See page 123.

⁴ Cf. Lemaitre, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

the idealized and devout priest like Chateaubriand's Abbé Aubry that was destined to inspire a considerable amount of interesting literature, but Lamartine's dynamic and struggling priest.⁵ Jocelyn's struggle to renounce Laurence reveals the latent love theme that was later to be intensified and developed in the novel.⁶ The philosophic aspect of the poem reflects the spirit of Lamennais, who became the inspiration for the rebellious priest of fiction. In the love of nature is found the first promptings of the fatal passion that culminates the lifelong sorrows of Jocelyn. Lamartine's elaboration of Alpine scenery seems to have suggested the proper setting and background for many of the succeeding stories of ecclesiastical passion.⁷

La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret and *Mademoiselle La Quintinie*, while reviving an old theme popular in the middle ages, are but another rendering of the struggle against love. Though Zola gives young Abbé Mouret a mystical turn of mind and a desire to subject himself fully to the will and spirit of the Church, he makes him fall because his whole physical and psychological organization is inadequate to

⁵ Cf. Lemaitre, *op. cit.*, séries 6. Also Faguet, *Etudes Littéraires du XIX siècle*.

⁶ Although as early as 1822 Balzac wrote *Le Vicaire des Ardennes* à la Jean Jacques and à la Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, both Joseph and Adolphe were never anything but lovers in spite of the fact that they wore the cassock. Their sorrows were but another brand of the *mal du siècle*, and were in no way tinged by the soul stress of a true ecclesiastic. For the influence of *Jocelyn* on feminine susceptibilities see Merimée's humorous and cynical story of *L'Abbé Aubain*. *L'Abbé Daniel* by André Theuriet is a bourgeois rendering of much this same theme, but the priest's struggle to renounce his love lacks intensity. Under the date of March 184—he says, "Je fis avec transport le sacrifice de ma volonté." Never once, however, did his soul cry out in rebellion against this sacrifice. Cf. also *L'Abbé Roche* in *Monsieur, Madame et Bébé* by G. Droz. Maupassant in *Le Baptême* describes admirably the priest in whose heart the paternal instinct still lives.

⁷ Cf. the park Paradou in *La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret*, the mountain scenery in *Le Scorpion* and in many of Fabre's novels. Cf. also the descriptions of the tropical forests on the Island of Martinique, and of the romantic castle gardens in France in *Le Vicaire des Ardennes*.

cope with his innate craving for woman in his worship of the Holy Virgin. His mental and nervous collapse afforded an interesting pathological study of unusual charm to the naturalists. In *Mademoiselle La Quintinie* (1863) George Sand has presented the reverse experience. Madame La Quintinie in transferring earthly love to love for the Christ realizes too late that the Christ has assumed the personality of her confessor.⁸ The book is of importance not only as a retort to Octave Feuillet's *Sibylle* (1862), but it is related to the whole subject of the effect of mysticism on the home. Fabre in *Madame Fuster* (1887) presents the study of a wife and mother in whose affections God took the place of husband and daughter.⁹ In *L'Evangéliste* (1883) Daudet describes a protestant home broken up by religious mysticism.¹⁰

Charles Géniaux has recently expanded Renan's account of the Breton flax-breaker's daughter and her love for her confessor into a psychological novel, *La passion d'Armelle Louanaise* (1918).¹¹ The plot well illustrates Renan's statement in regard to the Bretons that "nulle race ne compte plus de morts par amour; ce qui domine, c'est la lente consommation. C'est (l'amour) une volupté intérieur qui use et tue."¹² Young Abbé Nicolas Helléan had entered the priesthood largely under the impulsion of his bishop and not through any deep sense of his divine calling, and so became

⁸ Cf. Marcel Tinayre, *Hellé*, p. 121, "La femme est par nature idolâtre et mystique. Elle se donne au Dieu chrétien parceque ce Dieu s'est fait homme." Cf. also Maupassant, *Bel Ami*, where Madame Walters suddenly sees her lover in the painting of the Christ.

⁹ See pp. 8, 9, 10; p. 88, "Vous et votre Dieu, vous vous êtes emparés de ma femme, vous me l'avez ravie." Cf. *Mlle. La Quintinie*, p. 70, "partage son âme avec le prêtre." The situation of Colonel La Quintinie resembles that of General Fuster. Cf. also *Dupecus* by Paul Fraycourt. No doubt Michelet inspired these novels of protest. See *Le prêtre, la femme et la famille*, pp. 18, 63, and *Les Jésuites*, Conference VI. Cf. also *Un prêtre marié* by Barbey d'Aurevilly, p. 262, "Nous avons, vous pour rival, et moi pour ennemi, le dieu de Calixte, le dieu de la Croix."

¹⁰ For protestant asceticism see also André Gide, *La porte étroite*.

¹¹ Awarded the "Grand Prix du Roman de l'Académie Française."

¹² *Le broyeur de lin*, ch. III.

a ready disciple of the great Lamennais. He thus incurred the displeasure of the bishop who assigned him a remote parish where his new and heretical doctrines would have little chance to work harm. His one relief from the loneliness of his isolation consisted in his friendship for Mlle. Louanais. His will power and his discretion availed little against the workings of his passion. In the course of time his physical vigor broke and he died in sorrow and neglect. Armelle lived but a few months longer. The author contrasts the fullness of life in all nature with the barrenness of the life of the ecclesiastic. He dwells upon the appeal that nature makes to every heart, and its effect upon the passions of the young priest, forcing him to regret a calling that denies him what is common to all life. "Cette pensée terrible s'imposait à son esprit que, plus ou moins, la croix barre la vue libre de la nature et que le grand Pan n'a rien à faire avec le divin crucifié."¹³

The struggle of the would-be monk Durtal against the temptations of the flesh, as described by Huysmans in *En Route* (1895), resembles in no way the bitter agony of the man who already wears the cassock. His restless soul covets the consolation and solitude of a religious retreat, but his sickly mind confuses true religion with the abnormal and grotesque aspects of asceticism.¹⁴ He reminds us of a society youth who has gone slumming in a Trappist monastery. He suggests a sort of ecclesiastical René whose ill defined longings but lead him into even greater distress. He finally confesses that he has not the will power or the bodily resistance to undergo the privations exacted even of a novice.

In *Le Scorpion* (1887) by Marcel Prévost and in *L'Empreinte* (1896) by Edouard Estaunié we have the portrayal of two young men, who consciously or unconsciously, did not possess the ecclesiastical mind, and all the agony, both mental and physical, arising from their affiliations with the Church was due to this fact. The first of these books places

¹³ Page 110.

¹⁴ See pp. 206-209.

the emphasis on physical suffering, and the other on mental agony. *Le Scorpion* is an experimental study of the conflict between the natural sex instincts of Jules Auradou and his religious tendencies, the intensity of both being inherited.¹⁵ Through the influence of Père Jayme, a Jesuit friend, Jules enters one of the schools of that Order at Paris. But longing for his native hills proves so powerful that his desire to become a priest is completely arrested for the time being, and he returns home for a brief visit to recuperate from a period of illness. There, revived by the sight of his beloved mountains, he again feels the insistence of his vocation. At the same time he renews his acquaintance with one of the village girls. In the hope of saving her from the sort of life led by her mother, a woman of low repute, he endeavors to convert her. She fascinates him, but he supposes that the pleasure he experiences in her presence is due to spiritual joy at saving a soul for the Church. He returns to his duties at Paris. Finally after months of torture, the result of an inner harassing of his whole nervous system, the secret source of which remains entirely unknown to him, he makes his escape from the school. The sense of personal liberty overjoys him. He revels in the idea that never again will those men in black surround and circumscribe his whole life of thought and action. In the mean time the girl whose soul's salvation he had earnestly sought in his native village, has come to Paris and there leads the sort of life taught her by her mother. Like a magnet Jeanne draws Jules to her. Père Jayme discovers them living together in an obscure hotel. Jules' love for his old friend turns to hate. The priest, however, persuades Jeanne to leave her lover. Once more the young abbé returns to his native mountains. The long secret harassing of his nervous system and of his emotions has completely undermined his health. First he loses his hearing, then his sight, and lastly his mind. He dies as a result of the secretly inhibitive power of religion on his nervous and

¹⁵ See p. 340.

emotional organization. Not once had the longing for religious consecration so fired his imagination that the Church would win control of his will.

Père Jayme gazing from his window at night out over Paris reflects on the surging life there.¹⁶ His anger is enkindled as he thinks of the wickedness of the people. He pauses to ask himself why. They could yield to their temptations. He could not sin even though he so wished. When temptations confronted him, "quelque chose d'infranchissable se dresserait entre la faute et lui; la Grâce sans doute."¹⁷ God was presenting to him as a test, not the temptation to do evil, but sudden resentment at having attained perfection. "Devenu ange, il regrettait un instant sa nature perdue d'homme."¹⁸ Realizing the force of the test reserved for him, he at once prostrated himself in prayer to thank God for making him his chosen servant. Such devotion surpassed the conscious feeling and mental grasp of Jules.

Léonard Clan, the chief character in *L'Empreinte*, is educated in a Jesuit school. He finds much that appeals to him in the quiet life of his teachers. His confessor ventures to explain to him God's exactions from one who takes orders. "Il faut dire adieu au monde. Se faire religieux, c'est y renoncer, rentrer dans le néant, être le bâton dans la main de la Providence, et qui ne résiste jamais à son action."¹⁹ Later when Léonard is about to enter upon his noviciate, Le Père Provincial says to him, "Nous ne vous demanderons qu'une chose: l'obéissance. Obéir, obéir d'une façon absolue! toute la vocation tient là. Une fois noviciat, j'exigerai de vous le dépouillement de l'homme. Vous ne devrez plus être que par moi et pour Dieu."²⁰ The prospect of becoming the property of the Père Provincial terrified him. Here we

¹⁶ See pp. 335 ff.

¹⁷ See p. 536.

¹⁸ See p. 536.

¹⁹ See p. 53.

²⁰ See p. 95.

find re-echoed the dominant thought of Fabre.²¹ The boy envies his friends who are not planning for themselves a career in the Church, and rejoices that he is still free. Doubts burden his mind lest he never attain the perfection required of a priest. He wonders at the assurance of the novices as the moment of taking the eternal vows approaches. Then suddenly he is summoned to Paris. This glimpse of the outside world, like young Fabre's Christmas holidays, is the real cause of his refusal to enter the Church.²² All that he undertakes thereafter proves a failure. He never loves, but in his loneliness he thinks he will adopt the easy morals of his friends. This venture gives him no satisfaction and even adds bitterness to his sadness. After seven years he meets his former confessor and in anger defiantly declares to him, "Je ne connais qu'un acte irréparable, c'est l'attentat commis par vous sur ma conscience d'enfant."²³ Notwithstanding his rebellion, the influence of the priest had been like a poison of which he could not purge his soul. At last he returns to the monastery, broken in spirit, unfit for life in the world and, in spite of the stamp of the Jesuit upon his conscience, unfit for monastic orders.

Pierre Froment, portrayed by Zola in *Lourdes* and in *Rome*, presents a striking contrast to Huysmans' Durtal, who, as we have seen, was led to the Church through a fondness for mysticism, even though this mysticism was of the grewsome sort, and also through a desire to gain a powerful ally in his fight against the temptations of the flesh. Froment, on the other hand, because of a scientific turn of mind, questions the efficacy of the purely mystical appeal of religion, and because of a Voltairian insistence upon justice, turns away from the Church. Love as a factor unfitting

²¹ Cf. *Ma Vocation*, p. 423, and also *Lucifer*, p. 389, "Le prêtre est un être qui s'abandonne, se sacrifie, abdique, et lui [Jourfier] trop entier pour s'oublier lui-même, n'avait su rien faire de cela."

²² Cf. *Ma Vocation*, p. 324. See also R. P. Bowen, *The Novels of Ferdinand Fabre*, p. 18.

²³ See p. 203.

him for his vocation forms no part of his discontent. This is the case also with Abbé Jourfier in *Lucifer*. Here Ferdinand Fabre probably presents the most penetrating analysis in French literature of the priest who lacks the ecclesiastical mind. Both Froment and Jourfier are apparently fashioned in the spirit of Lamennais. They, too, go on a fruitless mission to Rome and return to revolt against the authority of the Church.

Lucifer (1884) tells the story of the attempt of a priest to overthrow the power of the Jesuits and to secure for himself personal and religious freedom. Bertrand Jourfier was the son of a Republican, the avowed enemy of the Jesuits. Their hostility induced this Society to try to prevent the ordination of Bertrand. This opposition led him, in spite of mental and spiritual misgivings regarding his vocation,²⁴ to take orders of sub-deacon. His proud nature could tolerate no opposition nor humiliation of personal dignity without there being aroused within him the most bitter and violent resentment. Cardinal Finella who had trained his ear to detect the voice of God heard only that of the man in Abbé Jourfier.²⁵ He overcame the temptations of the flesh only after a long hard struggle. Though he could master his physical nature in accordance with the laws of the Church, he could not subject his mind to her dictates. He finally desired to leave the Church, for she had deceived his hopes and ruined his life. She had become a prison from which there was no escape. He held that vows once assumed were for all eternity and could not be forsaken even though they were wrong, since they prevented his moral and spiritual development. Christmas eve, just before the celebration of the midnight mass, he rushed madly from the lonely tower which he used as a study out into the violent storm. Shortly afterwards his dead body was found bruised and bleeding at the base of the high wall overlooking the river. In the dark-

²⁴ See p. 71, "La vérité est que je suis entré dans l'église sans avoir entendu clairement à mon oreille la voix de la vocation."

²⁵ See p. 320.

ness and the blinding snow he had, apparently, lost his way, and had fallen over the parapet. The opposite of Abbé Jourfier, states Jules Lemaitre, is the typical Catholic priest.²⁶

Paul Bourget in *Le démon de Midi* (1914) throws a new and clearer light upon the soul stress of men like Froment and Jourfier. According to his psychological interpretation it arises from a renewal, in middle life, of the passions of youth, and often expresses itself in ardour for revolt against the restraints of existing orders. Though obviously unfair to the rebellious Abbé Fauchon in his descriptions of the priest's conjugal relations, the author has made an exalted appeal for the continuance of the institution of celibacy. The frightful tragedy for which Abbé Fauchon's revolt was in large part responsible was necessary in order to humble his ardent and independent spirit and to bring him to the point of subjecting his will to that of the Church. The book recalls Barbey d'Aurevilly's *Un prêtre marié* (1865) in respect to the inevitable suffering caused to others by this transgression of the laws of the Church, but the latter is largely romantic and mystical in its treatment of the subject.²⁷

Among clerical novels Ferdinand Fabre's *L'Abbé Tigrane* (1873) stands preeminently great. Though a story of passion like the foregoing already discussed, it is not of the kind to provoke the victim to rebel against the Church hierarchy. Rather is it a profound psychological study in ecclesiastical ambition. The peasant Rufin Capdepon, known as Tigrane, assumed the responsibility of the priesthood without the slightest misgivings as to his vocation. Early in his career he was fired with the ambition to become bishop, possibly even Pope. To that end he willingly sacrificed his stubborn pride, and humiliated himself to secure preferment. Realizing the power of the Baroness Thévenot in official circles, he ingratiated himself completely into her favor. His relations

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 297.

²⁷ Abbé Sombreval seems to be another Jean Valjean. The book appeared just three years after *Les Misérables*.

with her resemble in no way, however, those of a Julien Sorel. He held in high regard his ecclesiastical obligations. Too, ambition had dried up all emotions of the heart, and blinded him to the indelicacy of his position. It had lost him friends, and won him enemies whose hostilities embittered him. He persisted, nevertheless, in his relentless ambition. He ruthlessly crushed anyone who opposed him. Having at last been appointed bishop, he became sensitive to the hostility of the clergy in his diocese. So he considered it the part of wisdom to live as a recluse. In so doing he still obeyed the supreme law of his interests, and not of his happiness. Often the lonesome cloister resounded with the cries which the wounds inflicted upon his character, his dignity and his high position wrung from him. The power of his office was his sole comfort. The Church hierarchy never once came into serious conflict, as was the case with Abbé Jourfier, with his sense of personal liberty. Rather did it afford him an exceptional opportunity to gratify his dominant passion, ambition, which is as truly a human quality as is love, or pride, or indignation. The purpose of the book appears to be to affirm what the author stated in *Les Courbezons*, "that after all priests are but men."²⁸ In public they may be different, but their private lives resemble the lives of other men.

This is also true of the priests in *Le Curé de Tours*, easily the second of the great studies in clerical portraiture. They reflect the selfishness and pettiness of their provincial city as fully as does Mademoiselle Gamard, and they are as natural an expression of their environment as are the other residents of Tours. Flaubert makes Abbé Bournisien blend perfectly into the dull lights through which Monsieur Homais looks at the world. There was nothing spiritual in his manner of comforting the dying, and in administering the last sacraments. The druggist's remark that priests are like crows which the dead attract harmonizes admirably with the

²⁸ See p. 82.

whole tone of *Madame Bovary*.²⁹ Anatole France presents Monseigneur Guitrel³⁰ as far more interested in his living than in his vocation. Too, this author disclosed very little of the divine in the shrewd Abbé Coignard with his Rabelaisian philosophy of life, and yet his Christian faith complied with the requirements of the Church. Les Goncourt make Abbé Blampoix in *René Mauperin* the counsellor of ladies of high society. Though of use in readapting their religion to their convenience, he is not impelled to his duties by deep spirituality.

Paul Franche protests that the novelists of the nineteenth century have failed to understand the character of the priest, which is, as it were, a new compound of the human and the divine.³¹ Thus, as it seems to him, the only successful clerical portrait is that of Abbé Firmin sketched by Ivès le Querdec in *Lettres d'un curé de campagne*. From his point of view he is quite right. Practically no dominant personality exerting a guiding hand in the great problems of human destiny has been portrayed from the spiritual side except Abbé Myriel, who represents the power of the spiritual teachings of the Sermon on the Mount in the affairs of men and society as against the ineffectiveness of law as personified in Javert. If the spiritual has had little importance in plot development, pure viciousness has had little more. Père Joseph alone dares to reveal the secrets of the confessional for political purposes. In the main, by avoiding both extremes, the modern novelist has chosen to emphasize the more natural human qualities in the character of the ecclesiastic.³² The priest of fiction, then, is not an *homme à part*, but rather is he a normal man forced to live in a *milieu à part*, and the great clerical themes strive to reveal and interpret his intense and agonizing struggle for readjustment.

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²⁹ See p. 358.

³⁰ *L'Anneau d'améthyste*.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15, 308.

³² Cf. *Le démon de midi*, p. 373, "Les meilleurs de nous ne sont que des hommes, de pauvres hommes."

XXXV. GOETHE AND THE KU-KLUX KLAN

In 1799, at the very threshold of his literary career, Walter Scott published a translation of Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen*, containing the single short scene devoted to the judges of the *Vehmgericht*, who are discovered in "a narrow vault dimly illuminated, . . . all muffled in black cloaks." This translation had no second edition, nor is there evidence that it was known in our southern states.

It was almost at the close of his long career, namely in 1828-1829, that Scott wrote the novel, *Anne of Geierstein*—accounted one of his least inspired performances. Of direct significance for our argument is Scott's comment, in his introduction to the second edition (1831), that he had touched at some length in the narrative upon "the *Vehmic* tribunals of Westphalia, a name so awful in men's ears during many centuries, and which, through the genius of Goethe, has again been revived in public fancy with a full share of its ancient terrors." This introduction also contains a long and thrilling treatise on the *Vehmgericht*, taken from Francis Palgrave.

In the seventeenth chapter of the first part of the novel, Scott mentions the "strongholds of that Robber-chivalry . . . of whom, since Goethe, an author born to arouse the slumbering fame of his country, has dramatized the story of Goetz of Berlichingen, we have so many spirit-stirring tales."

The actual episode of the Secret Tribunal in *Anne of Geierstein* makes the second chapter of Book II: Philipson, after a restless hour in bed, finds his pallet sinking into a dark subterranean vault (corresponding to "a narrow vault, dimly illuminated" in Scott's translation of *Goetz*); lights are carried by men "muffled in black cloaks" ("muffled in black cloaks" in *Goetz*), wearing their cowls drawn over their

heads, so as to conceal their features. He learns that he is in the presence of the "celebrated Judges of the Secret Tribunal" ("Judges of the Secret Tribunal" occurs three times in the scene in *Goetz*); a "coil of ropes and a naked sword" ("cord and steel," six times in *Goetz*) play a part more than once.

The president addresses the assembly "as men who judge in secret and punish in secret, like the Deity" ("ye that judge in secret and avenge in secret like the Deity" occurs twice in *Goetz*).

William E. Dodd, in his recent work "The Cotton Kingdom," observes:

To men whose interests were those of masters of slaves, and whose philosophy was the doctrine of social caste and prescriptive rights, it was but natural that Walter Scott's famous novels should make appeal. One New York publisher said he sent Scott's works South in carload lots. . . . Before 1850 it was good form for Southern gentlemen to place Sir Walter Scott's novels on their library shelves, and for all Southern boys and girls to read these books as the great models of life and good breeding. Few men ever had a greater influence over the cotton-planters than the beloved Scottish bard and novelist.

Elsewhere Mr. Dodd adds:

Walter Scott's romanticism and hero-worship suited their taste and braced their social system, . . . and he furnished matter enough for the longest of the idle days of a lonely cotton plantation.

Mark Twain, whose keen insight demands respect, even when finding expression in rather drastic terms, remarks (in *Life on the Mississippi*):

Whereas crowned heads in Europe were gods before [Bonaparte], they are only men since then. . . . Then comes Sir Walter Scott with his enchantments, and by his single might . . . sets the world in love with dreams and phantoms. . . . He did measureless harm; more real and lasting harm, perhaps, than any other individual that ever wrote. Most of the world has now outlived good part of these harms, though by no means all of them; but in our South they flourish pretty forcefully still. But for the Sir Walter Scott disease, the character of the Southerner—or Southron, according to Sir Walter's starchier way of phrasing it—would be wholly modern, in place of modern and mediaeval mixed, and the South would be fully a

generation further advanced than it is. . . . It was he that created rank and caste down there, and also reverence for rank and caste, and pride and pleasure in them. . . . Sir Walter had so large a hand in making Southern character, as it existed before the war, that he is in great measure responsible for the war.

That local devotees of Scott did not balk at accepting the ill-starred *Anne* at par value, may be gathered from a review of this novel, in the *Southern Review* of Charleston, at the time of its appearance:

We congratulate the reading public on the pleasure they have shared with us; . . . we find truer gratification in the enjoyment of such exquisite fare, as is here presented, than in the indulgence of any morbid critical appetite whatever. . . . The courage and generosity of the high-toned cavalier are again shown forth in the scene of Arthur's duel with Donnerhugel amidst the ruins of the old castle of Geierstein. . . . We have heard it surmised that our author would exhaust himself; . . . we have never participated in this fear. . . . Like an experienced general, he skilfully reconnoitres the ground, and seizes on every 'coin of vantage' that lies in the direction of his march; . . . he touches a trap, and initiates you into all the fearful mysteries and appalling rites of the 'Secret Tribunal.'

This extended rhapsody closes with further allusions to the "Secret Tribunal."

The fundamental history of the origins of the Ku-Klux Klan is by Lester and Wilson, edited by Fleming (1905). Captain Lester, the first author, and one of the actual founders of the clan, was a lawyer, an official in the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and later a member of the Tennessee legislature. The Rev. D. L. Wilson was a Presbyterian pastor; the editor is Professor of History in Vanderbilt University.

The society was founded in May, 1866, in the office of a prominent lawyer of Pulaski, Tennessee, a town of unusual cultivation; the organizers were young college-men, looking for some harmless diversion in the dreary days following the Civil War. The bookish quality of the founders reveals itself not merely in the fact that every page of the first printed constitution was bordered with Latin quotations, but in the name itself, which, it is agreed, is derived from κύκλος,

"circle." The meetings were held in a dilapidated empty house on the borders of the town. Pulaski is in the region of the Scotch immigration: the names of the first clan-leaders, Wilson, Lester, Pike, Jones, Crowe, Kennedy, Reed, McCord, are not without suggestion.

One needs no overstrung imagination to understand the appeal which passages like the following, in *Anne of Geierstein*, might make to high-spirited Southerners, facing the collapse of their traditional institutions:

Such an institution could only prevail at a time when the ordinary means of justice were excluded by the hand of power, and when, in order to bring the guilty to punishment, it required all the influence and authority of such a confederacy. In no other country than one exposed to every species of feudal tyranny, and deprived of every ordinary mode of obtaining justice or redress, could such a system have taken root and flourished. . . . The Vehmic Tribunals can only be considered as the original jurisdictions . . . which survived the subjugation of their country.

In Dixon's *Clansman*, which is based upon much study of Ku-Klux history, are various features which betray the direct working of Walter Scott: in Book Four the "fiery cross" is sent around to summon the clans. Even at the present moment, when this edifying association is being systematically revived, the emblem plays a notable part: in December, 1921, Oklahoma members of the Ku-Klux Klan appeared, in disguise, at the funeral of a Tulsa policeman, bearing "a flaming cross of red roses." Mr. Dixon emphasizes more than once the Scotch-Irish ancestry of his night-riders. Thought-provoking is also the form of Mr. Dixon's statement that the accused was tried by "secret tribunal"—the identical term used continually by Scott in translating and imitating Goethe.

Of specific borrowings it is not easy to adduce much proof: the phrase, "trying the culprit by his peers," in Scott's novel, is not unlike "to protect the people from trial except by their peers" in the Nashville Constitution of the Invisible Empire, May 1867. In Tennessee, we are informed (Lester and Wilson, 107), several members of the Klan were exe-

cuted by its orders, "for committing evil deeds in the name of the Klan," which seems like an application of Scott's statement: "unworthy members were expelled, or sustained a severe punishment." The terrible penalty for revealing secrets, mentioned in *Anne of Geierstein*, is comparable to the Nashville obligation of the Invisible Empire,¹ "Any member divulging, or causing to be divulged, any of the foregoing obligations, shall meet the fearful penalty and traitor's doom, which is Death! Death! Death!" The designation "dens" for the lodges of the order corresponds very well with the subterraneousness of the tribunal in Scott's novel. In Scott's translation of Goethe, as well as in *Anne of Geierstein*, the members of the court are all "muffled in black cloaks." It is true that the Rev. Thomas Dixon has put white robes upon the Clansmen (in more senses than one), and doubtless his "cheap unbleached domestic" corresponds to the facts in certain regions, but the costumes of the Klan were usually black.

The full official title of the Klan, adopted in Nashville, May 1867, "Ku-Klux Klan or Invisible Empire," is strikingly near the "Invisible Tribunal" in *Anne of Geierstein*. In Fleming's introduction to *Lester and Wilson* is found, as might be expected in the work of a learned professional historian, an explicit suggestion that the *Vehmgericht* of Germany "may well have served as an example of secret association for self-defence," but there is no hint at the plausible mediation of Sir Walter Scott.

The Ku-Klux organization, at the beginning, doubtless combined elements from the history of the crusades, freemasonry, college fraternity pranks, and classical masquerades, but it seems reasonable to hold that the underlying formative influence was that derived, by way of Scott, from Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen*, Act V, scene xi.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD

¹ Report of the Committee on Affairs in the late Insurrectionary States, II, p. 48.

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-EIGHTH MEETING OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
HELD ON THE INVITATION OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND,
DECEMBER 28, 29, 30, 1921.

MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE ASSOCIATION
HELD AT
IOWA CITY, IOWA
DECEMBER 28, 29, 30, 1921

MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST
HELD AT
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
NOVEMBER 25 AND 26, 1921

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION
WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD:
"A REPRESENTATIVE MAN."

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION,
ARTHUR C. L. BROWN,
"WHAT TO DO NEXT."

A REPORT ON THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF ENGLISH PROSE FICTION
BETWEEN THE YEARS 1660 AND 1800,
BY PROFESSOR GEORGE F. WHICHER.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The thirty-eighth meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held under the auspices of The Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, Maryland, December 28, 29, 30, 1921. All the sessions were held in the buildings of The Johns Hopkins University.

FIRST SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28

ROOM 120, CIVIL ENGINEERING BUILDING

The Association was called to order by the President, Professor William Guild Howard, at 2:45 p.m. In the absence of President Goodnow of The Johns Hopkins University, who was unfortunately obliged to be away from the city, the Association was welcomed to Baltimore by Professor James Wilson Bright.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor Carleton Brown, presented as his formal report Vol. XXXVI of the *Publications* of the Association. He called attention to the fact that the increase in subscription price from \$3 to \$4 had made it possible to increase correspondingly the size of the *Publications*. During the year 1920 the number of pages devoted to papers (exclusive of Proceedings, the List of Members, etc.) amounted to 483; in 1921 it was increased to 667—a larger number than in any year since 1916. This was an encouraging sign of a return toward pre-war conditions. Unfortunately, the price of printing had so far shown no decline; the four numbers of the *Publications* in 1921 cost \$5,222 as compared with \$3,994 in the preceding year. However, a new printing contract had been made for 1922, on terms which were distinctly more favorable. Despite the abnormal cost of printing, and the increase in the size of the *Publications*, the deficit which existed at the beginning of 1921 had been removed, and after meeting all outstanding

bills a small balance would remain in the treasury. This was due to the additional resources consequent upon raising the subscription price and to the gratifying fact that, in the face of this advance, the membership of the Association had shown an actual increase. There were on the roll of the Association at the date of this report 1649 active members, as compared with 1507 reported at the Poughkeepsie meeting.

It was voted to accept the Secretary's report.

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor Carleton Brown, presented the following report:

A. RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 31, 1920.....	\$	805.10	
From members for 1905 and 1906.....	\$	6.00	
" " " 1915.....		3.00	
" " " 1916.....		9.00	
" " " 1918.....		3.00	
" " " 1919.....		33.00	
" " " 1920.....		195.00	
" " " 1921.....		5,334.77	
" " " 1922.....		143.88	
" Life Memberships.....		750.00	\$6,477.65
From Libraries for XXX-XXXIV.....	\$	54.00	
" " " XXXV.....		13.50	
" " " XXXVI.....		342.30	
" " " XXXVII.....		201.60	
" Subscribers.....		37.70	649.10
From Sales of <i>Publications</i>		271.80	
" Sales of Index Volume.....		20.90	
" Sale of Report of Committee of Twelve.....		.10	
" Payments for excess proof Corrections.....		39.55	
" Payment toward Facsimile.....		14.00	
" Return of advance to the M. H. R. A.....		12.00	
" Advertisers XXXV \$92.50			
" " XXXVI 87.00.....		179.50	
" Membership fees for M. H. R. A.....		61.55	
" Subscriptions to <i>Mod. Lang. Review</i>		33.75	

PROCEEDINGS FOR 1921

v

"	Interest on Current Funds	\$64.30		
"	"	"	Liberty Bonds	12.75
"	"	"	Permanent Fund 506.53*	583.58
				<u>8,343.48</u>
				<u>\$9,148.58</u>

EXPENDITURES

To Secretary for Salary.....	\$750.00	
" " " Printing.....	52.50	
" " " Postage.....	104.92	
" " " Telegrams.....	2.42	
" " " Ledger Cards.....	2.95	
" " " Record Book.....	2.00	
" " " Mimeographing.....	3.35	
" " " Council Expenses.....	5.75	
		\$ 923.89
To R. W. Pettengill, postage & supplies..	\$ 28.39	
" Mary Rhys, postage and supplies....	11.26	
		39.65
" Secretary Central Div. for salary...	\$100.00	
" " " " " stenography	7.50	107.50
To W. A. Neilson, Managing Trustee, for Life Memberships	\$725.00	
On account of Life Membership returned	25.00	
		750.00
For purchase of copies of <i>Publications</i>	37.90	
" Program expenses (1920).....	15.64	
To Moore-Cottrell, for subscription returned.....	3.60	
For expenses of moving stock of <i>Publications</i> from Cambridge to Bryn Mawr.....	315.38	
For Exchange on Canadian checks.....	1.29	
For charges for collecting checks.....	29.21	
To J. H. Furst Co. for printing XXV.4	\$1,044.14	
" " " " XXXVI.1	1,212.09	
" " " " XXXVI.2	1,265.23	
" " " " XXXVI.3	1,240.23	
" " " reprints of President's address.....	6.25	
		4,767.94
For expressage from Baltimore on XXXVI.3, 4....	6.31	
" printing supplies advanced to M. H. R. A.....	12.00	

* Including a payment of \$150.00 which appears in the Managing Trustee's report for 1920, but did not reach the Treasurer until after Jan.1, 1921.

" insurance on securities and safety deposit box rental.....	3.50	
To American Council of Learned Societies, for dues	77.25	
" American Council on Education for dues.....	10.00	
" Hon. Treasurer M. H. R. A., for membership fees.....	48.75	
" Cambridge University Press, for subscriptions to <i>Modern Language Review</i>	27.62	\$7,177.43
Balance on hand Dec. 27, 1921*.....	1,971.15	
		<u>\$9,148.58</u>

B. INVESTED FUNDS

BRIGHT FUND

1921	Dr.	Cr.
Jan. 1 Principal (Eutaw Savings Bank)....	\$1,632.64	
Apr. 1 Interest.....	65.20	
Apr. 28 Liberty Bonds purchased (par value \$1900).....		\$1,656.04
Apr. 28 Accrued int. on Bonds from Nov. 15, 1920.....		36.56
May 5 St. Anthony Falls Bank int. Apr. 28 to May 5.....		2.30
May 15 Interest on Liberty Bonds due May 15	40.40	
Aug. 9 Added to this Fund Liberty Bonds (par value \$600).....		
Oct. 14 Interest (Eutaw Savings Bank).....	6.32	
Oct. 14 Int. on Liberty Bond (\$500) due Sept. 15.....	10.63	
Nov. 15 Int. on Liberty Bonds (\$1900) due Nov. 15.....	40.35	
Nov. 15 Liberty Bond purchased (par value \$100).....		94.99
Dec. 15 Int. on Liberty Bond (\$100) due Dec. 15.....	2.12	
Balance on hand (Bryn Mawr Trust Co.)....		7.77
	<u>\$1,797.66</u>	<u>\$1,797.66</u>

*The Expenditures included in this statement cover the bills for four issues of the *Publications*. If from this balance is subtracted \$1,464.46, the amount due J. H. Furst Co. for printing XXXVI. 4, and also bills

VON JAGEMANN FUND

1921	Dr.	Cr.
Jan. 1 Principal (Cambridge Savings Bank).....	\$1,521.56	
July 1 Interest.....	77.01	
Aug. 12 Liberty Bonds purchased (par value \$1750)		\$1,536.75
Aug. 12 Accrued int. on Bonds from May 15.....		17.73
Nov. 15 Interest on Liberty Bonds due Nov. 15....	37.17	
Nov. 15 Liberty Bond purchased (par value \$50)...		47.49
Balance on hand (Bryn Mawr Trust Co.).....		33.77
	\$1,635.74	\$1,635.74

C. BALANCE SHEET 1921

Increase, Current Fund.....	\$1,166.05
“ Invested Funds.....	687.34
“ Permanent Fund.....	725.00
Total Increase.....	\$2,578.39

It was voted to refer the report of the Treasurer to the Auditing Committee.

Professor Charles G. Osgood expressed the opinion that the Secretary was at present overburdened with the increasing volume of correspondence and business detail and urged that the Association provide some means of lightening the burden. He moved that the Chair appoint a Committee of three to consider the question of supplying stenographic assistance for the Secretary-Treasurer. It was so voted.

The Secretary read the following report from President William Allan Neilson, Managing Trustee of the Permanent Fund:

Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

Office of the President

Dec. 26, 1921.

The Permanent Fund of the Modern Language Association is invested for the most part in U. S. $4\frac{1}{4}\%$ Liberty Bonds of the Second Issue as follows:

(which had not then been received) from the Banta Pub. Co. for \$293.55 for programs and mailing cards for the Baltimore and Iowa City meetings, a surplus of \$213.14 will still remain.

Eight \$1000 Bonds par value.....	\$8,000
Three \$100 Bonds par value.....	300
TOTAL.....	\$8,300

The operations for the year 1921 were as follows:

	Dr.	Cr.
Balance in Savings Bank Dec. 27, 1920.....	\$ 38.62	
Bonding fee restored to the Fund.....	16.00	
Income from Liberty Bonds.....	352.75	
Received from Life Memberships.....	725.00	
Interest from Bank Deposit.....	3.78	
Paid to Carleton Brown, Treas.....		\$ 356.53
On deposit in Central Trust Co. Camb., Dec. 26, 1921.		763.62
Cash in hand Dec. 26, 1921.....		16.00
	\$1,136.15	\$1,136.15

Signed:

W. A. NEILSON,
Managing Trustee.

The Secretary announced, with much regret, that President Neilson felt it necessary to resign as Managing Trustee of the Permanent Fund, and his resignation was referred to the Executive Council.

The following report of Professor W. G. Hale, Chairman of the Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, was read by the Secretary.

On behalf of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, I beg to report that the work is within a few months of completion, and to ask for the continuance of the representation of the Modern Language Association upon the Committee.

I had hoped to report that the work was done. That is true of the revision which is ready for the printer; but the index is taking more time than was expected.

Very respectfully,
W. G. HALE

It was voted that the report be adopted, and that the representation of the Modern Language Association on the Committee be continued.

President Frank Aydelotte, Chairman of the Committee on the Reproduction of MSS. and Rare Books, presented the following report:

Your Committee on the Reproduction of Manuscripts and Rare Books wishes to submit the following report to which the representative of the Congressional Library has agreed:

1. That we should ask as many colleges and universities as will do so to contribute Twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) per year each for the purpose of making rotographs of manuscripts and rare printed books from foreign libraries, the rotographs to be deposited in the Division of Manuscripts of the Congressional Library and to be sent by mail when asked for, to institutions or individuals in any part of the country.

2. That contributing institutions should have the first right to this material and that rotographs not in use by any contributing institution should be obtainable by any institution or properly accredited individual under such regulations as the committee may prescribe.

3. That contributing institutions should be asked each year to suggest material they would like to have reproduced and that the schedule for the year's work should be made out by the Committee so as to conform to these requests in so far as the funds will allow.

4. That the Congressional Library should undertake the administrative work of collecting from the contributing institutions their preferences of material to be reproduced and all business arrangements in connection with the making of rotographs. The Committee should, however, handle the funds and make the final decision as to the work to be done.

5. The cooperation of the American Historical Society should be invited in order that we may bring to bear as strong an influence as possible on various colleges and universities to induce them to contribute.

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Swarthmore College, *Chairman*

G. L. KITTREDGE, Harvard University

COLBERT SEARLES, University of Minnesota

A. R. HOHLFELD, University of Wisconsin

CHARLES MOORE, Congressional Library, Washington

It was voted to approve the report.

The Chair announced the appointment of the following Committees:

To audit the report of the Treasurer: Professors Howard R. Patch, James F. Mason, and Howard W. Church.

To nominate officers: President Frank Aydelotte and Professors T. M. Campbell and Christian Gauss.

On resolutions: Professors Harvey W. Thayer, Tucker Brooke, and Helen Sard Hughes.

To consider the question of clerical assistance for the Secretary-Treasurer: Professors Charles G. Osgood, G. N. Henning, and Clarence W. Eastman.

Professor E. C. Hills on behalf of the Hispanic Society of America announced that this society now has a rotostat and is able to make rotographs of books and illustrations for scholars who may need them in their researches.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "James Madison and French Thought." By Professor George R. Havens, of the Ohio State University.

2. "A New Definition of Romance." By Dr. Nathaniel E. Griffin, of the University of Pennsylvania.

3. "The Accentuation of Old French Loanwords in English." By Professor Henry Dexter Learned, of the University of Chattanooga.

The paper was discussed by Professors Blondheim, Armstrong, Downer, Bright, E. B. Davis and Todd.

4. "Lowell's Uncollected Poems." By Professor Killis Campbell, of the University of Texas.

The paper was discussed by Dean A. H. Quinn.

Professor John M. Manly addressed the Association in regard to the continuance of the plan of Group Meetings and asked that a Committee be appointed to have charge of the organization of the Group meeting at the next annual meeting.

On motion of Professor Bright it was voted that the present Committee on Group Meetings be continued.

The readings of papers was then resumed.

5. "The Circumstances of the Composition of *The Marshes of Glynn*." By Professor Paul Kaufman, of the American University, Washington, D. C.

6. "European Analogues in American Indian Tales." By Professor Stith Thompson, of Indiana University.

At eight o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, December 28, the President of the Association, Professor William Guild Howard, of Harvard University, delivered an address

entitled, "A Representative Man,"¹ in Room 120, Civil Engineering Building. After this address there was an informal reception for the members and guests of the Association.

SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29

For the second session the Association met in three sections, devoted respectively, to English, Romance, and German Philology.

ENGLISH SECTION

ROOM 120, CIVIL ENGINEERING BUILDING

Chairman, Professor John S. P. Tatlock of Stanford University.

The meeting was called to order at ten o'clock and the following papers were read:

7. "The So-called Hymns of St. Godric." By Professor James W. Rankin, of the University of Missouri.

The paper was discussed by Professor Tom Peete Cross, the Chairman, and the author.

8. "O Mars, O Atazir." By Professor Walter Clyde Curry, of Vanderbilt University.

The paper was discussed by Professors Tom Peete Cross, R. K. Root, the Chairman and the author.

9. "The Date of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." By Professor Tucker Brooke, of Yale University.

The paper was discussed by the Chairman and the author.

10. "A Political Allusion in *Richard III*." By Professor Lewis F. Mott, of the College of the City of New York.

The paper was discussed by Professor Tucker Brooke and the author.

11. "The Authorship of *Henry VIII*." By Dr. Marjorie H. Nicolson, of the University of Minnesota.

12. "William Blake and His Companions from 1818 to 1827." By Professor Harold Bruce, of the University of California.

¹ For the full text of this Address see p. lxi.

13. "The Autobiographical Element in the Novels of Mary Shelley." By Professor Walter E. Peck, of the College of Wooster.

NEWMAN I. WHITE, Trinity College, (N. C.)

Secretary.

ROMANCE SECTION

ROOM 110, MECHANICAL ENGINEERING BUILDING

Chairman, Professor Albert Schinz, of Smith College.

The following papers were read:

14. "The First Naturalistic Novel in Italy." By Professor Rudolph Altrocchi, of the University of Chicago.

The paper was discussed by the Chairman.

15. "*Les Triomphes* de Pétrarque, traduction en vers français par Simon Bougouyn, valet de chambre de Louis XII." By Dr. Hélène Harvitt, of Columbia University.

At the request of the Chairman, the paper was discussed by Professor Chamard, of the Sorbonne.

16. "General Characteristics of the French Metrical Versions of *Barlaam and Josaphat*." By Professor Edward C. Armstrong, of Princeton University.

17. "The Picaro in the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century." By Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford of the University of Pennsylvania.

The paper was discussed by Professor Gilbert Chinard, and by the Secretary.

18. "Unpublished Poems by Voltaire." By Professor Gustave L. van Roosbroeck, of the University of Minnesota.

The paper was discussed by the Chairman.

19. "The Cinéroman in France." By Mr. William L. Schwartz, of Stanford University. Mr. Schwartz briefly traced the rise and spread of this recent type, showing its use by the motion-picture producers as a part of their advertising.

Professor E. P. Baillot, of Northwestern University, called the attention of the members to the Quatrième Congrès

de Langue et de Littérature Françaises, to be held at Chicago on January 13th and 14th.

The meeting was then adjourned.

R. H. KENISTON, Cornell University, *Secretary*.

GERMANIC SECTION

ROOM 109, MECHANICAL ENGINEERING BUILDING

Chairman, Professor Marian P. Whitney, of Vassar College.

The following papers were read:

20. "The *Heliand* and Its Problems." By Professor Ernst C. Metzenthin, of Brown University.

21. "Ch. Lichtenberg as a Critic of the English Stage." By Dr. Gottlieb A. Betz, of Columbia University.

22. "Theodor Fontane as a Critic of the Novel." By Professor Lambert Shears, of Wesleyan University.

23. "Ibsen's Revision of *Catiline*." By Mr. Anders Orbeck, of Columbia University.

24. "Gerhart Hauptmann's Sojourn in America." By Dr. Howard W. Church, of Phillips Andover Academy.

At the conclusion of these papers which had been formally announced on the program it was voted to request Professor Carl F. Schreiber of Yale University to read before the Section a paper originally prepared for presentation at the afternoon group meeting on "New Work on Goethe." This paper contained a definite proposal for coöperative enterprise in Goethe scholarship, and hence was regarded as representing the second topic which was announced for the general consideration of the Section. After the reading of the paper and on motion of Professor E. H. Mensel it was voted that a committee of three, with Professor Schreiber as Chairman, (which committee shall be empowered to add to its numbers if this is found desirable), be appointed by the Chairman of the Section to formulate plans for the commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of Goethe's death through the publication of work on the general theme of *Goethe and America*, and to make report at the meeting of the Section to be held next year.

The Chairman appointed as this Committee Professors Schreiber, Mensel, and Wm. A. Cooper.

The meeting then proceeded to consider plans for making more available materials for research in the field of Germanics. Professor F. W. J. Heuser spoke briefly on the desirability of compiling a list of German periodicals in American libraries, and on his motion the Section voted that the Chairman of the Section appoint a committee to make arrangements for the gathering of a list of German periodicals in American libraries and for the publication of such a list in the *Publications*. Professor Heuser was later appointed as Chairman of this Committee.

Professor C. von Klenze emphasized the need of further action with reference to a suggestion for coöperative scholarly work which had been proposed and discussed at the last meeting of the Section, and he moved that a committee be appointed to formulate plans for the collection and preservation of German literature written and published in the United States. The motion was carried. Professor von Klenze was later appointed Chairman of this committee.

On the motion of Professor H. Collitz the Section voted that a committee be appointed to investigate the question of raising funds to assist in the work of publishing the remaining portions of Grimms' *Wörterbuch*.

Professor J. F. L. Raschen called the attention of the Section to the provisions of the Fordney Tariff Bill as to the tariff on imported foreign books, and recommended a formal expression of opposition to these provisions, to be taken by the Section, pending a possible general action on the part of the whole Association. Accordingly it was voted that the members of Congress engaged in formulating the so-called Fordney Tariff Bill be informed that the members of the Section are vigorously opposed to the provisions of that bill relating to the tariff on foreign books.

Professor T. M. Campbell, of the Randolph-Macon Woman's College, was elected Chairman of the Section for the next meeting.

The meeting was then adjourned.

HARVEY W. THAYER, Princeton University, *Secretary*.

THIRD SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29

The third session of the Association was devoted to Group Meetings, which were held in Two Divisions, those of the first Division meeting from 2 o'clock until 3:30, and those of the second from 4 o'clock until 5:30.

FIRST DIVISION, 2 P. M.

(*General Topics I.*) Metrics. Chairman, Dr. Maud Elizabeth Temple.

Professor Morris W. Croll, on behalf of the Conference of College Teachers of English of the Central Atlantic States, made a statement concerning the present state of the customs of metrical notation. He pointed out that the change which has taken place during the last forty years in the theory of rhythmic form has resulted in the abandonment of the traditional notation, and that so far nothing has been generally accepted in its place, and asked that the Metrics Section attempt to interest the Modern Language Association in this situation.

Professor Raymond Weeks showed some tracings made in Columbia laboratories meant to illustrate the varying forces of stresses and the character of their recurrences in verse spoken aloud under normal conditions. These were discussed; but the points made were too technical for brief descriptions.

The subject of metrical notation was again taken up. It was thought that the best method of approach would be through the appointment of a committee of investigation by the Modern Language Association and Professor Croll was given power to act during the coming year toward this end.

The scope of the work of this section was discussed, and the opinion was generally expressed that its title should be somewhat more inclusive: e. g., *Poetic Form and Forms*. The matter was left for the officers of the section and the Association to decide after consultation.

Permanent organization was effected, and Professor Morris W. Croll was elected Chairman for the 1922 meeting.

Reported by Professor MORRIS W. CROLL.

(*General Topics II.*) The Foundations of Romantic Criticism. Chairman, Professor Stanley P. Chase. Professor Robert Shafer was elected Secretary of the Group.

The Chairman opened a discussion as to the limits of the field which the group should mark out for study. It was agreed that there is need for a study of the nature of romanticism considered as an attitude toward life historically manifested in different periods and countries. Also that the connections of romanticism, thus considered, with the ideas manifested in ethical and political theories should be undertaken as the work of the group rather than the study of romantic criticism in any single country or in a limited period.

It was voted that the title of the group be changed to "The Critical Study of Romanticism." It was agreed that, while historical studies are a necessary means to the end which the group has in view, the ultimate objective of the group should be philosophical in its character rather than historical.

It was voted to empower the Chairman to take such steps as might seem best in arranging for a series of short papers at the next annual meeting.

In view of certain conflicts between groups as scheduled in the present program the Group voted to recommend that hereafter the entire second day of the Association's meeting be devoted to group meetings. The Chairman was authorized to present this suggestion to the Association at its session on Friday morning.

The Chairman then read portions of a paper on "Hazlitt's View of the Imagination." After a brief discussion of this paper and of possible topics for the following year the meeting adjourned.

ROBERT SHAFER, *Secretary.*

(*Comparative Literature I.*) Influence of Latin Culture on Mediaeval Literature.

Chairman, Professor George R. Coffman.

The first part of the meeting was devoted to an informal discussion of a program of activities for the current year and the consideration of subjects presented by scholars in this field. The definite contribution was the following syllabus of suggested studies prepared by Professor E. K. Rand who, unfortunately, was unable to be present at the meeting:

A. The Mediaeval Idea of Education

A writer's literary *milieu* is quite as important as the other kinds.

I. Foundation of Mediaeval education in the fourth century.

The Christian Church and Pagan Culture.

New Study of Prudentius necessary. (See E. K. R. in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.* Vol. 51.)

Cassiodorus and monastic education. Rule of St. Benedict.

(Has its language been studied in the light of Traube's investigations and the publication of the St. Gall MS. by Dom Morin?)

II. Periods in the development of Mediaeval Culture.

a. History of Classical Culture in Ireland. Rejection of Roger and return to Zimmer (essentially). Various lines of profitable investigation: Paleography (origin of Irish script); Commentaries on Virgil point back to Ireland (Servius and Donatus); Glossaries (cf. recent work of Lindsay and his pupils).

b. Aims and methods of the Carolingian Renaissance cannot be fully described until we know more about

(1) the commentaries written in the 8th and 9th centuries. (Investigations necessary for Horace, Boethius, etc. E. K. R. has done this for the *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius; somebody ought to find or reconstruct John the Scot's commentary on the *Consol. Phil.* This work would doubtless throw more light on Alfred's translation. Schepps has made a beginning.)

(2) the florilegia and chrestomathies. (Professor Rand presented a paper on this subject at the Ann Arbor meeting.)

c. Humanism and Philosophy in the 9th century. John the Scot and Lupus Servetus as opposing types. There is need of a new edition of John the Scot's *De Div. Nat.* showing the author's several recensions of his work. (See E. K. R. in *Univ. of Calif. Pub. in Class. Phil.* V, 1920.) (Professor Rand is eager to find some one to undertake this task. He will be glad to supervise the work.)

d. Rebirth of Humanism.

(1) Age of the Ottos.

Scheffel has made an interesting use of the *Casus Sancti Galli* in *Ekkehard*, but something quite as interesting might be done with these annals without resort to an historical novel.

(2) The rise of the University (saec. XI-XII)

Hildebert of Tours deserves a new study; but for this one must work in the libraries abroad.

e. The thirteenth century an Age of Science, in which humanistic program was reduced to a minimum.

See the studies of L. J. Paetow. Still, how account for the culture of Dante and the authors of the *Romance of the Rose*?

f. Age of Decadence and Renaissance.

The latter a reaction from the age immediately preceding, not against the entire Middle Ages. There is evidence that the men of the time felt they were engaged in establishing a renaissance. (*A Study of the above topic should enable one to gauge the usual reading of a cultivated man in the different periods of the Middle Ages. The result, I believe, would be a conviction that most of the vernacular literature of the Middle Ages is not of a "popular" sort, but is the work of the cultivated.*—E. K. R.)

B. Popular versus Classical Literature.

The distinction between the two types is manifest in Latin literature itself. Both were recognized and cultivated (sometimes by the same person—Prudentius, Hildebert) from the fourth century on. Here are certain topics:

I. History of Christian Rustic Style. (A great subject virtually untouched.)

II. History of Artificial Style. (This is the obverse of the preceding topic. Norden has broached it in his *Kunstprosa* but much remains to be done. It starts with Asiatic style in ancient oratory, and goes on to Apuleius, Sidonius, Martianus Capella, *Hisperica Famina*, Aldhelm, Walter Map. It is the Ercles vein. Lindsay starts an important clue in the Glossaries.)

III. Popular and Classical Poetry in the Carolingian period.

(See studies of Allen on *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics* and Hanford on *Debate*)

IV. "Goliardic" Poetry.

This subject begins in the Carolingian period.

a. Further analysis of the "Cambridge Songs."

b. Significance of the Florilegia (See A.II, (2))

c. MSS with musical neums. Study those of classical poets.

V. Epic Poetry.

Specimens of the two types. Conscious endeavor in the classical epic to keep the matter true and ancient.

VI. Mediaeval themes consciously given an ancient setting.

Kittredge set the ball a-rolling with his *Lollius*; Tatlock gives it another thrust; and so far as Latin literature is concerned its journey is not yet over.

In discussing the agenda for the current year it was agreed that a program of work should be drawn up which should develop comprehensive co-operation on the part of persons interested in mediaeval Latin literature. The following proposals were discussed:

1. Securing as complete a list as possible of scholars working in this field and, wherever possible, a statement of the tasks on which they are engaged.

2. Assisting to put those in closely related projects in touch with one another.

3. Securing data as to what colleges and universities are doing in the field covered by the topic.

4. Studying possibilities for wider co-operation with scholars in classics, history, philosophy, and related subjects or fields; with organizations and institutions such as the Benedictines. Some suggested that in this group might be the beginnings of an Academy on Mediaeval Latin Culture.

5. Connecting up the group with scholars in this field in England and on the Continent.

6. Centralizing on a few concrete projects of general interest in this field such as encouraging the introduction of definite courses in Mediaeval Latin in the graduate schools of the country.

Professor George R. Coffman was elected Chairman and Professor Walter Clyde Curry, Secretary for the coming year.

GEORGE R. COFFMAN, *Chairman*.

(*English I.*) The Delimitation of Middle English Dialects.
Chairman, Professor Howard R. Patch.

The Chairman presented a study of East Midland in the fifteenth century, with special attention to the developments

in the northerly direction, and with evidence drawn chiefly from the dialects of Suffolk and Norfolk. Taking his material from documents of the Southwestern District, Professor Carleton Brown offered new methods by which the provenance of manuscripts could be established. Dr. Robert J. Menner listed the most dependable criteria to distinguish West Midland from East Midland, and examined the possibility of localizing *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Finally, Professor Samuel Moore gave some of the results of a special investigation into the problem of the loss of final -n in the inflectional syllables of early Middle English.

It was the opinion of some members of the Group that in the future the subject should be extended to cover the "Middle English language" in general. The special phase which should be studied in any meeting could be determined in advance by the nature of the contributions offered during the year by those who were interested. Because of lack of time this question was not fully discussed, and no election of chairman was held.

Two members of the Group are preparing an ample bibliography on Middle English Dialects with a view to publishing it as part of the production of the Group.

HOWARD R. PATCH, *Chairman*.

(*English IV.*) New Work on Shakspeare. *Chairman*, Professor Lewis F. Mott.

No report of the meeting of this Group has been received. (*English V.*) Spenser and Milton. *Chairman*, Professor Edwin Greenlaw. Professor Hyder E. Rollins was elected Secretary of the Group.

Professors John Erskine and H. M. Ayers made reports on the aims and methods of the "Columbia Edition" of Milton now in progress. The reports were discussed by Professors Lane Cooper and Tucker Brooke.

Professor Raymond D. Hayens suggested that a revised and shortened edition of Masson's *Life of Milton* and a Bibliographical Manual were the chief need of Milton students. Dr. P. W. Long tentatively proposed the forma-

tion of a Spenser Society that should concern itself either with a final edition of Spenser or with forming "a body of collected notes" on Spenser. Professor C. G. Osgood spoke of the need of a bibliography of Spenser. The Chairman called attention to the bibliography now being compiled by Professor F. I. Carpenter, and read a number of suggestions and questions forwarded by Professors Carpenter and J. L. Lowes.

Professor Tucker Brooke read a paper on the structure of the Spenserian stanza.

The Chairman recommended that as the time originally set aside for the meeting had expired, the Group take a recess and re-assemble in Room 100, Gilman Hall, at 4 p. m. Professor Hanford recommended that the officers and organization of the Group as then constituted be continued through the meeting of the Association in 1922. The Group by unanimous vote approved both recommendations.

At 4 p. m. the discussion of special topics was resumed. reports on work on Spenser and Milton now in progress or in need of being done were made by Professors Hanford, J. M. Berdan, and A. H. Gilbert. After a general discussion the meeting adjourned.

HYDER E. ROLLINS, *Secretary*.

(*English VII.*) Literary Tendencies in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century. *Chairman*, Professor R. S. Crane. Dr. J. W. Draper was elected Secretary of the Group.

The following papers were read and discussed: the "Aims and Scope of the Conference," by the Chairman; the "Persistence of Classicism," by R. D. Havens; "Possibilities of Research in the Mediaeval Revival," by E. D. Snyder; "The Drama of the Later Eighteenth Century as a Field for Research," by S. T. Williams; "Problems in Later Eighteenth Century Criticism," by the Secretary; "Some Neglected Aspects of the *Return to Nature*," by J. M. Beatty; "Literary Life in Scotland in the Later Eighteenth Century," by E. A. Aldrich.

The group organized itself on a permanent basis, and plans to issue occasional lists of suggested subjects for research and of books and papers, now under way, relating to the later eighteenth century. All those interested are invited to send their names either to the Chairman, Professor R. S. Crane, Northwestern University, or to the Secretary, Dr. J. W. Draper, Bryn Mawr College.

J. W. DRAPER, *Secretary*.

(*English IX.*) Wordsworth. *Chairman*, Professor Oscar J. Campbell.

The following papers were read and discussed: "Shelley's Influence upon Wordsworth," Arthur Beatty; "From Naturalism to Orthodoxy in Wordsworth," Solomon F. Gingerich; "Some Wordsworth Topics," John Edwin Wells; "Analogues of *The Borderers*," B. S. Allen.

The discussion of questions relating to the plans and organization of the Group resulted in the adoption of the following recommendations addressed to the General Committee on Group Topics:

- I. That the group be continued as permanent organization.
- II. That the subject of study to which the group is to be devoted be changed from *Wordsworth* to *Wordsworth and His Contemporaries*.
- III. That Professor George McLean Harper serve as permanent Chairman of the group.
- IV. That Professor O. J. Campbell serve as permanent Secretary of the group.
- V. That the time allotted to the section at the next meeting of the Association be extended to three hours.
- VI. That at least another half day of the annual meeting be assigned to the group meetings.

OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL, *Secretary*.

(*German I.*) New Work on Goethe. *Chairman*, Professor E. H. Mensel. Professor Carl F. Schreiber was elected Secretary of the Group.

The Chairman opened the session by a brief summary of the new works on Goethe.

Professor Eiserhardt gave a painstaking review of Hertz's book, *Goethes Naturphilosophie im Faust*. The paper was discussed by Professors Collitz, Faust, and Raschen.

Mr. Allen W. Porterfield discussed Georg Brandes' monumental monograph on Goethe. The group was so much impressed by the report that the following resolution was adopted:

The Goethe Group of the Modern Language Association of America would welcome an early publication of Georg Brandes' *Wolfgang Goethe* in English, and firmly believes that, in the light of the awakening Goethe interest in this country, a good reception would be accorded the book by American readers.

Dr. Taylor Starck then presented a paper on Goethe in Spain.

CARL F. SCHREIBER, *Secretary*.

(*German III.*) German Literature after 1871. *Chairman*, Professor Camillo von Klenze.

The Chairman in his opening address emphasized the importance of literary developments in Germany during the last fifty years, and directed attention to the merits of individual authors and movements representing the period. Nevertheless, students too frequently gain the impression that since the classical period German literature has been of inferior quality or even that it is largely negligible. Despite the difficulty of securing proper perspective for recent values in literature and art, attempt should be made—for example, by editing new texts and organizing new courses—to correct this misapprehension.

Following these suggestions, the discussion centered on the choice of authors and works to represent the period under consideration, and on the methods of presentation.

Reported by PROFESSOR HARVEY W. THAYER.

(*French I.*) French Linguistics. *Chairman*, Professor Henry A. Todd.

A paper on "French Geographical Names" was read by Professor D. S. Blondheim.

No report of the meeting of this group has been received.

(*French IV.*) Nineteenth Century French Literature. *Chairman*, Professor James F. Mason.

A paper, "Shakspeare en France depuis l'Epoque Romantique," was read by Professor Marcel Moraud. The paper was discussed by Professors Chamard, Chinard, and others.

A paper, "A Chateaubriand Rarity," was then read by Mr. Aaron Schaffer.

JAMES F. MASON, *Chairman*.

(*Spanish I.*) Spanish-American and Brazilian Literatures.
Chairman, Professor E. C. Hills.

Professor Henry Grattan Doyle was elected Secretary of the Group.

The Chairman in his opening remarks invited particular discussion of the place which should be accorded to these literatures in the curricula of our schools and colleges. He read a number of letters which he had received from well-known teachers expressing their opinions on this question:

Jacob Warshaw (Univ. of Nebraska) advocated that from one-third to one-half of the time of regular courses be given to Spanish-American material; A. L. Owen (Univ. of Kansas) believed that Spanish-American material should be incidental to the regular courses in Spanish literature, which should be treated as a whole; H. R. Lang (Yale University), that Spanish-American literature be studied outside, by private reading, since the main-springs of Spanish literature are in the peninsula; G. T. Northup (Univ. of Chicago), that South America be made known by history teachers, as the literature is uninteresting and unimportant; E. W. Olmsted (Univ. of Minnesota) favored the teaching of the literature of Spanish-America, but wished its history also to be taught; F. O. Reed (Univ. of Wisconsin) in view of the limited time available believed the continental literature should receive most of the attention; Alfred Coester (Stanford University) advocated more attention to Portuguese; M. B. Jones (Pomona College) also stressed the value of Portuguese; G. W. Umphrey (Univ. of Washington) admitted the inferiority of Spanish-American literature to the literature of the continent, despite his present interest in the Spanish-American field.

A survey of the history of Chilean Literature, by Dr. Castro Ruiz, Counsellor of the Chilean Embassy, was read by Mr. Charles L. Chandler of the Corn Exchange National Bank, Philadelphia. Mr. Chandler, in presenting the paper, made the point that business men going to South America should know not only the language but the culture, especially the literature, of these countries.

In the general discussion which followed many persons participated. Professor Wickersham Crawford, in concluding the discussion, emphasized the lack of time and resources in most institutions for more than three courses in Spanish literature; and believed that if it were necessary to choose the choice should be the literature of Spain. Nevertheless, after necessary courses in Spanish literature as a whole had been provided, special courses in Spanish-American literature might be added.

HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE, *Secretary*.

(*Italian I.*) Italian Literature of the Earlier Period. *Chairman*, Professor C. K. Moore.

The meetings of this Group and of Italian II (see below) constituted, in fact, a continuous session. In their organization the two Groups combined as one, electing as Chairman for the coming year Professor C. K. Moore and as Secretary, Professor Rudolph Altrocchi.

Professor Emilio Goggio read a paper on "The Study of Dante in America," which was informally commented upon by all present. Professor Geddes gave a particularly interesting account of his Dante class under Professor Charles Eliot Norton. The discussion broadened out so stimulatingly that Mr. Charles E. Whitmore, unfortunately, had to leave to attend another group meeting before reading his paper on "Early Italian Poetry."

The most important subsequent discussion concerned the possibility and advisability of organizing the teachers of Italian throughout the country so as to achieve efficient co-operation in developing the study of Italian. It was voted that the Chairman appoint a committee to study this question and keep teachers of Italian in touch with each other. The Chairman appointed, for the East, a committee of three, consisting of Professors Goggio, Cavicchia, and Riddell, and for the Middle West, Professor Altrocchi, with authority to select two additional members; a committee for the Far West may be announced later.

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI, *Secretary*.

SECOND DIVISION, 4 P. M.

(*General Topics III.*) Problems in General Aesthetics.
Chairman, Professor F. N. Scott.

The following papers were presented: "Clearing the Ground for Aesthetics," by Mr. Charles E. Whitmore; "Scholarship and Criticism," by Dr. Joel E. Spingarn.

No report of the meeting of this Group has been received. (*Comparative Literature II.*) The Popular Ballad. *Chairman*, Professor Arthur Beatty. Professor Stith Thompson was elected Secretary of the Group.

The following papers were read and discussed: "Survival of English and Scottish Ballads in Virginia," by Professor C. Alphonso Smith; "Poetic Origins and the Ballad," by Professor Louise Pound; "Present Opinions concerning Ballad Origins," by Professor John R. Moore.

Professor Pound's paper elicited lively and prolonged discussion. Professor G. H. Gerould, in discussing it, put forward what he called the "modified communalist position." All the other speakers dwelt upon the difficulties of the theory of communal origins. Professor J. H. Cox applied his own experience in collecting ballads to the problem of origins.

It was voted to make the Group permanent, and to designate it the "Group on Popular Literature." A longer period for the meeting was felt to be desirable. Professor C. Alphonso Smith was elected Chairman for the next year.

STITH THOMPSON, *Secretary*.

(*English II.*) Present-Day English. *Chairman*, Professor James F. Royster. Professor John S. Kenyon was elected Secretary of the meeting.

The Chairman suggested the publication by a group of the M. L. A. of a Present-day English Grammar, which should make such distinctions as that between colloquial and formal English, and should be based on scientific study of present usage apart from traditional grammatical notions.

A paper, "A Plan for Getting the Results of Investigations into the Hands of Non-investigating Teachers," was read by Professor J. H. Cox. It was voted that the Chairman should report the desire of the group that the plan suggested in Professor Cox's paper be considered by the Association. The paper was further discussed by Dr. P. W. Long and Professor Samuel Moore.

The Chairman read a list of topics for investigation proposed by members of the group.

A paper, "Social and Class Dialects" was read by Professor J. M. Steadman, and discussed by Professor H. M. Ayres.

Professor J. S. Kenyon spoke on "Method of Representing Middle West Sounds," proposing a slightly modified combination of the symbols of the American Dialect Society and the International Phonetic Association, adapted to American sounds and representing quality either with or without indication of time-length. Discussed by Professors S. Moore and Tom Peete Cross.

Professor Tom Peete Cross spoke on "Method of Representing Sounds in Dialect Writing." Discussed by Professors A. Gregory-Allen and J. S. Kenyon.

It was voted that Professor J. F. Royster be made permanent Chairman of the group, and that he appoint a committee to formulate topics and plans for investigations.

JOHN S. KENYON, *Temporary Secretary*.

(*English III.*) The Present Status of Work on Chaucer. *Chairman*, Professor Edgar F. Shannon. Professor E. P. Kuhl was appointed Secretary of the meeting.

The Chairman in his opening remarks announced that Miss E. P. Hammond had hoped to publish a Supplement to her *Chaucer Bibliography*, but that the increased cost of printing had interposed a financial obstacle. Professor Wells proposes to issue further supplements to his *Middle English Bibliography*, but in the opinion of some members his work does not take the place of Miss Hammond's for

the Chaucer student. Professor Manly suggested that the Chairman correspond further with Miss Hammond in regard to the matter.

A paper, "Chaucer's Use of Medical Science," was read by Professor Walter C. Curry, in which he pleaded for a just evaluation of Chaucer in the light of scholarly work accomplished. He believed too little attention had been paid to the definite bearing of particular researches upon the poet's literary workmanship. The paper was discussed by Professors Manly, Root, and Tatlock.

Professor Tatlock reported that he was engaged on the problem of the Order of the Canterbury Tales. At present there is no unanimity of opinion in regard to this question. This work should prepare the way for undertaking the more fundamental task of the formation of a complete text.

Professor Root informed the group that he has in preparation a critical text of *Troilus and Cressida*, and asked for any suggestion as to the recording of variant readings, etc.

Professor Tatlock suggested that some central repository be selected for Chaucer Collectanea, e. g. for unpublished notes left by scholars at their death.

Miss Hammond reported, through the Chairman, that she is now engaged on a study of the MSS. of the *Minor Poems*.

It was voted that the Group continue its work, and Professor Shannon was continued as Chairman for the coming year.

ERNEST P. KUHL, *Secretary*.

(*English VI.*) Philosophy and Literature in the Classical Period. *Chairman*, Professor James W. Tupper. Professor Percy H. Houston was elected Secretary of the Group.

The following papers were read:

"The Concept of Authority," by Professor H. M. Dargan.
"The Humanism of Dr. Johnson," by Professor P. H. Houston.
"Goldsmith's Borrowings and Goldsmith's Fame," by Dr. Joseph E. Brown.

With these papers as a basis for discussion, suggestions were made as to work which might be undertaken in the field of this Group, and the following resolutions were adopted:

1. That it be requested that in next year's program an entire day at least be assigned to group meetings.

2. That the present Chairman be continued for the coming year, with authority to determine the field of study and to select topics for discussion.

3. That each member be asked to hand his name to the Secretary together with any subjects in which he feels particular interest; and that a list of these subjects be sent to each member of the Group.

JAMES W. TUPPER, *Chairman*.

(*English VIII*.) The Bibliography of English Fiction, 1660-1800. *Chairman*, Professor Helen Sard Hughes.

The Chairman in her opening remarks gave an account of the preliminary steps which had been taken in arranging the first meeting of the group. She also suggested that in dealing with the later portion of the field assigned to this group co-operation with Professor Crane's group (*English VII*) was desirable.

Professor George F. Whicher then read, "A Report on the Present Status of the Bibliography of English Prose Fiction between 1660 and 1800."¹

Professor T. P. Cross suggested that the Universities might co-operate in this bibliographical work through graduate courses in bibliography and the direction of Masters' theses.

The question of the feasibility of undertaking a bibliography of English fiction which should augment and continue Mr. Esdaile's manual was then proposed for discussion.

It was voted that a Committee be appointed to formulate plans for such a bibliography, including the framing of an

¹ Printed in full at the end of the Proceedings, pp. c-cvi.

exact form for bibliographical notes, to be submitted to the members for criticism and final approval.

It was voted that the field be divided into three periods: 1660-1700, 1700-1740, and 1740-1800; also that the Chairman appoint an editorial committee, with one member to direct the work of each period.

NOTE: The committee as constituted is as follows: Professor R. S. Crane (Chairman) and Professors J. E. Wells, Ernest Bernbaum, George F. Whicher, and Helen Sard Hughes (*ex officio*). Professor Bernbaum assumes editorial charge of the first period, Professor Whicher of the second period, and Professor Crane of the third period, according to the above division.

It was voted that the present Chairman be continued for the coming year. Inasmuch as it seemed best that the correspondence of the Group during the initial period of inauguration be kept in the hands of the Chairman, no Secretary was chosen.

It was the sentiment of the meeting that plans for organization should be expedited in order that progress might be made on the proposed bibliography during the coming year.

HELEN SARD HUGHES, *Chairman*.

(*English X.*) The Study of Contemporary Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Howard M. Jones.

The following topics were announced for general discussion:

1. The Place of Contemporary Literature in the Curriculum.

2. Methods of Evaluating Contemporary Literature: Criticism and Research.

No report of the meeting of this Group has been received.

(*English XI.*) American Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Killis Campbell. Dr. Francis A. Litz was appointed Secretary of the meeting.

The first part of the session was devoted to the discussion of the two topics announced on the program:

1. "The Graduate Teaching of American Literature." Discussion led by Dean A. H. Quinn, who reported that out of eighteen universities which he had canvassed twelve are

offering graduate courses in American literature, and that many theses on American authors, types of poetry, and literary history are in preparation by candidates for the higher degrees. Professor Harold M. Ellis reported that he was engaged on a biography of Thomas Cooper, Scientist, Editor, political and theological writer; and that students of his are preparing theses on the Biographies of John Davis, English writer and traveller in America, and of Elihu H. Smith, compiler of the first American anthology. Other theses are being prepared on "Feminism in American Literature before 1850" and "Tendencies toward free verse in American poetry, 1850—."

In the succeeding discussion Dr. H. S. Canby entered a plea for a closer relation between scholarship and creative effort in literature, citing experiments which are being made in this direction at Yale by recognizing creative literature in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Masters' degree.

2. "The Place of American Literature in the College Curriculum." Discussion led by Professor W. C. Bronson, who emphasized the practical value to undergraduates of the study of American literature. Professor J. C. French discoursed briefly on the methods of approach, viz: through the study of biography, types, sources, and influences.

The second part of the session was devoted to papers. Professor Norman Foerster read a paper on "Poe's Critical Standards"; and Dr. Litz read an abstract from a more extended study of "Father Tabb's Unique Nature Poetry."

The permanent organization of the group was then taken up. Professor Campbell asked to be excused from continuing as Chairman on account of ill health. Dean Quinn was then elected Chairman for the coming year with power to name the Secretary. He thereupon appointed Dr. Litz to continue as Secretary.

It was voted that the Group give its endorsement to the system of group meetings, and that the Executive Council be requested to double the time allotted to them.

FRANCIS A. LITZ, *Secretary*.

(*German II.*) Methods of Presenting German Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century. *Chairman*, Professor Robert H. Fife.

The Chairman proposed a number of theses covering the presentation of German literature during this period. Of these, the following were selected for discussion:

1. "For bibliography and criticism 1820 is preferable to 1830 as a dividing year."

After a discussion by Professor von Klenze and others, the sentiment seemed overwhelming in favor of 1815 or 1830 as years of division.

2. "The literature of the period of Reaction is to be developed from the political, esthetic, and religious theories of Romanticism."

Professor von Klenze emphasized the importance of the economic and social theories of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and others, as determining the enthusiasms of Young Germany. The sentiment was strongly in favor of a greater emphasis on this background of the period after 1830.

3. "The Swabian writers, including Mörike, should be considered together."

4. "Austrian literature from Grillparzer to Lenau and Stifter is to be considered as a whole."

After a full discussion, participated in by Professors Faust, Gruener, Metzenthin, Hoskins, Dr. Porterfield, and others, opinion seemed divided as to the desirability of discarding altogether regional treatment of the authors of these groups and, on the other hand, giving much greater emphasis than has previously been done to district and regional backgrounds.

ROBERT H. FIFE, *Chairman*.

(*German IV.*) Gerhart Hauptmann. His Place in Literature and in the College Class-room. *Chairman*, Professor T. M. Campbell.

Discussion in the group was opened by a fifteen minute paper by the Chairman, presenting four problems in Haupt-

mann criticism: The actual value of *milieu* in his plays, his method of characterization, his dramatic composition, and his attitude toward woman. There was some discussion of the second and the fourth of these questions.

Next came a paper on Hauptmann's mysticism, by Professor Wiehr, based to a considerable extent on an analysis of the *Ketzer von Soana*. The discussion following this paper was somewhat more animated.

An interesting exchange of experiences in regard to reading Hauptmann's plays in the class-room closed the session.

T. M. CAMPBELL, *Chairman*.

(*Italian II.*) Modern Italian Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Agnes R. Riddell.

The meeting of this group followed without break that of Italian I (see above); and the two groups voted to continue their organization.

After the opening remarks by the Chairman, the discussion which followed centered chiefly upon contemporary literature. It was suggested that each person present should take a special topic in this field for next year's meeting and make it the subject of a brief informal report. Among the topics proposed were, "The Drama," to be discussed by Professor Altrocchi; "Short Stories," discussed by Professor Cavicchia; "The Novel," discussed by Dr. Vittorini; "Literary Periodicals," discussed by Professor Riddell.

(*French II.*) French Mediaeval Literature. *Chairman*, Professor Raymond Weeks. Professor Charles H. Livingston was appointed Secretary of the meeting.

After the Chairman had mentioned the need of loyal support of the Société des Anciens Textes Français and *Romania*, and the interesting fact that M. Edmond Huguet has completed a dictionary of Middle French, which is awaiting a publisher, the following papers were presented:

"The Importance of Mediaeval Latin Literature in the Study of the Vernacular Literature," by Professor George L. Hamilton.

"A Supposedly Lost French Manuscript," by Professor Charles H. Livingston.

Discussion followed.

RAYMOND WEEKS, *Chairman*.

(*French III.*) French Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. *Chairman*, Professor F. M. Warren.

The following papers were read:

1. "Pre-Classical Stage Decoration," by Professor H. Carrington Lancaster. The paper, which was illustrated by lantern slides, showed that during the second quarter of the seventeenth century theatrical decoration was quite elaborate and even allowed scene shifting during the play.

2. "Radical Ideas in Voyage Literature," by Professor Geoffroy Atkinson. The paper considered books of travel published in the seventeenth century with particular reference to their allusions to the simplicity of aboriginal Americans.

3. "Recent Rousseau Criticism," by Professor Albert Schinz. Owing to the lateness of the hour, Professor Schinz was able merely to summarize his paper.

F. M. WARREN, *Chairman*.

(*Spanish II.*) Spanish Literature since the Renaissance. *Chairman*, Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford.

The following papers were presented:

"Unworked Fields in Spanish Literature of the Golden Age," by Professor R. H. Keniston.

"El modernismo en la poesía contemporanea," by Professor José Robles.

The question of co-operation by the Departments of Spanish in the various universities was discussed, and a committee was appointed, consisting of Professors C. C. Marden and R. H. Keniston, to get information concerning the facilities offered by University libraries for the investigation of special topics in Spanish, the subjects of theses in Spanish which are now being seriously worked upon, and also subjects of graduate work which might be of general

interest. The committee was instructed to report upon these topics at the group meeting next year.

Another committee consisting of Professor E. C. Hills, Indiana University, and Professor J. P. W. Crawford, University of Pennsylvania, was appointed to suggest to President Aydelotte and his committee the advisability of securing rotographs of important Spanish texts.

J. P. W. CRAWFORD, *Chairman.*

On Thursday evening nearly three hundred members of the Association attended a subscription dinner at the Emerson Hotel.

The dinner was followed by a smoker in the dining room of the Emerson Hotel under the charge of the Local Committee of Arrangements. The smoke-talk was given by Professor C. Alphonso Smith of the United States Naval Academy on "The Verbal Audacities of O. Henry."

At the conclusion of the smoke-talk Professor J. A. Lomax entertained the members of the Association by singing a number of cow-boy ballads.

FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30

ROOM 120, CIVIL ENGINEERING BUILDING

In the absence of the President of the Association, the session was called to order by Professor E. C. Armstrong at 9:55 a. m. On motion Professor Armstrong was asked to preside pending the arrival of President Howard.

In response to a suggestion that the Association should adopt a resolution protesting against the proposed increase in the duty on books in the Fordney tariff bill now before Congress, the Secretary informed the Association that he had already written officially to the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate earnestly protesting in the name of the Association against this section of the Fordney bill, and, further, that he had authorized Mr. M. L. Raney of the American Library Association to speak for the Modern

Language Association in opposing this measure at the hearing before the Senate Committee on Finance held December 21.

On motion of Professor Cook it was voted that the Association endorse the action taken by the Secretary.

Professor Howard R. Patch, chairman of the Auditing Committee, reported that the Treasurer's accounts had been found correct, whereupon it was voted that the report of the Treasurer be accepted.

At this point President Howard resumed the chair.

Professor Harvey W. Thayer, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the following report:

RESOLVED: That the members of the Modern Language Association in attendance on the thirty-eighth annual meeting desire to express to the trustees of The Johns Hopkins University, to President Goodnow, and to the members of the local committee, their most sincere appreciation of the hospitality which has been accorded them during their stay in Baltimore; they would extend their thanks also to Mr. Henry Walters for the esteemed privilege of viewing his collections, and to the boards of the University and Arundell Clubs for the courtesies offered to members of the Association; further, an expression of gratitude is hereby tendered to Professor C. Alphonso Smith and Professor J. A. Lomax for their part in rendering the occasion pleasurable.

The resolution was adopted by a rising vote.

Professor Charles G. Osgood, chairman of the special committee to consider the question of clerical assistance to the Secretary-Treasurer, presented as the report of the committee a resolution authorizing the expenditure of a sum not to exceed \$600 in securing stenographic and clerical assistance for the Secretary. The chair suggested that this resolution should be put in the form of a recommendation to the Executive Council. The suggestion was accepted, and the report of the Committee, in this form, was adopted.

The report of the Committee to Nominate Officers was presented by Professor Gauss, in the absence of the Chairman, President Aydelotte. The following nominations were presented:

For President: Raymond Weeks, Columbia University.

For Vice-Presidents: Edwin Greenlaw, University of North Carolina; William Kurrelmeyer, Johns Hopkins University; James Holly Hanford, University of Michigan.

For Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies; Edward C. Armstrong, Princeton University, to succeed himself.

On motion, the Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for the nominees, and they were declared elected to their several offices.

The Secretary read the following invitation which had been received from the University of Pennsylvania:

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia

Office of the Provost

November the sixteenth, 1921

Professor Carleton Brown,
Bryn Mawr College,
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

My dear Professor Brown: I am writing you in your capacity as Secretary of the Modern Language Association of America to say that the University of Pennsylvania extends a cordial invitation to the Association to hold its annual meeting here in December, 1922. It will be a pleasure to us to act as hosts.

Sincerely yours,
JOSIAH H. PENNIMAN

Dean Quinn of the University of Pennsylvania spoke in support of the invitation and gave assurance of the hospitable welcome which the Association would receive if it decided to hold its next meeting in Philadelphia.

It was voted to refer the invitation of the University of Pennsylvania to the Executive Council, which under the Constitution has the power to determine the place of meeting.

Professor Manly proposed the organization of a Modern Language Research Council, and submitted the following tentative plan which had been drawn up by Professor Greenlaw:

I PURPOSE AND SCOPE

The plan is suggested a) by the group-meeting plan; b) by the work done by the National Research Council; c) by our need of further coordination of

research in the general field of humanistic study. It contemplates therefore the possibility of cooperation with the classical association, possibly also with history and philosophy group. Such a plan, fully carried out, would give us eventually an organization that would do for humanistic studies what the National Research Council is doing for science. As in the case of the National Research Council it contemplates a) pure research; b) educational relations.

2. The plan is to expand group meetings into an organization constantly at work, in which annual meeting is only an incident.

3. Activities of the organization include: a) individual research in organized fields; b) co-operative work; c) publication of bibliographies, problem material, and possibly more ambitious work; d) educational relations; e) co-operation with other humanistic organizations; f) study of methods by which results of investigation may be codified and made available for scholarship.

4. At least one full day at each annual meeting of the Modern Language Association or extension of regular session by one day.

II ORGANIZATION

1. In general, plan of organization similar to that of the National Research Council. Development on such a scale will be a matter of years, but it should be kept in mind from the start.

2. A board of directors, or central committee, terms of 3 years or so, to coordinate groups; authorize new groups; deal with other matters set forth in I; and to arrange for annual meeting. This central committee to be carefully selected, from men willing to give relatively the amount of time the National Research Council were able to command, and possessing knowledge of general field.

3. A permanent secretary. Eventually the man may need to give his entire time to the work, as in the case of the National Research Council.

4. Groups, rather carefully organized, themselves sub-divided as may be necessary. Perhaps divisions plus groups, as in the National Research Council. For example, Spenser-Milton group really part of Renaissance group. Membership in larger group, or division, really = Elizabethan Society. So also Folk Lore, Dialect, etc., which may become *divisions* of the Council.

5. Groups, or divisions, to have chairman (annual), permanent secretary, and one or two added members of the Executive Council. To have also active and associate membership.

6. Active membership in one or more groups or divisions open to any member of the Modern Language Association *actively engaged in research* in a field embracing the group. Associate membership to all who are interested in *results* of the research, or in topics of meetings.

7. Work of active members may be a) co-operative; b) by assignment of special problem; c) voluntary, as now.

8. Group will find means of a summary and codification of work done in its field, here and abroad.

9. Publication of bulletin is desirable. Provision for other publications should also be made—perhaps the groups or divisions may take care of this. A considerable amount of communication, bulletin and report matter, etc., may be had through mimeograph sheets, used so effectively by the National Research Council.

On motion of Professor Manly it was voted that the Chair appoint two additional members of the Committee on Group Meetings. The Chair appointed for this service Professors Greenlaw and Nitze.

The Secretary presented for consideration the plan for the establishment of a Monograph Fund which had been recommended to the Association by the Executive Council (see Acts of the Executive Council, in the Proceedings for 1920, p. lxxx).

On motion of Professor Manly it was voted to approve the plan.

Professor J. W. Tupper moved that in making up the program for the meeting of 1922 the Committee on Group Meetings be requested to allow an entire day for the meetings of the Groups. It was so voted.

This action obviously made it necessary to extend the program of the annual meeting to include a fifth session, and there was an animated discussion as to whether the extra session should be secured by a morning session on the first day or by an afternoon session on the third day.

Professor Kurrelmeyer moved that a session be scheduled for the forenoon of the first day. A count of the vote was demanded and the count showed that the motion prevailed by a vote of 68 to 23.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

25. "Linguistic Residue." By Professor Edward Prokosch, of Bryn Mawr College.

The paper was discussed by Professors Collitz and E. B. Davis.

26. "The Possible Begetter of Two Old English Poems." By Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University.

The paper was discussed by Professor Bright.

27. "The Origin of the Gretchen Theme in Goethe's *Faust*." By Professor Albert B. Faust of Cornell University.

28. "Professor Bedier and the Passing of the MS. Family Tree." By Professor Charles H. Livingston, of Bowdoin College.

The paper was discussed by Mrs. Tenney Frank and Professor Herbert E. Greene.

29. "The Quest of the Ballad in West Virginia." By Professor John H. Cox, of West Virginia University.

At 12:30 p. m. the Association adjourned.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

30. "The Legend of Good Women Again." By Professor Ernest F. Amy of Ohio Wesleyan University.

31. "A Shakespearean Measure of Morality." By Professor Harry T. Baker, of Goucher College.

32. "Cain's Jawbone." By the late Professor John K. Bonnell, of Goucher College.

33. "Moral Standards and Literary Tastes as Reflected by the German Stage in the First Decades of the Twentieth Century." By Professor Paul H. Curts, of the Wesleyan University.

34. "The Verification of the *Rimado de Palacio* of Pero López de Ayala." By Professor E. C. Hills, of Indiana University.

35. "Chaucer and Bukton." By Professor Ernest P. Kuhl, of Goucher College.

36. "The Interpretation of *All's Well that Ends Well*." By Professor William Witherle Lawrence, of Columbia University.

37. "The Reputation of Abraham Cowley." By Professor Arthur H. Nethercot, of Northwestern University.

38. "Shakespeare's Comic Technique." By Professor Elmer Edgar Stoll, of the University of Minnesota.

39. "Paraphrasing in the *Livre de Paix* of Christine de Pisan of the *Paradiso*, III-v." By Dr. Maud Temple, of Hartford, Conn.

40. "The Development of the Weak Declension of Adjectives in Late Old Norwegian and Middle Norwegian." By Professor George T. Flom, of the University of Illinois.

41. "Pailleron—Society—Rousseauist." By Professor F. A. Waterhouse, of the University of Texas.

42. "Some Suggestions on the Failure of the English Romantic Writers as Dramatists." By Professor Newman I. White, of Trinity College (N. C.).

43. "The 'Little Theatres' of London." By Professor Anna Irene Miller, of *Goucher College*.

44. "An Italian 'Imitation' of Shelley's *The Cenci*." By Professor Newman I. White, *Trinity College*, North Carolina.

45. "The Pathos of Distance." By Professor Percy Hazen Houston, of the *United States Naval Academy*.

46. "Milton and the Elizabethan Dramatists." By Professor Alwin Thaler, of the *University of California*.

47. "Addison and *The Muses Mercury*." By Professor Roger Philip McCutcheon, of *Denison University*.

48. "Early Critics of Coleridge, the Poet." By Professor Walter Graham, of *Western Reserve University*.

49. "The Quakers and a Dissembling Defoe." By Dr. Ezra K. Maxfield, of *Washington and Jefferson College*.

50. "The Importance of *Intimations of Immortality* in Wordsworth's Poetry." By Professor L. N. Broughton, of *Cornell University*.

51. "The English Lake District before Wordsworth." By Professor Joseph Moorhead Beatty, Jr., of *Goucher College*.

52. "The Function of the Analytic Exposition in Modern Drama." By Professor T. M. Campbell, of *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*.

53. "Matthew Arnold as a Critic of Literature." By Dr. Stanley T. Williams, of *Yale University*.

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION.

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the CENTRAL DIVISION of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Iowa City, under the auspices of the State University of Iowa, December 28, 29, 30, 1921.

The register showed an attendance of one hundred and twenty-five. Institutions represented by three or more: State University of Iowa, 28; Chicago, 10; Wisconsin, 6; Minnesota, 6; Northwestern, 5; Grinnell and University of Illinois, 4 each; Columbia College (Dubuque), Carleton, Missouri, Oklahoma, Cornell College, 3 each.

The usual fifth session of the meeting was omitted and the program was condensed, making all the four sessions of practically equal importance.

FIRST SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28

Instead of the usual general session on the first day, the Division met at 2:30 p. m. in three sections as follows:

DANTE COMMEMORATION

An elaborate program in commemoration of the six-hundredth anniversary of the death of Dante Alighieri was prepared by the Chairman, Ernest H. Wilkins, of the University of Chicago. In his unavoidable absence, F. C. L. van Steenderen, of Lake Forest College, presided over the group. Charles E. Young acted as Secretary. This session was perhaps the best attended of all. The following papers were read:

A. "Dante, the Poet." By Dean John S. Nollen, of Grinnell College.

[The impression the *Commedia* makes upon a modern reader as a work of literary art, as to its imaginative, emotional and intellectual qualities.

Imaginative values: unity, solidity, consistency of structure unexampled in epic poetry; concreteness of completely visualized structure of universe; vivid sense of time and place; new unity of action—not unity of active hero, as in the epic, but unity of observing hero, as in later picaresque fiction; not an indifferent observer like the *picaro*, but the poet as hero; each event dramatized by character bound by ties of historical, political or personal interest

to hero, responding accurately to particular idea with which it is associated in rigidly organized world order that governs settings and action; meanwhile poet-hero himself passing through successive stages of action in own experience; thus, fivefold vital consistency of structure. Intensity and range of imaginative power—from highest ideality to crassest realism. Literary use of the grotesque. Imaginative devices for realizing the ineffable glories of Paradise, particularly ascending scale of light. Value of Allegory and predominant use of Symbol.

Emotional values—particularly humor: didactic satire, polemic irony, extensive use of homely popular humor in proverbs, playful allusions, comparisons; word-plays and *bisticci*: humor in rhyme (compare Browning). Bold comedy, bordering upon farce, masterly scene of Malebolge and slapstick comedy of Adamo and Sinon. Humor used artistically as relief from hatred, poignant sympathy, and ecstasy.

Intellectual values: solid warp of clear and coherent thought; congruence—sincerity—nobility—simplicity—artistic use of contrast and climax.

Ruskin did not exaggerate in attributing to Dante "perfect balance of imaginative, moral and intellectual faculties, all at their highest."

B. "The Genesis of the Divine Comedy—A Comparison with the Aeneid." By Professor Angelo Lipari, University of Wisconsin.

[Virgil's *Aeneid* is a real source of the 'Divine Comedy.' Dante's general conception of the Lower World is essentially that of Virgil. Avernus and Tartarus, in the *Aeneid*, correspond respectively to the first five circles in Inferno and the City of Dis; while Elysium has its counterpart in the Limbo. But Dante is not a common imitator: he frequently rises above his Master, and sometimes seems to vie with him, receiving from his ideas and images only a certain impulse to new and entirely original creations of his own.]

C. "The Internationalism of Dante." By Professor George Irving Dale, of Washington University.

[Dante's conception of a Universal Empire is based on his philosophy, the central point of which concerns the two ends of man; his happiness in this world and in the world to come. It is every man's duty to contribute something for the world's good, to labor for posterity. This is an incentive for world harmony, for man's best work is done in times of peace. Theorizing in the abstract, he proves to his own satisfaction the possibility of and justification for a Universal Empire. Dante as an internationalist was an apostle of that temporal joy which is expressed in terms of intellectual productiveness.]

D. "Heterodoxy in Dante's Purgatory." By Professor Alfonso de Salvio, of Northwestern University.

[Dante's conception of the nature and purpose of pains of Purgatory differs from teaching and practice of the Church. Not only brings Purgatory into the light but diversified the form of punishment and emphasized its purpose of purification rather than of satisfaction. For him only "i buoni preghi," the prayers of the innocent and the tears of widows avail.

Contrary to belief of the Church, Dante holds that all souls traversed Purgatory before reaching the presence of God. Moreover, he took liberty with some of the most cherished sacraments by saving Manfred and Cato the Younger. He disagreed with Aquinas when he made the prayers of those in Purgatory ascend continually on behalf of their friends on earth.

Apologists claim Dante not open to criticism because indulgences for the dead were not a *de fide* doctrine in his time, and that he offered no open protest against the doctrines which he seems to condemn. Answer: it was not necessary for a doctrine to be approved by a general council to be binding, and that certain beliefs are studiously ignored by him is tantamount to their repudiation.]

E. "Some Aspects of Dante's Poetic Art." By Professor Ruth Shepard Phelps, University of Minnesota.

[How does the native language endowment of the English reader of Italian affect his aesthetic appreciation of Dante? I. *Form*. Of the essentials to form in great poetry, diction (1) is of doubtful appreciation by a foreigner; but in respect of movement (2) and concision (3), it is suggested that the English reader gets even intenser effects than the Italian, because, owing to the suppression of subject pronouns, and the appending of objects, Italian words tend to be longer and fewer. Accepting Adelaide Crapsey's theory that movement in verse is more rapid where the use of polysyllables is freer, when her percentages for certain English poets are compared with those for Dante a striking difference appears. Also when Dante is compared in this respect with other Italian poets, the difference is considerable, thus suggesting that Dante, as compared with other Italian poets, made conscious artistic use of polysyllables. II. *Content*. The modern reader, after suffering humiliations at the hands of modern science and psychology, and from the attempts of modern sociology to classify and average him, finds relief in Dante's constant insistence on the importance and interest of the single soul.]

F. "Dante in English Literature." By Professor R. E. Neil Dodge, University of Wisconsin.

[An attempt to throw into relief some few of the more important phenomena of Dante's career in English letters from Chaucer to the present day.]

It was voted to continue the Italian section as a part of the 1922 program and to continue E. H. Wilkins as chairman.

ENGLISH PAPERS

Chairman: Professor W. F. Bryan, of Northwestern University.

A. "Politick and Ethic Virtues in Shakespeare's Chronicle Plays." By Professor Charles Read Baskervill, of the University of Chicago.

This paper was discussed by H. S. V. Jones, Hardin Craig, and H. B. Lathrop.

B. "Spenser and the Aristotelian Tradition." By Professor H. S. V. Jones, of the University of Illinois.

C. "The Vicious Mole of Nature in Hamlet." By Professor Maurice Baudin, of Miami University.

This paper was discussed by A. C. L. Brown and G. B. Woods.

D. "Nature-Imagery in Milton's *Paradise Lost*." By Professor Arthur L. Keith, of Carleton College.

Attendance at session: 45.

GERMAN PAPERS

Chairman: Professor Bert J. Vos, of Indiana University.

A. "Goethe and the Ku Klux Klan." By Professor James Taft Hatfield, of Northwestern University.

This paper was discussed by H. B. Lathrop and Louis De Vries.

B. "Goethe's Attitude toward the French Romantic Drama." By Dr. Walter Wadeuhl, of the University of Pittsburgh.

This paper was discussed by J. T. Hatfield and Martin W. Storn.

C. "Herder's Contribution to the Science of Language." By Professor Samuel Kroesch, of the University of Minnesota.

This paper was discussed by Professors Vos and Hatfield.
Attendance at session: 30.

At six p. m. the members of the modern language departments of the State University of Iowa entertained the visitors at dinner.

At eight p. m. the members assembled at the Triangle Club and heard with pleasure the following addresses:

ADDRESS OF WELCOME: President W. A. Jessup, of the State University of Iowa.

ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION: Professor Arthur C. L. Brown, of Northwestern University. Subject, "What to do next?"¹

This was followed by a brief business session at which the following committees were appointed by the Chairman:

On New Officers: Karl Young, Chairman; C. B. Wilson, H. Craig, A. Coleman, Colbert Searles.

On Time and Place of Next Meeting: B. J. Vos, Chairman; S. H. Bush, H. S. V. Jones, W. F. Bryan, C. R. Baskervill.

On Resolutions: Ruth S. Phelps, Chairman; A. H. R. Fairchild, Oscar Burkhard.

¹ For the full text of this Address see p. lxxxvii.

SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29, 9:30 A. M.

Meetings for the discussion of Research topics.

The leading papers in these conferences dealt with problems of present interest in a particular field in all literatures, or discussed fields of work that might be undertaken by groups of scholars. The discussion brought out what other scholars are doing and how they may co-operate.

I ROMANTICISM

"The Romantic Movement in all Modern Literatures."

Paper: Professor Richard Foster Jones, Washington University.

The formal discussion was led by Charles E. Young and Martin Schütze.

Less formal discussion: A. Coleman.

Leader for 1922: Charles E. Young, and the following committee: Arthur C. L. Brown and Martin Schütze.

II RENAISSANCE

"The Renaissance Movement in all Literatures."

Paper: Professor Hardin Craig, of the State University of Iowa.

Formal Discussion: H. S. V. Jones, Karl Young, Robert L. Ramsay, Colbert Searles, George Tyler Northup.

Less formal discussion: H. B. Lathrop.

Professor Craig was reelected leader for 1922.

III LINGUISTICS

"Historical Grammar and Linguistics."

Paper: Professor Henry Dexter Learned, of the University of Chattanooga. In his absence the paper was read by W. F. Bryan.

Formal discussion: Bert J. Vos, Thomas Albert Knott, William F. Bryan.

Less formal discussion: Hermann Almstedt, Samuel Kroesch, H. G. Thurnau and Arthur G. Bovée.

Professor Kroesch was elected leader for 1922.

The members of the Central Division were handsomely entertained at luncheon by the men of the State University of Iowa, at the Hotel Jefferson, at 12:30 p. m.

THIRD SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29, 2:30 P. M.

DEPARTMENTAL CONFERENCES ON INSTRUCTION
ENGLISH

Chairman, Professor Karl Young, of the University of Wisconsin. *Acting Secretary*, Professor George Carver.

Papers were read as follows:

1. "The Sequence of Courses for Students Who Choose English as a Major Subject," by Professor A. H. R. Fairchild, University of Missouri,—an illuminating presentation of the lack of sequence prevailing in forty-two colleges and universities, followed by a suggestion that honor courses similar to those in use at Smith College be given more consideration.

2. In the place of the paper which was to have been read by Professor Joseph M. Thomas, University of Minnesota, Professor Warner Taylor, University of Wisconsin, spoke informally on the Freshman course there.

3. "The Introductory Course in English Literature," by Professor Franklyn B. Snyder, Northwestern University. The theme presented a suggestion that the emphasis in introductory courses in Literature be shifted from movements, tendencies, and influences, and placed upon men and books, in other words, from comment upon literature to literature itself.

4. "The Place of American Literature in the Curriculum," was to have been presented by Professor Frank W. Webster, Washington University. Owing to illness in his family he was unable to attend the meeting.

5. "The Study of the English Language as a Requirement," by Professor Thomas A. Knott, State University of Iowa. This paper presented an explanation of the course in the history of the English language that is required of all students at the State University of Iowa majoring in English or expecting a certificate to teach English.

Under the head of proposals for the work for 1922, Professor Knott suggested that the Section recommend to the general business meeting of the Division that the schedule for the second day of the meeting in 1922 be divided into four periods: 9 a. m., 10:30 a. m., 2 p. m. and 3:30 p. m.; that the programs of the German, Romance, and English Sections on Instruction be put into the 3:30 p. m. period; and that the other three periods be devoted to special group meetings for discussing co-operative plans for investigation in various fields. In this way the program of the second day might include three departmental meetings for the discussion of instruction and nine meetings for the discussion of research topics or fields. The suggestion was put in the form of a motion and unanimously carried.

Franklyn B. Snyder was elected Chairman, and H. W. Robbins Secretary for 1922.

Attendance: 42.

GERMAN

Chairman: Professor A. M. Charles, Earlham College. In his absence Professor Charles Bundy Wilson acted as chairman.

Secretary: Professor Edward H. Lauer, State University of Iowa.

The following papers were read and discussed:

A. "Aims, Materials and Methods in the Teaching of Second Year College German." By Professor H. C. Thurnau of the University of Kansas.

B. "Shall the Old Order Change?" By Professor O. C. Burkhard, of the University of Minnesota.

Papers A and B were discussed together and a lively interchange of ideas resulted. Among those taking part were Professors Hatfield, Vos, Lauer, Gould, Pearson, Brooks, Jente, and the readers of the papers.

C. "Appreciation—Ein tieferes sich Besinnen." Professor Hermann Almstedt, of the University of Missouri.

The paper was discussed by Professors Keyes and Thurnau.

D. "A Method for the German Noun." By Professor Charles R. Keyes, of Cornell College.

The paper was discussed by Professors Vos, Kroesch, and Brooks.

The group elected Professor O. C. Burkhard Chairman, and Professor Richard Jente Secretary for 1922.

Attendance: 21, representing 12 institutions.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Chairman: Professor Algernon Coleman, University of Chicago.

Secretary: Olive Kay Martin, State University of Iowa.

Program:

A. "Teacher Training Through Participation," By Laura B. Johnson of the High School of the University of Wisconsin.

The paper was discussed by Mr. A. G. Bovee and Professors DeSalvio, Charles Young, and Seymour, (University of Illinois).

B. "The Phonetic Alphabet for French." By Professor C. E. Parmenter of the University of Chicago.

The paper was discussed by Messrs. Bovee, Lipari, Searles, Charles Young, Newcomer, and Zdanowicz. A motion to leave the International Alphabet as it is was adopted.

C. "A New Venture in French Composition." By Professor Harry Kurz of Knox College.

This paper was discussed by Professor A. Coleman.

D. Report on the Resolution on Foreign Study (See Proceedings 1920, p. xxxiv). Professor Charles P. Wagner, Chairman of the committee, presented the results from two sets of questionnaires sent to heads of Romance Language Departments and Deans of Graduate Colleges, and offered the following resolution which was adopted:

Resolved, that candidates for the doctorate in Romance Languages should be urged to spend at least one year, or the equivalent, in study abroad; and that whenever possible, such study should be made an integral part of the preparation for the doctor's degree and for the career of teacher of Romance languages and literatures.

Professor Bert E. Young spoke on this resolution.

1. Professor Coleman read a paper prepared by Professor C. E. Anibal of Indiana University on "Graduate Work in Spain."

2. Elizabeth McPike, of the University of Chicago, discussed unfavorably the value of scholarships for graduate study.

Professor B. E. Young offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

That the Romance Section establish a permanent Committee on Foreign Study, consisting of five members, to be appointed annually by the Chairman of the Section. It shall be the duty of this committee to keep in touch with foreign institutions of higher education, libraries, museums, etc., particularly concerning the facilities for advanced study and research in the Romance languages and literatures, and to report annually to this Section, with such recommendations as the committee may deem to be proper.

The chairman named the following committee: B. E. Young, E. C. Hills, Kenneth McKenzie, Hugh A. Smith, Charles P. Wagner.

Attendance: 43.

Officers for 1922: Chairman, Ralph E. House; Secretary, Harry Kurz.

At eight p. m., Dec. 29, the Division was given a smoker at the Triangle Club.

At ten p. m. members interested in the study of Molière met in the Triangle Club and discussed plans for a tercentenary celebration. Professor Zdanowicz was elected chairman and Professor Bush secretary, for the meeting of 1922, and were instructed to prepare a program.

FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30, 9:00 A. M.

BUSINESS MEETING

The business meeting was called to order by the Chairman of the Division, Professor A. C. L. Brown.

The Secretary of the Division, Professor Bert E. Young, made a brief report. He spoke of the vigorous policy of the general Secretary and called attention to the necessity of

increasing the membership of the Association in view of the ambitious programs of publication for the future.

A brief report from Professor W. G. Hale, *Chairman*, of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature was received, as follows:

On behalf of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, I beg to report that the work is within a few months of completion, and to ask for the continuance of the representative of the Modern Language Association upon the Committee.

I had hoped to report that the work was done. That is true of the revision, which is ready for the printer; but the index is taking more time than was expected.

Upon motion it was voted to continue Professor E. H. Wilkins as our representative on this committee.

The Committee on Resolutions, through its Chairman, Professor Ruth S. Phelps, presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we express our sincere appreciation of the hospitality extended to us, as members of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association, by the State University of Iowa; that we thank the president and faculty of this university and the members of the local committee (Professors S. H. Bush, Hardin Craig, T. A. Knott, Henning Larsen, E. H. Lauer, E. N. S. Thompson, C. B. Wilson, C. E. Young) for the generous welcome and gracious courtesy accorded us at the twenty-sixth meeting of the Central Division.

The Committee on Time and Place of Next Meeting, through its Chairman, Professor Bert J. Vos, reported that invitations had been received for the meeting of 1922, from Washington University, from Carleton College, and from Chicago and Northwestern Universities. The Committee recommended:

1. That, in accordance with the desire expressed by the convention of 1920, the next meeting of the Central Division be held at Chicago.

2. That, in order that our Association may feel at entire liberty to meet in Chicago whenever the best interests of the Association seem to demand it, the officers of the Division be instructed to make such arrangements for the entertainment of the members as will involve no draft upon the hospitality of the local universities.

The recommendations of the Committee were adopted.

The Committee on Nomination of Officers, through its Chairman, Professor Karl Young, presented its report. The Committee nominated Professor William A. Nitze for Chairman of the Division for 1922, and Professor Bert E. Young for Secretary. The Committee offered also the following resolution:

That the Executive Committee of the Central Division be enlarged to a membership of seven persons.

Under this resolution the Committee recommended the following as members of the Executive Committee for 1922, in addition to the Chairman and the Secretary: Hermann Almstedt, A. C. L. Brown, Tom Peete Cross, B. J. Vos, C. D. Zdanowicz.

The new provision was designed to give a more continuous working body and to enable the Division to profit by the experience of its former chairmen.

The report was adopted *in toto*.

Professor Baskervill presented the following resolution, which was adopted:

In view of the fact that the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale do not receive regularly the dissertations and other research publications of our American universities; and

That the large number of American students in Europe frequently need to consult these works and could consult them most conveniently at these two libraries; and

That the placing of such publications at these libraries would render them accessible to many foreign students who might otherwise not see them, and would thus call attention to the results of American research

Resolved, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association recommends that the research publications of American institutions, which are distributed to various libraries by exchange or as gifts, be regularly sent free to the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale; and

As members of the Association we pledge our influence to secure the uniform adoption of this procedure among American institutions.

The Secretary presented several resolutions that had been sent in to him, asking the Division to indorse a change in the meetings of the Association.

The first resolution favored a meeting of the whole Association in joint session every year instead of every four years as at present.

The second favored meeting in joint session every other year instead of every four years as at present.

The third advocated that the Association meet as a whole biennially at some central point and biennially in regional divisions, to be known as the Eastern, Central, Southern, Pacific, etc.

After discussion, the first two resolutions were defeated, and the third was referred to the Executive Committee.

The Division passed to the consideration of Research Groups in its annual programs. Opinion was by no means unanimous in favor of the extension of this system, though the general sentiment was that the method as used by the Division at this meeting had been a success.

After some ardent discussion of the plan in general, sentiment seemed to favor the division of the program of the second day as proposed by the English Conference on Instruction (see minute of conference above).

As to the content of the research group programs, opinion favored the memorandum of Professor Knott, as follows:

That the programs of the Research Groups should open up new problems and new fields of problems, rather than present papers which are final solutions of small and explicit problems. It is not intended to imply that all explicit papers should be excluded, but only to encourage the presentation of suggestive and stimulating addresses.

These recommendations were referred to the Executive Committee.

SPECIAL SESSIONS

The business meeting was followed by several brief sessions at 11 a. m. for the reading and discussion of papers.

EARLIER ROMANCE

Chairman: Professor Casimir Zdanowicz, of the University of Wisconsin.

A. "The *Chanson de Roland* and Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*." By Dr. Alexander Haggerty Krappe, of Indiana University.

B. "The Sources of the Story of *Sesostris et Timarète* in the *Grand Cyrus*." By Professor Francis B. Barton, of the University of Minnesota.

This paper was discussed by Professor Northup.

C. "Notes on the Authorship of the *Celestina*." By Professor Ralph E. House, of the University of Iowa.

This paper was discussed by Professor Northup.

D. "The Heroic Simile in the *Araucana* of Ercilla." By Professor George Irving Dale, of Washington University.

Attendance: 22.

LATER ROMANCE

Chairman: Professor S. H. Bush, of the State University of Iowa.

A. "Pierre Bayle and His Literary Taste." By Professor Henry Haxo, of the University of North Dakota.

B. "Main Currents of French Canadian Literature." By Charles Frederick Ward, of the State University of Iowa.

C. "Victor Hugo as a Poem Builder." By Professor Colbert Searles, of the University of Minnesota.

D. "La Poesia Campestre di Giovanni Pascoli." By Professor Antonio Marinoni, of the University of Arkansas.

Present: 25.

ENGLISH

Chairman: Professor H. S. V. Jones of the University of Illinois.

A. "The Late Emblem Books." By Professor Elbert N. S. Thompson, of the State University of Iowa.

This paper was discussed by Professor H. S. V. Jones.

B. "Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of St. Anne." By Professor Roscoe E. Parker, of Des Moines University.

C. "The Irish Element in King Arthur and the Grail." By Professor Arthur C. L. Brown, of Northwestern University.

D. "Some Satirical Political Plays of the Restoration."
By Professor Virgil L. Jones, of the University of Arkansas.
Attendance: 31.

PAPERS PRESENTED BY TITLE ONLY

1. "Some Sources of *le Roman de la momie*." By Professor Algernon Coleman, of the University of Chicago.
2. "Spenser's Linguistics Again." By Mr. F. F. Covington, Jr., of the University of Texas.
3. "The Origin and Development of the Use of Capitals in West Scandinavian Writing." By Professor George T. Flom, of the University of Illinois.
4. "The Original Version of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria*." By Professor Joseph E. Gillet, of the University of Minnesota.
5. "Interpretation of the First Canto of the *Divine Comedy*." By Professor Oliver M. Johnston, of Stanford University.
6. "The Possible Source of 'Annabel Lee.'" By Professor Robert Adger Law, of the University of Texas.

MEETING OF THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

The Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held in San Francisco, November 25 and 26, 1921, the morning and afternoon sessions at the Hotel St. Francis, and the evening session at the University Club, immediately after the annual dinner. Professor W. A. Cooper of the Leland Stanford Junior University, and Professor M. E. Deutsch of the University of California presided. The following items of business were transacted:

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were approved as printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* and to be printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Philological Association.

The Treasurer made the following report for the year 1920-1921:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, Nov. 26, 1920.....	\$262.54
Dues.....	510.30
Interest.....	5.00
Received from members for annual dinner.....	4.00

\$781.84

EXPENDITURES

Dues to American Philological Association.....	\$162.50
Dues to Modern Language Association of America.....	241.67
Printing, postage, stationery, etc.....	126.17
Hotel Plaza Co. (room for 1920 meeting).....	5.00
University Club (deficit on dinner and waiters' gratuity)	21.00
C. P. Bill (reprints of Elmore address).....	1.20
Refunds of dues.....	6.00
Balance on hand, Nov. 23, 1921.....	218.30

\$781.84

On motion the report was accepted and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The Chairman, Professor Cooper, appointed the following committees:

Nominating: Professors Hart, Alden, Petersson.

Auditing: Professors Foster, McKinlay, C. G. Allen.

Social: Professors Morley, Calhoun.

To prepare resolutions on the death of Professor Hempl: Professors Schilling, Deutsch, Johnston.

The Secretary gave the statistics of membership for the past year. He then read the following amendment to the Constitution which had been proposed one year before.

That Article IV ("Members") be amended by adding a new section, to read as follows: "§3. If at any future time either the American Philological Association or the Modern Language Association of America shall, for sufficient reasons, increase or diminish the sum of Two Dollars and Fifty Cents (\$2.50) now required from the Treasurer of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast to pay for an annual membership in the national organization in question, the Executive Committee shall be empowered, at its discretion to increase or diminish the annual dues of those members whose membership includes membership in the national organization in question."

On motion the amendment was adopted.

On motion it was voted that the Executive Committee be instructed to consider ways in which it may be possible for the lady members of the Association to be present at the regular Third Session, at which the President reads his Annual Address.

The Auditing Committee reported that the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer were correct and in order. On motion the report was adopted.

The Nominating Committee proposed the following officers for the ensuing year:

President: M. E. Deutsch.

Vice-Presidents: C. G. Allen, A. P. McKinlay.

Secretary: A. G. Kennedy.

Treasurer: S. A. Smith.

Executive Committee: The above-named officers and R. A. Alden, F. H. Reinsch, R. Schevill, E. A. Wicher.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted and these officers elected.

The Committee on resolutions regarding the death of Professor Hempl offered the following report:

George Hempl was eminent both as an observer of living speech and an explorer of the records of extinct languages. The keenness of his observation enabled him to contribute largely to our knowledge of incipient dialects in this country, and to write an authoritative treatise on the local variations of German pronunciation. As an explorer of unknown languages he possessed an unusual combination of qualifications: to his mastery of linguistics were added a singular freedom from prepossession, an absolute independence of convention and tradition, and a vivid imagination checked and controlled by scientific training and habits. He was supremely happy in his work; he tasted the joy of discovery to the full; as each new vista opened, the zest of exploration lured him from quest to quest, and it was not in his nature to pause and elaborate his results for publication. Characteristically, only the last of his researches is ready for the press; the fruits of his earlier work still await a sifting and ordering hand.

The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast mourns the loss of a distinguished scholar and a colleague universally beloved for his kindness and personal charm.

On motion the report was adopted, and it was ordered that the resolution be spread upon the minutes and a copy sent to the family of Professor Hempl.

On motion, a vote of thanks for hospitality was extended to the Directors of the University Club, and the Treasurer was instructed to contribute from the funds of the Association the sum of five dollars to the "Christmas Box" of the waiters at the University Club.

The attendance at the four sessions numbered 19, 35, 25 and 20, respectively.

Thirteen new members were elected.

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY, *Secretary*.

PROGRAM

FIRST SESSION

Friday, Nov. 25, 10 a. m.

1. Costumes and Properties in the Elizabethan Theater. By Professor Alwin Thaler, of the University of California.

2. Solon and Criminal Law in Athens. By Professor George M. Calhoun, of the University of California.

3. The Purpose of the Decemviral Legislation. By Professor Jefferson Elmore, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

4. Milton's Relations with the Theatre. By Professor Louis Wann, of the University of Southern California.

SECOND SESSION

Friday, November 25, 2 p. m.

5. E Pluribus Unum. By Professor Monroe E. Deutsch, of the University of California.

6. Beaumont and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. By Professor Henry David Gray, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

7. The Realism of Aphra Behn. By Professor Walter Morris Hart, of the University of California.

8. Some Notes on so-called Trochaic Metres in English. By Professor Raymond M. Alden, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

9. The Etymological Method of the Early English Dictionaries. By Professor Benjamin H. Lehman of the University of California.

THIRD SESSION

Friday, November 25, 8 p. m., at the University Club

10. Annual Address of the President of the Association, Professor William A. Cooper, of the Leland Stanford Junior University: Goethe's Conception of the Poet's Calling.

FOURTH SESSION

Saturday, November 26, 10 a. m.

11. The English School Days of Edgar Allen Poe. By Professor Carlos Bransby, of the University of California.

12. Suggested Changes in the Revised Version of the Book of Acts. By Professor H. R. Fairclough, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

13. The French Short Story, History and Definitions. By Professor Régis Michaud, of the University of California.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE ONLY

14. Types of Greek Theaters and their Development: I. The Fifth and Fourth Centuries. By Professor James T. Allen, of the University of California.

15. An unpublished *comedia* attributed to Lope de Vega. By Professor S. Griswold Morley, of the University of California.

16. Some American Colonial Book-lists. By Professor Howard J. Hall of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

17. The Occasion and Purpose of Primitive Song. By Professor Guy Montgomery, of the University of California.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

*Delivered on Wednesday, December 28, 1921, at Baltimore,
Maryland, at the Thirty-eighth Meeting of the Modern
Language Association of America*

BY WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD

A REPRESENTATIVE MAN

An even century ago Ludwig Tieck gave to the world in the *Hinterlassene Schriften* of Heinrich von Kleist two plays which the author had not been fortunate enough to see in print: *Die Hermannsschlacht* and *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*. Chiefly because of these, two English disciples of Carlyle,¹ who were perhaps not unacquainted with Emerson, proclaimed Kleist in 1875 *Prussia's Representative Man*; and in 1916 a writer of his own nation² hailed him as *Der Dichter des Preussentums*. Other critics have seen in him "an extraordinary genius, tortured to death,"³ "not merely a very great artist, but a truly great man and sterling character, a warrior and a hero whose only response to the cruelty of fate was a redoubling of his self-sacrificing effort, the purest and most absolute idealist in the great epoch of German idealism,"⁴ "the greatest North German dramatist,"⁵

¹ Francis Lloyd and William Newton: *Prussia's Representative Man*, London, 1875.

² Max Fischer: *Heinrich von Kleist, der Dichter des Preussentums*, Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1916.

³ Sigismund Rahmer: *Heinrich von Kleist als Mensch und Dichter*, Berlin, 1909, p. ix.

⁴ Heinrich Meyer-Benfey: *Kleists Leben und Werke*, Göttingen, 1911, p. x.

⁵ Erich Schmidt: *Heinrich von Kleist als Dramatiker*, in *Charakteristiken*, Berlin, 1886, p. 380.

"the ancestor of the modern drama . . . the last great master."⁶

We might hesitate about admitting the representative of the spirit of Prussia to the select group of Emerson's *Representative Men*. No one of these has, so to speak, a constituency limited to a single state. But a man bringing the additional credentials produced in behalf of Kleist is not unworthy of the company even of Plato, Swedenborg, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Napoleon, and Goethe. The company of Napoleon, indeed, Kleist would have entered only with intent to murder. To Emerson, Napoleon is "the man of the world"; in Kleist's eyes he was a demon seeking whom he might devour.⁷ Towards Goethe also Kleist's attitude was not that of Emerson: Kleist trusted himself to snatch the wreath from Goethe's brow.⁸ But Plato, Swedenborg, and Montaigne would not have rebuffed the shy, and at the same time zealous youth, who sought truth and strove for culture, who wrote books of good faith and could acknowledge with a wistful smile the imperfect constitution of this world.⁹ And as to Shakespeare, we are told concerning at least one passage in Kleist that it is written in the highest style and would have enraptured the Englishmen of Shakespeare's time;¹⁰ and concerning the whole of Kleist's last play, "thus would Shakespeare have written, had he been a German of the beginning of the nineteenth century."¹¹

⁶ Wilhelm Herzog: *Heinrich von Kleist, sein Leben und seine Werke*, München, 1911, p. iii. Cf. Robert Petsch in *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, VI (1914), p. 389: "Der Begründer des eigentlich modernen Dramas in Deutschland."

⁷ Cf. *Katechismus der Deutschen*, in *Werke*, ed. E. Schmidt, Leipzig, 1904, IV, p. 105.

⁸ Cf. W. Herzog, *l. c.*, p. 221.

⁹ Cf. Michael Kohlhaas, *Werke*, III, p. 149; *Die Marquise von O.* (*ibid.*, p. 294); *Penih.*, I, 2854.

¹⁰ Friedrich Hebbel, *Sämliche Werke*, ed. R. M. Werner, Berlin, 1913, XI, p. 328.

¹¹ Max Koch in Ersch und Grubers *Encyclopädie*, II, 37, p. 43.

It is accordingly as a dramatist that Kleist claims admission to the classic circle. There is still room for a dramatist; for Goethe stands as "the writer," and Shakespeare not as the dramatist, but as "the poet." Even though Emerson had not reserved for Shakespeare the predicate "poet," he would not have given it to Goethe, indubitably as Goethe seems to us to be entitled to it. "I dare not say," he declares,¹²

I dare not say that Goethe ascended to the highest grounds from which genius has spoken. He has not worshipped the highest unity; he is incapable of a self-surrender to the moral sentiment. There are nobler strains in poetry than any he has sounded. There are writers poorer in talent whose tone is purer and more touches the heart. Goethe can never be dear to men. His is not even the devotion to pure truth, but to truth for the sake of culture.

Shakespeare, on the other hand, is—Emerson continues—but half appreciated by those who think only of his dramatic merit. This is secondary. His life fell on days more propitious for poetry than Goethe's; he is the spokesman of those spacious times; "an omnipresent humanity coördinates all his faculties;" and his "power of expression, or of transferring the inmost truth of things into music and verse, makes him the type of the poet."¹³

Kleist's life-time is completely overlapped by Goethe's, and the greater part of its brief span was certainly most unpropitious for poetry. We will, then, for the moment not account Kleist a poet, though—like Goethe—he be a poet; but rather will see what of that secondary merit he possesses which shall qualify him to figure as a representative dramatist.

Some go to see, others to hear a play. The poet should please both; but be sure that the spectators be satisfied, whatever entertainment he give his audience.

But if neither the show nor the action cheats us, there remains still a notable vehicle to carry off nonsense, which is the pronunciation.

By the loud trumpet which our courage aids

We learn that sound as well as sense persuades.

¹² *Representative Men*, Boston, [1849], p. 278.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

Thus Thomas Rymer,¹⁴ quoting Waller. Somewhat less caustically, a drama is a spectacle, a dialogue, and an opportunity for declamation. It is much more: characters must be plausible; action must follow from something and must lead somewhere; speeches must have meaning. But Rymer's three notes suffice for a preliminary identification which will be useful for our purpose.

The Germans are said to have no national drama, but only dramas characteristic of their respective authors at the time of composition.¹⁵ Schiller is the popular favorite; there is, however, almost as much difference between *Kabale und Liebe* and *Die Braut von Messina* as between *The Spanish Tragedy* and *The Cenci*; if there is any quality common to Schiller's plays, it is a certain opulence of rhetoric. He knows the value of tableaux; he skilfully manipulates figures in action; he by no means loses sight of a leading idea; still, his main reliance is in the rousing of sympathy or enthusiasm by verbal appeal. Schiller has a reasoned conception of life and a noble ardor for crystallizing his sentiments in forms of beauty; he is one of the most quotable of authors. But his characters are not always self-consistent individuals, nor is their conduct always credible. Hebbel is another rhetorician, but first of all a philosopher, whose dialogue is expository and argumentative, and who—though he knows he must operate and does operate with individuals—endeavors in particular examples to symbolize general truths. The dualistic aspect of character and problem gives rise to his plots, and iron necessity governs their outcome. Goethe, even in his days of storm and stress more a poet than a dramatist, tends, as he accumulates the wealth of experience, to write rather for the closet than for the stage, and pro-

¹⁴ *A Short View of Tragedy*, in *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. E. Spingarn, Oxford, 1908, II, p. 212.

¹⁵ Cf. R. M. Meyer, in *The German Classics of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Kuno Francke and W. G. Howard, New York, [1914], pp. xiv, xxiv f.

duces dramas which—as Grillparzer testifies¹⁶—gain little by histrionic enactment. Grillparzer himself, another poet, does gain by being seen on the stage,¹⁷ is as specific and individualistic as ever naturalist was, but shares with Schiller a fondness for sententious language which, with other elevating elements, translates his creations into the realm of ideal art. Nevertheless, he is as keenly alive as Hebbel to the significance of *milieu*, to the duty of developing character to the point of conflict, and to the opportunity that the drama affords of deepening insight into moral problems. Otto Ludwig—to go no farther—capable of prodigious effectiveness in the atmosphere of separate scenes, is essentially an epic genius. Variety is the German's compensation, if compensation is needed, for the lack of a national standard in the drama.

But every drama in any wise calculated for the stage is to some extent a spectacle, and in however slight degree a given piece may be spectacular, the drama is as such the most objective of the literary forms. Hence its habitual association in theory and practice with the formative arts. Lessing affirms that dramatic poetry is the highest poetry because it tends to make of its symbols, or means of expression, natural symbols, such as are used in painting.¹⁸ Goethe emphasizes the value, in the drama, of contact with present reality: "Das Drama ist eine Gegenwart"—a definition

¹⁶ *Werke*, ed. Aug. Sauer, Stuttgart, [1872], XVII, p. 57; "Übrigens bleibt merkwürdig, wie der im Grunde wenig objektive Schiller sich in der Darstellung so ganz und gar objektivieren lässt. Er wurde bildlich, während er nur beredt zu sein glaubte. Ein Beweis mehr für sein unvergleichliches Talent. Bei Goethe ist gerade das Gegenteil. Während er vorzugsweise objektiv genannt wird und es grossenteils ist, verlieren seine Gestalten in der Darstellung" (XIX, p. 135).

¹⁷ "Aber ich war nun einmal eingefleischter Oestreicher und hatte bei jedem meiner Stücke die Aufführung, und zwar in meiner Vaterstadt, im Auge. Ein gelesenes Drama ist ein Buch, statt einer lebendigen Handlung" (*Werke*, XIX, p. 152).

¹⁸ Letter to Fr. Nicolai, May 26, 1769. in *Laokoon*, ed. W. G. Howard, New York, 1910, p. cxlviii.

upon which Grillparzer¹⁹ comments with approval, he then going on to distinguish the principal poetic *genres*, lyric, epic, and dramatic, as fit to produce the effects of *Aussicht*, *Umsicht*, *Ansicht*.²⁰ Otto Ludwig²¹ confesses that his poetry is born of a musical mood. This is transmuted into a sensation of color, then he is aware of forms, and next he experiences a vision of variable groups of statuary, in an atmosphere which is the musical mood etherialized. Not until this gradual transformation is complete does he search for a common denominator, an idea, or key to the meaning of the whole, and invent the plot of what ultimately becomes a play. Modern devices for holding the mirror up to nature succeed in catching her—or a substitute—in motion; and “moving pictures,” with a minimum of verbal or other articulation, so nearly satisfy popular demands upon a play as to threaten with extinction that spoken drama which heretofore has been the only kind of theatrical composition, besides the opera, deemed a species of poetic art. “Moving pictures” may not constitute visible poetry; but the spoken drama was held by August Wilhelm Schlegel to be so far visible, that he could propose to make its objective aspect the criterion for a subdivision to which Lessing did not proceed, and for a definition not lacking in suggestiveness, namely, that the classical drama is plastic and the romantic picturesque.²²

If, now, the essence of all poetry is imaginative creation, the bodying forth of the forms of things unknown—or known, as the case may be—the prime requisite in a dramatic poet, considered at least as a creator of visible poetry, would seem to be determined. He must have visions, such

¹⁹ In conversation with Ad. Foglar, Dec. 30, 1831; cf. *Gespräche*, ed. Aug. Sauer, Wien, 1904, III, p. 195. Grillparzer twice again employs this definition; cf. *Werke*, XIX, pp. 78, 109.

²⁰ *Werke*, XV, p. 68. A. W. Schlegel probably suggested this differentiation; cf. his Viennese lectures *Über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, in *Werke*, ed. Ed. Böcking, Leipzig, 1846, V, p. 39.

²¹ *Werke*, ed. Ad. Stern, Leipzig, 1891, VI, pp. 215 ff.

²² *Op. cit.*, VI, p. 32.

visions as others too may be fain to contemplate. It may be a vision of Iphigenia, alone and standing against the unelaborate background of a grove in front of a temple to Diana. The very attitude of this statuesque figure may be relied upon to speak the substance of her words,

Das Land der Griechen mit der Seele suchend.

Or it may be a vision of Sappho, first appearing in manifold relation to domestic surroundings, and by this picturesque presentation preparing the mind for the romantic treatment even of a classical theme. Or the dramatist may see in his mind's eye a picture of Wallenstein's camp, and may, by appropriate means, give us a view of it too, collocating the multifarious constituents of the setting before introducing the figure of his hero at all, letting us feel the presence of the leader still unseen, and surmise his character from the character of his troops. For, in truth,

Sein Lager nur erkläret sein Verbrechen.

In either case, whether the playwright concentrates our attention upon a person or two, or distributes it over a multitude, he must envisage individuals, and must possess the art of conjuring them up as objective realities manifest to our nimble senses, though they belong to an unfamiliar world.

Heinrich von Kleist is preëminently gifted with the faculty of seeing things in the concrete.²³ We may lament the misfortune that denied him opportunity ever to see any of his fictions on the stage. He did not need so to see them—nor do we; they flash upon the inward eye of solitude from his

²³ Everybody recognizes Kleist's "Gegenständlichkeit." Barker Fairley emphasizes his "extraordinary bias towards the personal" (*Modern Philology*, XIV, pp. 321 ff.). Cf. Ottokar Fischer: *Mimische Studien zu Heinrich von Kleist*, in *Euphorion*, XV, pp. 488, 716; XVI, pp. 62, 412; and Wilhelm Grimm in a letter written April 5, 1821 to Achim von Arnim (first published by Reinhold Steig in *Heinrich von Kleists Berliner Kämpfe*, Berlin, 1901, p. 451): "Sonst haben die Kleistischen Sachen etwas von den niederländischen Malereien, die Ausführung in den Beiwerken und in einzelnen Stücken, die das Auge reizt und ergötzt."

printed page. Both his narratives and his plays teem with facts. Not even Grillparzer is more prone to let facts speak for themselves, or to reinforce argument or exposition with an exhibit. In *Michael Kohlhaas* one never loses sight of the black horses which are at issue in the dealer's case against his oppressors. In *Der zerbrochene Krug* the *corpus delicti* is likewise constantly in evidence. In *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* the Elector appears in undress or in full regalia in the same way and for the same purpose as Grillparzer's Sappho appears, now a woman in simple garb, and now a poetess equipped with diadem, wreath, and lyre. So Natalie's glove is at once, to the Prince a pledge of fortune, and to the Elector a symbol of partial responsibility for the Prince's misdeed—and the dramatist does not permit us either to fail to see it or to forget it. The same procedure on a larger scale is employed when a scene of supplication²⁴ opens with a tableau of the kneeling suppliant, or when, without change of decoration, there is a change of subject from one scene to the next,²⁵ and this is prefigured in the action of the most prominent character.

Although Kleist can on occasion be as laconic as Grillparzer, he is not chary of words. But he likes, when entering upon an action or a paragraph, to present his subject without ceremonial introduction, and to conclude—often also, as has just been said, to begin—with a tableau. The sudden emergence of a character, a situation, or a paradox puts us on the *qui vive*, and at the end the mind dwells

—In a letter written near the end of his life Kleist lamented that he could not bring vividly to mind the image of an absent friend—such a one was as good as dead to him: “mit meinen Sinnen in der wahrhaftigen lebendigen Gegenwart möchte ich ihn durchdringen und begreifen,” but a sense of the friend's real existence elsewhere fetters his imagination. When his imagination is free, on the contrary, it creates images as definite in form and color, and—we may infer—as sensuously “durchdrungen und begriffen” as a present reality (cf. *Werke*, V, p. 437).

²⁴ Act IV, scene i.

²⁵ End of act II, scene vi.

in serene contemplation upon a scene. With the slowness of Tieck, for example, in getting under way, compare the immediacy of the opening of *Michael Kohlhaas*:

An den Ufern der Havel lebte, um die Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, ein Rosshändler, namens Michael Kohlhaas, Sohn eines Schulmeisters, einer der rechtschaffensten zugleich und entsetzlichsten Menschen seiner Zeit.—Dieser ausserordentliche Mann würde, bis in sein dreissigstes Jahr, für das Muster eines guten Staatsbürgers haben gelten können. Er besass, in einem Dorfe, das noch von ihm den Namen führt, einen Meierhof, auf welchem er sich durch sein Gewerbe ruhig ernährte; die Kinder, die ihm sein Weib schenkte, erzog er, in der Furcht Gottes, zur Arbeitsamkeit und Treue; nicht Einer war unter seinen Nachbarn, der sich nicht seiner Wohltätigkeit, oder seiner Gerechtigkeit erfreut hätte; kurz, die Welt würde sein Andenken haben segnen müssen, wenn er in einer Tugend nicht ausgeschweift hätte. Das Rechtgefühl aber machte ihn zum Räuber und Mörder.

With the second paragraph the action begins: "Er ritt einst . . . ins Ausland." In *Die Marquise von O.* the action begins with the first sentence.

The second act of *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* includes reports or *récits* of two occurrences behind the scenes. They are broken into parts which without misnomer may be called paragraphs, one such paragraph indeed having an editorial introduction of two lines, every other mentioning its particular subject at once and terminating when the treatment of that subject is concluded. The esthetic climax conducts us by preference to a visible object. Thus is narrated the supposed death of the Elector at the battle of Fehrbellin:²⁶

In diesem Augenblick, dem Staub entrückt,
Bemerken wir den Herrn, der bei den Fahnen
Des Truchsschen Korps dem Feind entgegenreitet;
Auf einem Schimmel herrlich sass er da;
Im Sonnenstrahl, die Bahn des Siegs erleuchtend.
Wir alle sammeln uns bei diesem Anblick
Auf eines Hügels Abhang, schwer besorgt,
Inmitten ihn des Feuers zu erblicken:
Als plötzlich jetzt der Kurfürst, Ross und Reiter,
In Staub vor unsern Augen niedersinkt;
Zwei Fahnenträger fielen über ihn
Und deckten ihn mit ihren Fahnen zu.

²⁶ Ll. 537 ff.

The last example, bringing to view a sublime image, but comforting also by its homely suggestion of snugness for the warrior couched in death, is the exact opposite of the rhetorical, and illustrates Kleist's matter-of-factness, precision, and alertness to detail. A similar example in *Robert Guiskard* attains to the pitch of sublimity by the use of those natural symbols which, as Lessing points out, make dramatic poetry the highest kind. Guiskard, stricken with the plague that has devastated his camp, is besought by a deputation of his men to withdraw from before the gates of beleaguered Constantinople. He is unwilling to admit that he is not immune, but he can hardly stand erect long enough to make answer to the petition. His daughter shoves a kettle-drum forward for him to sit on, and he interrupts the business just long enough to say, "Mein liebes Kind,"²⁷ three short words from a father's heart. To pass from the sublime to the ridiculous, Adam, in *Der zerbrochene Krug*, is a Reynard the Fox for circumstantial mendacity. Having to account for the absence of his wig, and pretending that the cat has used it as a bed for her young, he sees those kittens before him—five in all, yellow and black, and one is white.²⁸ Prinz Friedrich accuses the Elector of being pleased to contemplate himself in the rôle of Brutus condemning his sons. Still greater is the vanity if the scene is to be preserved in a picture; and, given a picture, it must needs be a drawing on canvas:²⁹

Mein Vetter Friedrich will den Brutus spielen
Und sieht, mit Kreid' auf Leinwand verzeichnet,
Sich schon auf dem kurul'schen Stuhle sitzen—

Exuberant specification such as this distinguishes all of Kleist's figurative language. He never abandons a metaphor so long as it can be made to serve, and under the witchery of his eye the most lifeless tropes leap to do his bidding. The expression "to go out into the embrace of the night" is a commonplace such as would hardly be noticed. But "embrace"

²⁷ L. 489.

²⁸ L. 246.

²⁹ Ll. 777 ff.

involves personal action, the person is naturally a woman, and a woman has her personal characteristics, as follows:³⁰

Ich schlich erschöpft in diesen Garten mich,
Und weil die Nacht so lieblich mich umfing,
Mit blondem Haar, von Wohlgeruch ganz triefend—
Ach! wie den Bräut'gam eine Perserbraut—
So legt' ich hier in ihren Schoss mich nieder.

Similarly, any woman may be called a pearl. But a pearl—a very precious one is surely not in a cluster or on a string—must have a setting; and if I am blind to the contrast between this woman and her retinue, I am told,³¹

Du siehst die Perle
Nicht vor dem Ring, der sie in Fassung hält.

Evidently, Kleist materializes with as much agility as he personifies, and he knows how to charge all matter with energy. His method of bringing inert objects vividly before the imagination is full of interest for students of the technique of poetry. The broken pitcher was adorned with a picture representing an historical scene. Frau Marthe does not, however, describe the picture; she narrates the action represented in it:³²

Hier grade auf dem Loch, wo jetzo nichts,
Sind die gesamten niederländischen Provinzen
Dem span'schen Philipp übergeben worden.
Hier im Ornat stand Kaiser Karl der fünfte:
Von dem seht ihr nur noch die Beine stehn.
Hier kniete Philipp, und empfing die Krone;
Der liegt im Topf, bis auf den Hinterteil,
Und auch noch der hat einen Stoss empfangen.

So far, then, as the drama is a spectacle and a simulated action, Kleist, with his brisk intuition and vigorous objectivation, appears to deserve our suffrages as a representative dramatist. But he could not be reckoned "the ancestor of the modern drama" if he were a mere manipulator of means

³⁰ *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, ll. 119 ff. Cf. in the same play (ll. 1095 ff.):

O dieser Fehltritt, blond mit blauen Augen, etc.

³¹ Ll. 151 f.

³² *Der zerbrochene Krug*, ll. 648 ff.

to spectacular effects. The modern drama especially addresses itself to the discussion of problems, the evolution of particularized character, and the exhibition of those surroundings of personal life which are so potent a factor in making the individual man what he is. In all three of these endeavors—conspicuously in the first two—Kleist blazed a path for Hebbel and for Ibsen.

Hebbel, considering the history of the drama from a point of view different from Schlegel's, makes a distinction between ancients and moderns no less suggestive than the distinction between plastic and picturesque, and a further distinction between Shakespeare or Schiller and Kleist or himself among the moderns. The ancients, he says, illumined with the torch of fate the labyrinthine course of human life, studying reactions to fate in order to learn about humanity; the moderns study humanity in order to attain to an idea of fate. What for the ancients was a means is for the moderns an end; and *vice versa*.³³ In *Oedipus Tyrannus* we shudder before the mysterious power under whose sway a man without consciousness of guilt commits horrible crimes. Macbeth, in some measure his modern counterpart, is no unthinking tool of the weird sisters, or even of his more resolute wife. He knows what he is about, and he stands his ground, though Birnam Wood be come to Dunsinane. Is he one of those in whom, as in Caesar, ambition is a grievous fault? Or has he, a strong man in a time when strength is needed, some excuse for his aspiration to supplant the amiable but weak Duncan? The latter question is not impertinent, but it is not expressly raised by Shakespeare.³⁴ No more is there raised in Schiller's *Wallenstein* the question of the sanction of revolution—wherefore Hebbel denounced this play as devoid of ideas.³⁵ Ideas there are in it, but they are not of a sort to have been fruitful for the most devoted of Schiller's followers, Theodor

³³ *Tagebücher*, 10. März 1838; cf. *Werke*, X, p. 373.

³⁴ Cf. A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, London, 1905, p. 351.

³⁵ *Tagebücher*, 8. Jan. 1847.

Körner and Ernst von Wildenbruch. *Wallenstein* does not so much discuss a problem in morals as illustrate in a quasi-historical case the inevitable consequences of dallying with the thought of treason. For the hero's treason there are extenuating circumstances, and these tend, as the poet meant that they should, to humanize him. Schiller did his best to deal with him as with a man; but, still preoccupied with the traditional idea of fate, he did not seize the opportunity that lay ready to hand, to revise the traditional notions of right and wrong.

The attempt at a new definition in morality, and a typically modern treatment of a problem, Hebbel found in Goethe's dramatically conceived *Wahlverwandtschaften*.³⁶ A narrative of events in the lives of four people, two of whom are bound together in wedlock "immoral and artificial," invites consideration of the sanctions of matrimony itself, of the validity of a law that runs counter to a resistless tendency of nature, also commonly and not improperly called a law. Goethe pointed out the way to those who would draw from the deeper springs of life, and countless novelists and dramatists have followed his lead. Rebellion against inexorable authority and atonement for unquestionable guilt may arouse our interest and move us to compassion: they cannot greatly enlarge our comprehension of what ought and what ought not to be. More illuminating is a conflict occurring between the laws themselves, whether the case involves different jurisdictions—say, civil and ecclesiastical, as in Hebbel's *Agnes Bernauer*—or, on the other hand, the positive law is irreconcilable with the absolute or higher law, as in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, which play Hebbel declared to be the masterpiece of dramatic art.³⁷ It was to be expected that the progress of democracy and the persistent struggle for emancipation throughout the nineteenth century would induce dramatists, as well as other men, above all

³⁶ *Werke*, XI, p. 41.

³⁷ *Tagebücher*, No. 2216, II, p. 85; cf. *Werke*, XI, p. 30.

in Germany, to see whether they could not strike a new balance between rights and duties, and to propound new doctrines of personal, social, or political loyalty. I say above all in Germany, because in that country speculation has been notoriously rife and the evolution of democratic institutions not correspondingly rapid. We are under no compulsion to regard the Germans as paragons of the virtue of loyalty, but from Tacitus to Heine there is testimony to their possession of it in high degree. Heine may scoff, if he will, at "kreuzehrliche, pudeldeutsche Natur"; we cannot refuse him credence when he says, "Andere Völker mögen gewandter sein, und witziger und ergötzlicher, aber keines ist so treu wie das treue deutsche Volk."³⁸ Uhland's *Herzog Ernst* can be called the "deutsche Tragödie"³⁹ only because, like the *Nibelungenlied*—or, for that matter, the *Chanson de Roland*—it extols and magnifies loyalty.

German poets of the nineteenth century found no less than three opportunities for the dramatic treatment of loyalty in subjects taken from the history of the Jews. Otto Ludwig's *Makkabäer*, exhibiting the author's characteristic merits and defects, is impressive, though diffuse, and seeks rather to interpret the past than to use ancient material in the discussion of a modern problem. Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne* is, as to its hero, a tragedy of disloyalty. Like *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* it has to do with the ideal of marriage, but more especially it preaches the inviolability of personality and the duty of altruism—modern, decidedly, and contributory to the cause of emancipation. A more outspoken propagandist of emancipation, Karl Gutzkow, cannot be said to have contributed so much in his *Uriel Acosta*, a confused, disconcerting, rather pathetic than tragic drama, but still one which advocates revision of a discipline that dooms itself by ostracizing the most promising member of the community in which it is enforced. Sudermann, taking themes from contemporary life, and professing to do far more

³⁸ *Die Harzreise, Werke*, ed. Ernst Elster, Leipzig, [1890], III, p. 31.

³⁹ Hebbel, *Werke*, X, p. 374.

than Gutzkow, accomplishes less with his *dramas à thèse*, *Die Ehre* and *Heimat*; for he is a special pleader and knocks down only men of straw. Thesis should call forth antithesis; either may prevail; but if the two conduce to a new synthesis, we have an earnest of the most salutary reform. This is what happens in Grillparzer's *Jüdin von Toledo* and in Hebbel's *Maria Magdalene*. Grillparzer conclusively demonstrates the sin and folly of self-indulgence on the one hand and prudery on the other: ideal morality is no more necessarily chilling than warm-blooded naturalness is necessarily immoral. Hebbel, on his part, refutes the idea that respectability is sufficient unto itself—the idea of a man who walks in his integrity and exacts from others conformity to the letter of the law. *Maria Magdalene* deserves its symbolical title by giving proof that love is the fulfilment of the law, and that a great deal more than is here required may be forgiven to one who has loved much.

Loyalty in the sense of reverence for established institutions is beautifully defined and inculcated in Hebbel's *Gyges und sein Ring*; loyalty to the state is the theme of his *Agnes Bernauer*, a play which most perfectly exemplifies the synthetic or Hegelian method. As usual, Hebbel conducts the argument for individual liberty as cogently as the argument for allegiance. If the latter wins, it is no blind submission to deaf and blind authority that is decreed. A generation before Hebbel, Kleist debated the same question in dramatic form, with the same result, and with the same device of committing decision in the case to the protagonist of liberty. Hebbel's play is more comprehensive, it is perhaps more logically constructed than Kleist's; it does not lack, either, the power to touch and to move. But *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* has, as Friedrich Schlegel said of *Wilhelm Meister*,⁴⁰ a genius, a personality, irresistible because too naïf to be obtrusively wise.

Prinz Friedrich von Homburg, a production, than which no other has "in a more complete manner manifested in itself

⁴⁰ In the *Athenäum*, I, 2 (1798), p. 160.

the concentrated thought of a whole epoch,"⁴¹ which is a contribution to political philosophy, and issues in the martial chorus,

In Staub mit allen Feinden Brandenburgs,

owes its charm, first to the buoyant spirit of its author, and next to those qualities of concrete, specific, individualistic objectivity and romantic picturesqueness which we have found characteristic of Kleist's style.⁴² This is none of the "Verstandes- und Meinungspoesie" so justly contemned by Grillparzer.⁴³ Here is no sounding brass or tinkling cymbal. The single exclamation,⁴⁴

Ach, was ist Menschengrösse, Menschenruhm,

is the nearest approach to a sententious line in the whole composition; everything else is the personal utterance of a speaker reacting to a particular conjunction of circumstances. Had Kleist designed merely to glorify Prussian discipline, he had had no need to give such free rein to inventiveness in character and incident as he here gave. Had he been dominated by any such abstract purpose as to arouse enthusiasm for a foreign war, he would scarcely have refrained from bringing the enemy on the stage, to defeat him. Had he coveted applause for heroism, he would not have chosen so unheroic a hero as his Prince the greater part of the time seems to be. Kleist's play is doubtless not so inapt as *Minna von Barnhelm* to incite to valorous deeds, but it too might bear the alternative title "the soldier's fortune." It has to do with a problem of individual character, and it presents a group of persons, no one of whom

⁴¹ Kuno Francke, *Social Forces in German Literature*, New York, 1896, p. 482.

⁴² W. Herzog says: "Er wurde der Schöpfer des individualistischen Dramas" (*l. c.*, p. 8); "Er sieht seine Menschen mit dem scharfäugigen Blick des Plastikers: kein Zug, keine Bewegung, keine Geste entgeht ihm" (p. 10); he is "der grösste Plastiker unter den deutschen Dramatikern" (p. 13). I do not suppose that Herzog means to insist that Kleist's figures are plastic rather than picturesque.

⁴³ *Werke*, XVIII, p. 160.

⁴⁴ L. 1174.

bravely incorporates an idea—as, for example, Schiller's Max and Thekla do. On the contrary, every one of them authenticates himself as a human being by revealing traits inconsistent with his leading principles and purposes. Every one of them, in other words, is unmistakably human in that most human of tendencies, the tendency to err.

Critics will tell you that Friedrich Wilhelm the Elector is, in Kleist's play, the idea of the Prussian state personified. As the Prince's antagonist he represents the law, which is no respecter of persons, and yet, like Frederick the Great, the first servant of the state, he respects the law and executes it. More than once, in praise or blame, he is endowed with the attributes of classical majesty. One thinks of Schlüter's statue in connection with the passages—

Und er, der Kurfürst, mit der Stirn des Zeus—⁴⁵
Und wenn er mir in diesem Augenblick
Wie die Antike starr entgegenkommt—⁴⁶

Nevertheless, one would not be tempted to clothe this Elector in imperial array. He is as truly as the Prince

Ein deutsches Herz, von altem Schrot und Korn.⁴⁷

Nothing could exceed his fatherly gentleness to the supplicating Natalie, or his imperturbable confidence in his seemingly rebellious officers. He does not approve the methods of their agitation, but his heart is in their midst. Caesar Augustus could not be more just and tenacious than he—were it not for this heart of his which disqualifies him for stoicism and betrays him into an action that verges upon a misdemeanor. The court martial has condemned the Prince to death; the Elector, supposing that nobody can regard the verdict as unjust, least of all that the condemned can plead for mercy, hears from Natalie that he has broken the young man's heart—hears this with the utmost astonishment. And when, to cap the climax, he is told that the dashing cavalry leader has grovelled at the feet of the Electress,

⁴⁵ L. 158.

⁴⁶ Ll. 786 f.

⁴⁷ L. 784.

clamoring for life on any terms, he is so astounded as to be no longer master of his emotions. In a condition as far as possible removed from judicial composure he declares that the Prince shall be liberated, shall be pardoned; for how, forsooth, could the Elector pretend that *his* sense of justice is more reliable than that of such a warrior?

Die höchste Achtung, wie dir wohl bekannt,
 Trag' ich im Innersten für sein Gefühl;
 Wenn er den Spruch für ungerecht kann halten,
 Kassier' ich die Artikel: er ist frei!⁴⁸

It is strange that any commentator could fail to observe so Kleistian a *motif* as the Elector's confusion of feeling at this decisive moment, inconspicuous as the indication may be in a parenthetical *verwirrt*.⁴⁹ The Elector is proof against every assault from without, but the inner chamber of his heart is open to the disturber of his peace. In all his dealings with the Prince he is, in fact, not a superior being who sees the end from the beginning, who intends only to teach the irresponsible individualist a lesson, and then graciously to set aside the verdict against him—if so, why go to the length of digging a grave to receive his body? No, Kleist's Friedrich Wilhelm is a man of like passions with ourselves. From sheer curiosity and a natural but ungenerous desire for amusement he plays with the Prince's somnambulism; he introduces into the Prince's dream of victory the image of Natalie; and though he does not thereby become responsible for the dreamer's subsequent misconduct, he remains in large measure to blame for the absent-mindedness which was the consequence of his interference, and which is an important mitigation of the Prince's offense.

Here, as everywhere, Kleist has seen in imagination an individual, with human limitations along—in this case—with elements of human greatness.

Es ist kein ausgeklügelt Buch,
 Es ist ein Mensch, mit seinem Widerspruch.

⁴⁸ Ll. 1183 ff.

⁴⁹ L. 1174.

The representative and administrator of the law sympathizes with the law-breaker and does not himself at all points obey the categorical imperative. He is merciful, he is not arbitrary, he subordinates himself to the law which, written or unwritten, is the will and command of the state and the mother of his crown. He is no martinet; but his brow darkens at the merest rumor of insubordination,⁵⁰ and evidently to him, as to his successor in the next century, obedience is the first and great commandment.⁵¹ It is not the sole condition of citizenship, but is the only one emphasized by the Elector. Appropriately enough, what he says about the supremacy of the law receives its necessary supplement from a woman, Natalie, and from an old man with youthful spirit, Kottwitz. Mercy is a feminine quality; equity recognizes that to common sense appeal may be taken from the rigor of the law; and loyalty is a sentiment, without which a state is indistinguishable from a state's prison.⁵²

Grillparzer has left us a striking example of loyalty in *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn*. But the hero of this play—he is a hero, after his kind—illustrates fidelity to a promise, scrupulous performance of duty voluntarily, though reluctantly assumed, and carried through with more literalness than

⁵⁰ L. 1447.

⁵¹ Cf. ll. 486 f.: Ei, du vorwitz'ger Knabe, der du noch

Nicht die zehn märkischen Gebote kennst!

Im. Kant wrote in the *Berliner Monatsschrift* for December, 1784: "Nun höre ich aber von allen Seiten rufen: raisonnirt nicht! Der Officier sagt: raisonnirt nicht, sondern exercirt! der Finanzrath: raisonnirt nicht, sondern bezahlt! der Geistliche: raisonnirt nicht, sondern glaubt! Nur ein einziger Herr in der Welt sagt: raisonnirt, so viel ihr wollt, und worüber ihr wollt, aber gehorcht!" Cf. Heine (*Die Stadt Lucca, Werke*, III, p. 406): "Haben wir in der Welt so viel zu befehlen, dass das Deutsche sogar die Sprache des Befehlens geworden? Oder wird uns so viel befohlen, dass der Gehorsam am besten die deutsche Sprache versteht?"

⁵² Cf. in Wilhelm Grimm's letter to Achim von Arnim (quoted above, note 23), "Ich habe nirgends schöner die Macht des Gesetzes und die Anerkennung des Höheren, vor dem auch das Gesetz zerfällt, dargestellt gefunden."

intelligence. Kleist's Prince is not open, as Grillparzer's Bankbanus is, to the charge of servility. Kleist was himself a non-conformist in every fibre of his being. All the more impressive, therefore, is the idea which the Prussian Junker brings home to us in the happy conclusion of this serious drama, the idea that loyalty is the solvent of conflict between the individual and the representative of the community. Not only the Prince, but also the other officers, his friends and advocates, have to be taught this moral lesson. Balked in all their schemes, petitions, and arguments, they sullenly await their ruler's decision; and this ruler, who unjustifiably abdicated his sovereign prerogative when he referred one decision to the Prince, now administers the most gentlemanly rebuke ever framed when he leaves a second decision to the petitioners:⁵³

Ja, urteilt selbst, ihr Herrn! Der Prinz von Homburg
 Hat im verflossnen Jahr durch Trotz und Leichtsinn
 Um zwei der schönsten Siege mich gebracht;
 Den dritten auch hat er mir schwer gekränkt.
 Die Schule dieser Tage durchgegangen,
 Wollt ihr's zum viertenmale mit ihm wagen?

"Wollt ihr!" It is obvious that the greatest risk is run by the Elector himself, the commander-in-chief, ultimately responsible for the safety of the army. He knows in this case, as in the former one, what the effect of his magnanimity will be. He is a politic as well as a generous teacher; but he is a teacher who has learned—and learned during the course of this action—that loyalty is the spirit which volunteers, not simply obeys, and is the condition precedent to all coöperation.

It would be as easy as it is unnecessary to show how the other characters in this drama demonstrate their essential humanity by their particular human frailties: how Hohenzollern unworthily fathers a suspicion of disingenuous policy upon the Elector, his kinsman, whom he ought to

⁵³ Ll. 1818 ff.

know incapable of dissimulation; how Kottwitz allows his anger to run away with him at a critical moment; how Natalie intrigues and prevaricates. But the Prince is the only remaining character over whose peculiarities we will tarry.

Kleist's Prince, a general of cavalry who walks in his sleep, who is scared out of his wits by the sight of the grave, who asks for a pink when on his way to execution, saying that he will put it into water when he returns home, and who falls in a dead faint at the sudden news of a reprieve, is indeed unmatched for *naïveté* in the German or any other drama. He might in idea be associated with such an "unpromising hero" as Wolfram's Parzival, but Kleist is the only poet, even of the romantic generation, who could have ventured to put such a person on the stage in military uniform. He could do it; for he had himself been such a one when wearing the king's coat of Prussia. Again and again we are reminded that the Prince is a youth. In fact, he is a child; and if he has developed beyond the sphere of childhood, it is in the direction of qualities, not virile indeed, but surely none the less human for being commonly regarded as feminine. He is a person of instinct, intuition, affection, who has never learned to think, in whose soul there is room for but one absorbing passion at a time, and who is acutely sensitive to all the things of life. He is not afraid of death, but is horrified by the apparition of death unmerited, ignominious, and in a repulsive form. His purely physiological-psychological reaction is properly explained in terms, not of morality, but of esthetics; and for what he says when out of his head we can no more hold him responsible than Natalie does. He is not admirable in his raving, as Max Piccolomini perhaps is in his impatience for martyrdom. He is voluble enough; not, however, with the high-flying oratory to exhilarate the unskilful and make the judicious grieve—"bei Kleist sind die Dinge gross, nicht die Worte."⁵⁴ But

⁵⁴ Cf. S. Rahmer, *Das Kleist-Problem*, Berlin, 1903, p. 134.

the Prince is natural. "Freilich! eine Natürlichkeit, aber die man anspeien muss,"⁵⁵ opines Grillparzer. The opinion is the worthier of credence for the qualification. So is the Prince's later testimony to the eminent domain of the state the weightier for being that of a man who has first to be brought to his senses, and then speaks as one who knows what he is renouncing. Max's declamation is magnificent, but it is not reassuring; it is that of a ready-made hero. Kleist's hero is not ready for martyrdom until he has grown to the stature of a man. The growth is rapid; it is necessary only that he be made to think, and he thinks correctly. When such a man bears witness, he does not have to speak with the tongues of men and of angels.

Kleist's best interpreter, Hebbel, whom I follow so often and so confidently, declares that *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* is a tragedy, notwithstanding the final rescue of the hero, because what in an ordinary tragedy is accomplished only by death is here effected by the fear of death.⁵⁶ This view has much in its favor. The somnambulism of the introductory scene and the masquerade in the concluding scenes could be dispensed with. The Prince is awake when he wilfully disobeys orders; he would in all probability have disobeyed anyhow, yielding to an intuition justified by everything except the general plan of the engagement; he is condemned, he rebels, is brought to see himself in the right light, is pardoned; and therewith the essential action ends. The dream life of the Prince is as insubstantial an element as the supernatural characteristics of Siegfried in the *Nibelungenlied*; Siegfried's tragedy is virtually complete and humanly comprehensible without them.⁵⁷ Hebbel took a similar ground when he asserted⁵⁸ that Uhland's little poem *Die Nonne* ought to confine itself to the paradoxical situation

⁵⁵ *Gespräche*, III, p. 238.

⁵⁶ *Werke*, XI, p. 323.

⁵⁷ Cf. Hebbel's letter to Siegmund Engländer, Feb. 23, 1863.

⁵⁸ *Tagebücher*, March 7, 1838.

sufficiently set forth in the first stanza and a half, a woman rejoicing that her lover is dead:

O wohl mir, dass gestorben
Der treue Buhle mein!
Ich darf ihn wieder lieben.

I can well believe that Kleist would have been delighted with this paradox. But I should be loath to give up the framework in which he has set the essential matter of his play. Rather, I should be inclined to compare *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* with Grillparzer's *Traum, ein Leben*, however the latter is to be classified. Kleist—reversing Grillparzer's order—begins his action operatically in a garden; the operatic conclusion in the same place enables him to put into the mouth of the Prince, as he recovers from his swoon, the significant question,

Nein, sagt! Ist es ein Traum?

and to supply the answer,

Ein Traum, was sonst?

Rustan's experiences *are* those of a nightmare; Homburg's are of such stuff as dreams are made of, all these paroxysms of *hybris*, disobedience, panic, all the torments of a condemned and pardoned rebel. Awake and in his right mind the Prince joins as a matter of course in the loyal chorus, and gets in fact by deserving, what in his dream he incontinently reached out to take, the hand of his beloved.

Reverting to *Minna von Barnhelm*, one might affirm that Kleist's play is as much a comedy as Lessing's. It is true, *Minna* gives more scope for comic by-play, and its lovers' quarrel is of far less moment than the Prince's quarrel with the Elector. But, on the other hand, the question of Tellheim's honor is a serious matter, and the seriousness of the *Prinz von Homburg* is seldom oppressive. The tone of the opening scenes is altogether cheery—it would be intolerable that a jest should cost a life. There are rumors of calamity to the Prince and the Elector which turn out to be erroneous;

do they not preclude too grave apprehensions as to the ultimate fate of the Prince? Even after condemnation he is on parole; and we are sure that the Elector, discriminating and just, as he is, will find a way consistent with the public interest to do what everybody desires. Natalie reproves the Prince for resisting constituted authority—only in her girlish way to commit a gross invasion of authority herself; a large part of the descending action consists of clumsy and ineffective stratagems designed to circumvent the Elector. These, with Natalie's performance, belong to comedy rather than to tragedy. So does the Elector's jocular pretence of refuting an argument by blinking the distinction between sequence and consequence; so does the Prince's imperious silencing of his own partisans; and so does, finally, the mummery in the concluding scenes. If, nevertheless, we feel that the shadow of death hangs too long over the hero to permit the dispassionate detachment which belongs to true comedy, we may content ourselves with the author's own neutral designation *Schauspiel*; but we shall then perceive that Kleist is the founder of a *genre* comprising some of the most characteristic and notable dramatic products of nineteenth-century Germany.

Such, then, are the reasons—and they seem sufficient, though most of them are drawn from a single work—for voting Kleist a place beside Shakespeare and Goethe. He is a representative dramatist and a representative man. In his own time his voice was as of one crying in the wilderness. He labored to hasten on the war of liberation, but was not privileged to take part in it. He hated Napoleon because he saw in him, not the emancipator whom Heine beheld riding into Düsseldorf, but only the tyrant whose policy of dividing and ruling Kleist experienced as one of the ruled. After Jena, Kleist set his hopes upon Austria to lead the way towards the restoration—not of an empire, but of a commonwealth, a community of men worth fighting for, because it should be good to live in.⁵⁹ After Wagram he turned

⁵⁹ Cf. the essay *Was gilt es in diesem Kriege?* The answer is, "Eine Gemeinschaft mithin gilt es, die dem ganzen Menschengeschlecht ange-

to Prussia as the only remaining German state with a semblance of efficient organization. He was blinded by none of the superstition that we are wont to impute to the devotees to the Prussian system. On the contrary, the administrators of the Prussian system were blind to him, and were of a temper incompatible with his. In the days of Prussian self-satisfaction Kleist was lauded as the prophet, not only of Waterloo, but also of Sedan.⁶⁰ In August, 1914 his *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* sounded, so to speak, from every German stage the clarion call:

Er hat Fanfare blasen lassen.

Two years later Max Fischer⁶¹ wrote:

There is announced as with a herald's trumpet in this Prussian drama the prophecy of a new and ideal Prussia, a Prussia in which discipline, the school of greatness, still holds its rightful place, "jedoch die lieblichen Gefühle auch." In this respect Kleist's poem is a true child of the era of Stein. It expresses the secret longing of the great-hearted men of that period of reform, their desire, on the one hand for a more thorough-going education in citizenship, and on the other for a humanization of the state. Notwithstanding occasional assaults of destructive radicalism, the first of these objects is virtually attained, as is more than ever evident to-day. We cannot say as much with reference to the second. To be sure, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, no less misunderstood now than during his own life-time, strove to breathe into the rigid body of the Prussian state the liberalizing spirit of German art and letters. But he lacked the iron will necessary to accomplish his humane purpose in opposition to the materialistic and utilitarian spirit of the times. To the generations coming after him we owe the further development of the traditional Prussian virtue of efficiency in economic and military organization, and the leavening therewith of the larger mass of the German Empire. But the spiritual capacities of the German people have had, throughout the nineteenth century, to nourish themselves, in the main, independently of the state, if not actually in despite of it.

hört; die die Wilden der Südsee noch, wenn sie sie kennen, zu beschützen herbeiströmen würden; eine Gemeinschaft, deren Dasein keine deutsche Brust überleben, und die nur mit Blut, vor dem die Sonne verdunkelt, zu Grabe gebracht werden soll" (*Werke*, IV, p. 117).

⁶⁰ Cf. C. Varrentrapp, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, XLV (1880), pp. 354 f.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

Meanwhile this author and we have witnessed another Sedan, and we are now confronted by another Germany. Of this new Germany we may make bold to hope that the last sentence in the quoted paragraph will no longer be true; and we may hazard the belief that the Prussia of to-day would not have driven to suicide the aristocrat who signed himself "Heinrich Kleist," who despised "den ganzen Bettel von Adel und Stand,"⁶² and who said of his king, "wenn er meiner nicht bedarf, so bedarf ich seiner noch weit weniger."⁶³ Let us be as suspicious of the present and as doubtful of the future as we will, we can still with a good conscience do honor to a dramatic genius who dreamed dreams and saw visions,⁶⁴ and to a philosophical poet whom Kant drove to distraction, but whose intuition of reality enabled him to symbolize in some men of Brandenburg the ideal for which millions of our fellow-countrymen so lately flew to arms.

⁶² Letter to Wilhelmine von Zenge, Nov. 13, 1800, *Werke*, V, p. 154, cf. in the same letter (p. 152), "den ganzen Bettel der grossen Welt."

⁶³ Letter to Ulrike von Kleist, Nov. 25, 1800, *ibid.*, p. 168.

⁶⁴ Cf. letter to Rühle von Lilienstern, Aug. 31, 1806: "Die Wahrheit ist, dass ich das, was ich mir vorstelle, schön finde, nicht das, was ich leiste . . . ich dichte bloss, weil ich es nicht lassen kann" (*ibid.*, p. 327).

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BY ARTHUR C. L. BROWN

WHAT TO DO NEXT?

I

Human history is a good deal like the fabled weather of New Haven which according to President Hadley consists of a succession of crises. However, most of us are probably convinced that we live in a period of such rapid change in the conditions of human life that we may justly call it a crisis.

The outriders and advance agents of contemporary thought tell us that we are living at the beginning of the age of power, which is a greater change than has come over human life since the dawn of history. We may compare it, if we will, to the coming of the stone age or the iron age told of by anthropologists, but it is a greater change than these, for whereas men might be living in the iron age in Europe, and in the stone age in Patagonia, the new age of power is by its very nature world wide and all conquering. Formerly the world was several places—today it is one.

There is no need that I should describe to you the coming of the age of power. But you may permit me a personal remark. My father when a student in Union college in 1831 helped survey the railroad from Albany to Schenectady, and saw run the first regular passenger train, or almost the first regular passenger train, in the United States. Now, in less than one hundred years—one long generation—the railway train has gone round the globe.

It is the boast of the men of science that they have annihilated space, and indeed it is true that they have made the globe very small. If I can go to New York in one day

whereas it took my father ten, is it not plain that New York is only one-tenth as far away as it was one hundred years ago?

The first effect of the shrinkage of the globe caused by the age of power is to bring different peoples into unpleasant proximity. May I draw an analogy from what we see happening along the Mississippi after a freshet? A pond left by the retreating water, which was perhaps at first an acre in extent, may within a few days dry up to a mere puddle ten feet across. The fish, who when they had an acre of liberty were scarcely aware of one another's presence, are now brought by the shrinkage of the water almost into contact. The result is a battle in which every living creature in the puddle on account of the limitations of space is willy-nilly involved. A similar problem is presented to us at this instant for solution. Our race must somehow manage this little globe as one concern, or it looks as if most of us would perish.

Nobody sums up in himself the dominant temper of the hour better than Mr. H. G. Wells. He is an Englishman, and, therefore, represents American thought more completely than any American could do. He has no reverence for the past. Neither have Americans. He is tremendously interested in machinery and in the ideas of Mr. Huxley. So are our more strident voices. He has unbounded faith in education. So have all Americans. He does not see the use of poetry and art—in his *Outline of History* he never once mentions either Dante or Shakespeare. Thousands of Americans share in this deficiency.

Mr. Wells believes that help in the present crisis is to be sought in education. He thinks that a study of the history of the world will convince us that only in the general welfare of the race can we find our own true welfare. He has written his *Outline of History* to carry out this idea. It is the work of an artist, not of a scholar. But until some scholar can write in a way equally interesting to the plain man, the *Outline*, with all its faults, holds the field. It touches the imagination as no work of history in recent

years has been able to do. It appears to me that in the present crisis to touch the imagination is the principal thing. No amount of information about world problems will do you much good unless you are stirred to act with a wider vision than you have in the past.

We do not know whether Mr. Wells' new Bible will be as successful as his history in catching men's fancy and making them feel the need for unity. While we are waiting for his proposed book, in every direction, we hear of attempts to turn men's minds to world problems.

II

One of the notions now in the air is that a course in World History, or in Contemporary Civilization, or in somebody's new Bible of human life, should be required of freshmen in our colleges. Such a course has already been introduced in a few colleges. The point I wish now to discuss is not the unquestioned value of the course, but, should it be required of all freshmen?

In most colleges it is pretty well settled that the studies required of all students should conform to the following standards: they should have a natural sequence, so that each exercise is a test of all that has gone before; they should, if possible, continue studies begun in high school; they should be general tools for future work; they should furnish a key to storehouses of thought otherwise inaccessible.

The languages, and for this purpose I reckon mathematics as a kind of a language, are such studies, and the freshman year is chiefly made up of language studies, including English composition, which is the one discipline that everybody agrees ought to be required. Whatever else a college may do, it must accustom the incoming freshman to use his mind hard. A man cannot use his mind hard unless he has acquired the habit. So much at least of the bitterly assailed doctrine of "formal training" no competent psychologist has denied. Language studies are required because they can be trusted to show the student the necessity of

vigorous mental work from day to day, and because in language study an ordinary instructor cannot fail to demonstrate a lazy student's incompetence, and to do it promptly, for every exercise is a test of what has gone before.

The proposed course, call it what you please, conforms to none of the standards which ought to be applied to any subject that claims to be required of all freshmen. It embodies no natural sequence (by natural sequence I mean that each step depends on what goes before, as in learning a language. There is no necessary order in learning world problems); it is not in any specific sense a tool for future endeavor; it is not a key to anything inaccessible. Only a thoroughly experienced instructor could handle it so as to demonstrate to a student, from day to day, the absolute need for vigorous work. Only an experienced teacher could keep it from appearing to a freshman like a mass of loosely related facts. "The world in ten minutes" is a nickname for the course in one place where it has been adopted.

The difficulty of securing enough skilled teachers for a required freshman course in world problems is so great that where it is introduced a device is used to take the control out of the hands of the ordinary instructor. Lectures are given once or twice a week to the whole class by an older and higher paid man, and the other meetings in small sections under ordinary instructors are based on these lectures.

This device will not solve the difficulty. For freshmen the young instructors in charge of the sections will be the real teachers of the course, and no university can afford to hire experienced teachers for all the sections. The difficulty is an old one. Every college president, for example, begins by thinking that the ideal course in composition would be taught by Mr. Chesterton and Mr. Kipling. Then he finds out that Mr. Chesterton asks one thousand dollars a lecture. We might as well consider what kind of a course is likely to be well taught by the men whom we can actually afford to get.

To introduce a course in world problems required of all freshmen might have far reaching evil consequences. In most colleges the curriculum of the freshman year is pretty well settled, and is all that remains of the original college course which was planned to give a student a definite intellectual outfit. The courses at present required in the freshman year keep their places because of their value as tools, or as disciplines, and not primarily for their informational importance. A course in world problems is an informational course. There are countless informational courses. If we introduce one required informational course pure and simple, we may be sure that the next change of fashion will force in another, and, presently, nothing will be left of the now fairly well organized introductory year in college.

In one or two colleges a somewhat different scheme has been tried. The new course in world problems has been made a part of the course in composition already generally required of freshmen. This arrangement combines all the evils just indicated with several more serious difficulties.

It makes teaching the student how to write, a secondary object of the combined course. No man will lecture on contemporary civilization without putting his subject first. How could a lecturer urge that he was only a side show to the important business of teaching the student what a sentence is, what good use is, how to spell and punctuate, and the like?

Now teaching the student to write is already (at least in theory) a secondary object in most introductory courses, such as history, philosophy and economics. But all college faculties in the United States know that this is not enough, that a course in which learning to write is the prime thing must be required of every student, and even then some will struggle through who write like the devil.

Besides to combine two objects in one course will not make it easier to get competent instructors, but harder. There is no supply of young teachers competent to teach both World History and the elements of writing, and to

procure the training of such teachers would require a larger outlay of money than to secure good instructors in the subjects taught separately.

To learn to write, a student must have something to say, and be interested to say it. No doubt an occasional instructor in English composition can be found who is enough absorbed in a topic in World History or Modern Civilization to be able to make it vital to some of his students, and to persuade them to form opinions about it which they are eager to express. Everything that can be done by such an instructor to direct a student's reading and thinking should be encouraged. Books like *Youth and the New World*, and Wells' *Outline of History* may be assigned, and topics required from them. But even such an exceptional instructor will have to be free to choose his topics, and will have to be free on occasion to let saving the universe take a back seat, and devote himself to saving the English language. An ordinary instructor in English composition, working on a schedule arranged by somebody else, will fail to vitalize the topics, and will get from his students half-bolted lecture notes in place of themes—poor stuff in matter, and zero in form—a kind of composition like nothing else in the world.

Whatever is done to meet the demands of the new age, to require a course in world problems of all college freshmen is not the best way to go to work. The questions discussed in such a course are the most intricate and perplexing that the human mind can unravel. They naturally belong to the later years of college. I leave it to other departments than those of modern languages to decide whether any particular course is desirable, and if so whether it should be required, for example, of all seniors.

Is not the hope of interesting students in the good of the whole world by any single course rather delusive? Is it not like Charlemagne's way of turning Saracens into Christians by marking them with the sign of the cross? I do not at all object to the sign of the cross, but question the reality of the

Christianity that Charlemagne imparted. This is no fanciful analogy. It is the closest in the world.

The noble ideals that float before the vision of those who wish to introduce a required course in world problems amount to a new philosophy of life—to a new religion. They wish to teach a man to consider in every act the good of all mankind. I think that this is only a new statement of one of the principles of Christianity, but anyhow it is a kind of new religion. To spread the idea we must adopt some of the methods that would be adopted to spread a new faith.

What would we do if we wanted to found a college to teach a religion (say Christianity for that is a handy one to talk about) to heathen? We should not be satisfied to have one course in Christianity taught by a Christian, and required of all students? We should want to have all courses (or nearly all) taught by Christians, and from a Christian point of view.

It is the same with our desire to bring men to labor for the good of all mankind. All the courses in college must be adjusted to this point of view. A shifting of emphasis in undergraduate instruction, and not the requirement of a course in world problems of all freshmen, is the solution that ought to be sought.

III

The first question for us then is, what changes will the putting of world problems into prominence bring about in our modern language teaching? Obviously it will stimulate the study of modern languages. For a man to consider the good of the entire human race, he must be trained to surmount the barriers of language, and enter into the intellectual life of foreign peoples.

I know very well that I am not qualified to give an opinion. To me, however, it seems essential to teach the student to sympathize with the characteristic ideals of at least one foreign people, and that the way to do this is to urge him to make himself at home in its novels, plays, essays, and philosophy. Wide reading is so important that I suggest that

some books might be read in translation. The study of foreign literature in translation is not to be despised. Where a student's time is limited, I think it better for him to concentrate his efforts upon one foreign literature, rather than to try to gain a mere smattering of several languages.

I also think that we should do all we can to encourage the study of Latin. In addition to all good reasons long urged for the study of Latin there is now another. To our present object of awakening interest in the length and breadth of human history such a language as Latin, which is remote from English in space and time, and yet a part of the very fibre of our speech, offers peculiar assistance.

Another question for us is, what changes will the new emphasis on world problems bring about in the college teaching of English literature?

To say anything definite I find that I must distinguish between different types of college. Two types have grown up in the United States and it is to be hoped may persist because rivalry between differently organized educational institutions is an instrument for progress. A small country like France suffers, because of uniformity in the organization of its universities. In a vast country like the United States uniformity would be intolerable.

The two types I mean are the independent college and the university college.

Personally I have faith in the independent college. It is more likely to remember that a college exists primarily for those who are to be political and intellectual leaders. It can more easily maintain a common basis of study, so that all its students may have unified intellectual interests. It can somewhat escape the dispersive tendencies of the university college where too often the students find nothing in common to talk about, except intercollegiate games. Culture comes by conversation, but how can you have conversation when no two people possess any common body of knowledge?

An English teacher in an independent college is not likely to forget that literature is a kind of informal philosophy. He will doubtless point out to his students the lessons that literature contains about life. But he may consider only lessons for personal conduct, and may point them out in a parochial way. He may not realize that there are any great new problems pressing upon mankind.

In illustration let me tell an experience of a few years ago. I spent a day or two in the library of a professor of English in an independent college. I found books of poetry and criticism, histories of literature, Greek and Latin classics, the Shelburne essays; but no maps ancient or modern, no encyclopaedias or books of general reference, no political or economic histories; nothing on geology, physiography, zoölogy, biology, chemistry, physics, mechanics or engineering; nothing whatever on the social and economic problems that are convulsing society. It is quite probable that this teacher's interests were broader than his library, but I may be pardoned if I use this experience to indicate the real danger of aloofness from life which may beset the teacher of literature in an independent college.

The teacher of English in a university college is perhaps in no danger of remaining ignorant of the great currents of contemporary thought. He is surrounded by a group of technical and industrial schools in which every question of the day is sooner or later discussed. He is not likely to forget that there are world problems, but he may feel that it is no part of his business to discuss the relationship of literature to them.

For this attitude I think the main reason is an existing confusion between the university college and the graduate school. Graduate schools have been developed in the United States by taking advantage of the elective system in college to add many specialized courses partly made up of college students. The college had been extended like a telescope, by pulling at the top. Almost all professors who teach in a graduate school teach in a college as well.

One result of this is that our graduate professors have to teach as many hours a week as do those who direct undergraduate classes only; that the graduate year is as long as the undergraduate year; and that graduate professors are held to as much committee and administrative work as undergraduate professors. Only by exerting themselves to the limit of what is humanly possible can our higher professors compete in scholarship with the professors of foreign universities, who are truly graduate professors, who have nothing to do with undergraduate instruction, and who observe easier teaching schedules than those familiar here.

Another result of the lack of any line of demarcation between college and the graduate school is that our advanced courses in university colleges are taught as if for graduate students. In consequence of this most of our higher university college courses in English literature assume that the students are at a more advanced stage of development than is actually the case.

In graduate study literature is dissected and analyzed according to methods that have been found to work in natural science. We study the exact meaning of a piece of literature, its relation to other writings of the same kind, the conditions under which it arose, and we do not interrupt these investigations to discuss the message which it has for the problems of today.

I may compare a physicist in a graduate laboratory investigating the structure of a molecule of metal. He ought not to stop to tell the students the household properties of the element, the molecule of which he is studying. Men are supposed to know the ordinary uses of iron and copper before they enter the graduate school.

But what is suited to a graduate school is unsuited to a college. The time has now arrived when university college classes in literature may give more consideration to the undergraduates' point of view.

Somebody may object, is there not danger that a professor of literature will forget to teach his own subject if he begins

to touch upon world problems? In college classes, and with a subject now so well defined as English literature, I no longer fear this. I do not want to see courses truly for graduates made any less technical. I do not want to have college teachers less technically trained. But I do want them to consider more precisely the grade of advancement of the students whom they are teaching. I am assuming that the English teacher knows his Anglo-Saxon, his mediæval literature, his Shakespeare, and his Milton, whatever he may know or not know about later and less tested writings.

Those of us who teach literature both in a graduate school and in a university college must make two men of ourselves:—one the graduate man who has determined not to know anything in the world, except the origin of the Arthurian legend, or the development of the Elizabethan drama, or whatever his specialty may be;—the other the undergraduate man, who is competent to connect his teaching of literature with the latest world problems. Busy as we are, we must make ourselves busier, and hope for the time when American universities shall be rich enough and wise enough to designate certain men as graduate professors, and leave the rest of us free to broaden ourselves out, so that on occasion we may turn an undergraduate course in literature for a few moments into a course in economics, history, or philosophy, and, conversely, so that an instructor in any one of these subjects may on occasion teach his subject as if it were a course in literature.

We think it an excellent joke that in the old days a tutor in Yale College received a general appointment. He taught any subject that might be designated by the president. Is it possible that the joke is somewhat on us? If all college professors could qualify for such an appointment we should not find them leaving the requirement of clear and correct English to the English Department, nor should we find it hard to teach the message that English literature brings to world problems.

We have as much right as any college teacher to tell the students that our subject has something to contribute to world problems. The treasures of literature which for generations have been cherished by the fireside, from the simplest folktale to King Lear, contain in crystal words the plain man's wisdom about life.

Somebody may object: if it is the plain man's vision of life, why need we call attention to it? Our students will bring the plain man's informal philosophy of life from their homes. In past generations this may have been true, but we live in a new age. Our undergraduates (like the rest of us) are so bowled over by every kind of specialist from A to Z—Anthropologist to Zöologist,—that they are ashamed to confess any respect for the wisdom of the plain man.

You may object that the message of literature to the solution of world problems is after all, however, beautifully expressed, only the opinion of the vulgar multitude of mankind. Very well! I am a common, vulgar man, and I rather admire the opinion of the vulgar multitude. Common sense some call it.

To illustrate this popular philosophy one point will do as well as ten. The literature loved by the people always depicts the hero as rising superior to difficulties of heredity and environment by the force of his character. The folk-stories do not despise heredity. It turns out sometimes that the unpromising hero, though he did not know it, was the son of a king. They do not neglect environment. At least, there are dragons and three headed giants to sharpen the hero's mettle. But the great thing is his undaunted spirit and his determination to make the world over according to his vision of what the world ought to be.

My small boy brings home from school every day a geography in which I read statements like this: London is the greatest city in the world because it is situated exactly at the center of the land hemisphere of the globe, and near it are great deposits of coal and iron.

I take out a globe and observe that Madrid is, so far as I can see, just as near to the exact center of the land hemisphere of the globe as London, and close by it are deposits of coal and iron, which this same geography marks "undeveloped."

This confirms me in the plain man's philosophy which I find in literature, and I say:

London is different from Madrid chiefly because Londoners have had a mind to be different.

You may depend upon it that our college students will hear a plenty about the influence of race and environment upon world problems. But the common sense of the vulgar, treasured in literature, gives us something else to tell them. Man is able to some extent to stamp his ideals and his morality upon the world. The individual dies in the struggle, but other men carry on the fight. This deathless determination to make the non-human world conform to human morality is our best guarantee for the survival of civilization.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF ENGLISH PROSE FICTION BETWEEN
1660 AND 1800¹

No student of the development of the novel can doubt the usefulness of a check-list of English prose fiction for the years between the Restoration and the French Revolution. The successive masterpieces of fiction written during this period reveal, as no list of nineteenth century novels could, a wide divergency of type, purpose, and method. Such books as *Oroonoko*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Clarissa Harlowe*, *Tom Jones*, *Rasselas*, *Tristram Shandy*, *The Adventures of a Guinea*, *The Castle of Otranto*, *Humphrey Clinker*, *Evelina*, *Vathek*, *Caleb Williams*, and *Castle Rackrent* clearly do not represent stages in a single line of development, but rather the culmination of various traditions or the combination in varying proportion of obscure tendencies. Behind these outstanding works of genius lies a relatively uncharted hinterland of experimental and contributory forms. When we recall that the fiction of this century and a half ranges from *The Grand Cyrus* to *Goody Two Shoes*, from Mrs. Manley's *New Atlantis* to Miss Edgeworth's *Parent's Assistant*, the need of some chart for the shifting cross-currents of literary fashion becomes apparent. But were *a priori* reasons lacking, the attempts made by several scholars during the last few years to compile a bibliography of fiction would afford a sufficient pragmatic sanction for our interest in the field.

In obedience to the command of your chairman I am about to rehearse the tale of existing bibliographies of fiction, both published and unpublished. But before I do so, it may be proper to remark that they have done this thing better in France. The first attempt by an English or American scholar to make a comprehensive list of fiction for any

¹ A report presented at the meeting of the English VIII Group at the meeting of the Association at Baltimore, Dec. 29, 1921: see the Proceedings, p. xxix.

part of the period under consideration dates from 1911, while the first special bibliography of French fiction is nearly two hundred years old. Nicolas Lenglet-DuFresnoy, the ancestor of all bibliographers of fiction, remarks in the Preface of his *De l'Usage des Romans* (1734):

The catalogue or bibliography of fiction, which forms the second volume of this work, is the result of much research. The labor of making it has been great, since no one had preceded me in the effort. And I doubt if anyone will wish to follow me. A thing of this kind once done is seldom repeated.

DuFresnoy was mistaken, however, in his gloomy view of the future of bibliographical endeavor. Before the century was out his work was followed by the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans* (1775-1803); and during the nineteenth century general bibliographers have rendered information about French fiction relatively accessible. Querard's *La France Littéraire*, for example, contains over 2,000 titles of eighteenth century fiction alone, while Gay's *Bibliographie des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Amour* adds a number of erotic works contributory to the main stream of fiction. I dwell upon these French bibliographies mainly to emphasize our shortcomings in this respect, but incidentally also to register a conviction that a collation of French and English titles for the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries would reveal a considerable amount of unacknowledged translation, adaptation, and imitation. DuFresnoy significantly remarks of English novelists: "At present they translate into their tongue everything good produced by us; for they wish to be sure of success. They are not like us; in literary matters they take no chances." This remark, published six years before the coming of *Pamela* started the literary current flowing the other way, suggests that the relation of French and English fiction before 1740 deserves a closer scrutiny than has yet been accorded it. A similar collation of English and German titles for the last quarter of the eighteenth century might also have its rewards. But it is time to return to the immediate object of this report.

During the last decade American and English scholars have been catching up with the French. I am omitting from consideration general bibliographies, such as the appendices to the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, and also bibliographies of particular authors, such as the list of Henry Fielding's writings compiled by Mr. F. H. Dickson for Dean W. L. Cross's *Life*. Of special bibliographies of fiction covering all or a part of our field, I am aware of four. Two of these have been published.

The first printed was the Chronological List of the Prose Fiction First Printed in England between 1600 and 1740, published as an appendix to Miss Charlotte E. Morgan's study of *The Novel of Manners* (1911). This list gives abbreviated titles in alphabetical order under each year, with the name of the author, the source of information, and miscellaneous notes. The dates of editions later than the first are sometimes given. Of 653 titles collected by Miss Morgan, 482 fall within the years 1660-1740. Her information, drawn from the catalogues of the British Museum, Bodleian, and Advocates libraries in England; of Columbia and Harvard in this country; the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and numerous bibliographical works, can hardly be regarded as complete. The number of small inaccuracies that appear in her work may perhaps be due to the difficulty encountered by DuFresnoy: no one had preceded her in the effort. She describes her list as "but a clearing of the ground in a field where little has been done and much remains to be accomplished." I do not belittle her work in saying that in most respects it has been superseded; such is the inevitable fate of the pioneer. She did yeoman service in verifying and describing many doubtful titles. Her list succeeded in its primary intention, that of illustrating the diversity of tendencies in fiction during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and it is still the only chronological list of English fiction in print.

The standard bibliography of fiction is now Mr. Arundell Esdaile's *List of English Tales and Prose Romances* (1912),

of which Part II contains books dated from 1643 to 1739. This is the work of an expert bibliographer on the staff of the British Museum, and within its limits is admirably conceived and thoroughly reliable. Mr. Esdaile gives author's name, complete title, publisher, date, format, source of information, and miscellaneous notes. He lists all editions after to the first up to his terminal date, 1739, and includes a wide variety of minor and tentative forms of fiction. The limitations of his work are: (1) that the alphabetical arrangement of items and the absence of a chronological list make it difficult to determine what novels were published in any given year; (2) that his sources of information are exclusively British, and consequently a number of details which could be collected from libraries in this country are missing; (3) that the terminal date, 1739, is not late enough to permit the inclusion of all that a student of eighteenth century fiction wishes to know about the experimental epoch of the novel. These limitations of scope make it desirable that Mr. Esdaile's list should be extended, supplemented from further sources of information, and equipped with a chronological index.

Two unpublished bibliographies—and there may be others unknown to me—have already carried forward the listing of prose fiction through the later years of the eighteenth century. One of them is the compilation of that indefatigable collector of literary information, Professor Chester N. Greenough of Harvard. He has collected between 3,000 and 4,000 titles covering the entire period—in fact his list extends to 1832—and has recorded editions besides the first. He has examined, though not with systematic thoroughness, the usual sources of bibliographical information. The feature of his collection which promises to be of greatest value is the large number of clippings from modern booksellers' catalogues that it contains. As every student of the novel knows, editions and even books not available in any of the great libraries are constantly turning up in dealers' lists. A collection of these items, such as Professor

Greenough's, may do much to supplement information gathered from other sources. Professor Greenough has courteously expressed his willingness to have his cards consulted by other workers in the bibliographical field.

A second bibliography which still remains in manuscript was begun some fifteen years ago by Professor John M. Clapp, then of Lake Forest College. His work covers the years 1701-1800. For that period he has collected more than 5,000 titles, noting first and later editions, and giving full bibliographical information. His work has been both extended and systematic. He has covered the entire British Museum Catalogue with its supplements to 1915; the lists of books published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Monthly Review* from the beginning of these magazines to the end of the century; Arber's *Term Catalogues* from 1701 to 1711; Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*; and with more cursory examination a number of other general bibliographical works. Furthermore he has verified a large number of the titles collected up to the year 1752, copying the full title of each volume or tract from the original title-page and in doubtful cases examining the claims of the work to be considered fiction. There are, of course, some titles that he has not been able to run down, but they are in a minority. A description of Mr. Clapp's bibliography and of his results to 1912 was printed in the *Papers of the American Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 6, pp. 37-56. Upon his retirement from teaching a few years ago, Mr. Clapp bequeathed his cards to me. I have as yet done nothing to improve my inheritance. The cards repose in the Amherst College Library. They may be used without restriction as the basis of any new attempt to compile a list of fiction for publication.

In relation to this grand objective, may I briefly summarize what has already been accomplished? The two processes involved are: (1) the collection of titles, and (2) the verification of each title, and in some cases of the nature of the work, by an examination of the original.

The process of collecting titles has been carried very nearly to completion. Of the four possible sources of information,

(1) general bibliographical works have been used by all four scholars mentioned and probably need not be searched again. (2) All the principal British libraries have been searched by Mr. Esdaile for the period 1660-1739, and Mr. Clapp has covered the British Museum and Bodleian for the remainder of the century. Some stray items may still be collected from the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, and from American libraries, though the latter have already been partly searched. (3) Modern booksellers' catalogues have been a chief reliance of Professor Greenough's collection, and while new items may occasionally turn up from this source, the probability has been much diminished by his labors. (4) Advertisements in eighteenth century newspapers are still to be systematically examined, particularly for the years 1710-1750, the interval between the end of Arber's *Term Catalogues* and the beginning of fairly reliable lists of books published in the monthly magazines. This is the only source which is likely to yield many additional titles to the lists already compiled. In 1913 I had occasion to go through the files of three newspapers in the Burney Collection from 1720 to 1730, noting all titles of fiction with the date of the first "This day published" advertisement. In this way I collected a number of titles not mentioned by Esdaile, and incidentally I was enabled to give fairly exact dates of publication for many books. Of course, publishers' advertisements are not perfectly satisfactory evidence that the books, still less the edition, advertised ever actually appeared, and all titles collected in this way should be verified as carefully as possible. But I am confident that new and valuable information may still be obtained from this source.

The second process, that of verification, is more exhausting because the originals are scattered through many libraries and some have entirely disappeared. But a considerable amount of work of this sort has been done. Mr. Esdaile has verified his titles up to 1739, using the resources of the British Museum, Bodleian, University Library, Cambridge, Advocates, and South Kensington Museum. Mr. Clapp has carried the

process down to 1752, supplementing the resources of the British Museum by explorations in certain American libraries, notably the Newberry Library, Chicago, the University of Chicago, University of Illinois, and University of Indiana libraries, and, less thoroughly, Harvard and the Boston Public Library. The verification of the majority of the titles dated 1753 to 1800 has yet to be done, and a number of fugitive items not seen by either Clapp or Esdaile may still be discovered by a systematic search of the larger American libraries. This phase of the work may best be done by an association of scholars located in different parts of the country. It should be added that the bibliographer's task for the latter half of the eighteenth century is not nearly so formidable as for the earlier period; by 1750 fiction was beginning to receive literary recognition and to take fixed forms, titles were shorter, and the recording of current publications was much more systematic. A summer's work in the British Museum would probably suffice for the verification of the bulk of the untested titles.

I find the impression generally held by scholars that the making of a bibliography of fiction for this period is an enormous task. So it is, but I have tried to show that a considerable part of the work has already been reliably performed, and that what remains to be done is largely the gathering up of loose ends and the filling in of gaps. After all the amount of detail in such a work is not larger than that involved in a New York Telephone Directory, and man achieves the latter task twice every year.

GEORGE F. WHICHER

ACTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

I. Under date of Feb. 2, 1922, the Secretary asked the members of the Council to nominate by informal ballot five persons to serve as a Committee of Award to consider MSS. which may be submitted for publication in the Monograph Series and to select those most worthy of acceptance. This list of nominees was subsequently submitted to the Council (under date of March 10) and a formal ballot was taken which resulted in the election of the following persons—Professor Kittredge finding himself obliged to decline—as the Committee of Award: Professors Edward C. Armstrong, James Wilson Bright, Robert Herndon Fife, John Matthews Mauly, and William A. Nitze.

II. Under date of Feb. 2, 1922, the Secretary referred to the Council the resolution adopted by the Association at the Baltimore meeting (See Proceedings for 1921, p. xxxvi) recommending that the Secretary be authorized to expend a sum not to exceed \$600 in securing stenographic and clerical assistance. The resolution was approved by all the members of the Council except the Secretary, who refrained from voting.

III. Under date of Feb. 3, 1922, the Secretary called the attention of the Council to President Wm. A. Neilson's resignation as Managing Trustee of the Permanent Fund (See Proceedings for 1921, p. viii) and nominated as his successor Mr. Le Roy Elwood Kimball, Bursar of New York University. Mr. Kimball was unanimously elected Managing Trustee.

IV. Under date of Feb. 3, 1922, the Secretary transmitted to the Council the invitation of the University of Pennsylvania to hold the next meeting of the Association under the auspices of that institution (see Proceedings for 1921, p. xxxvii) and also a joint invitation to the same effect from Boston University, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Tufts College, Boston College, and Wellesley College. The Council voted to accept the invitation of the University of Pennsylvania.

V. Under date of March 10, 1922, the Secretary recommended to the Council that the income received from the Permanent Fund for the first half of 1922 be turned over to

the Bright-von Jagemann Fund in order that this Fund might be brought up to the five thousand dollars needed as an endowment basis for the Monograph Series.

The Secretary further recommended that the income from the Permanent Fund for the second half of 1922 be returned to the Trustees in order to augment the principal of the Permanent Fund. Both recommendations were unanimously approved.

VI. Under date of March 10, 1922, the Secretary proposed that the Bright-von Jagemann Fund, consisting of \$4400 in U. S. Liberty Bonds and several hundred dollars on deposit with the Bryn Mawr Trust Co., be turned over for investment to the Trustees of the Permanent Fund, the income from this Bright-von Jagemann Fund to be paid to the Treasurer of the Association toward the maintenance of the Monograph Series. The proposal was unanimously approved.

VII. Under date of May 31, 1922, the Secretary called the attention of the Council to the fact that through the death of Professor Johan Storm of the University of Christiania, of Professor Flamini of the University of Pisa, and of Sir Walter Raleigh of Oxford University, three vacancies existed in the list of Honorary Members. The Council by ballot nominated to the Association the following persons for election as Honorary Members to fill these vacancies: E. K. Chambers, author of *The Mediaeval Stage*, Professor W. A. Craigie of Oxford University, and Sir Israel Gollancz, of King's College, London, Director of the Early English Text Society.

VIII. Under date of Nov. 6, 1922, the Secretary called the attention of the Council to the proposed edition of Guido's *Historia Trojana* on which Dr. Nathaniel E. Griffin has been engaged for a number of years, and submitted letters from leading scholars urging that the Council should recommend this undertaking to the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The Council voted unanimously to recommend the project to the Carnegie Institution as an important piece of scholarly research worthy of receiving substantial assistance.

CARLETON BROWN, *Secretary*.

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- Wylie, Laura Johnson, Professor of English Literature and Head of Department of English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. [112 Market St.]
- Yánes, Francisco Javier, Assistant Director of Pan American Union, in charge of Educational Section, Washington, D. C.
- Yost, Clemens Andrew, Teacher of French, Manual Training High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. [43 S. Oxford St.]
- YOUNG, BERT EDWARD, Professor of Romance Languages, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [415 E. 6th St.]
- Young, Charles Edmund, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Young, Charles Stuart, Instructor in English, Culver Military Academy, Culver, Ind.
- YOUNG, KARL, Professor of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Young, Mary Vance, Professor of Romance Languages, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
- Young, William Foster, President, Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co., 623 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

- Zampiere, Pierre S., Dean of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Washburn College, Topeka, Kas. [1727 West St.]
- ZDANOWICZ, CASIMIR DOUGLAS, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Zeek, Charles Franklyn, Jr., Professor of French, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.
- Zeitler, William Irving, Graduate Student in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [53 Trowbridge St.]
- Zeitlin, Jacob, Associate Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Zéliqzon, Maurice, Head of Department of Modern Languages, Central High School, Cleveland, O.
- Zembrod, Alfred Charles, Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.
- Zeydel, Edwin Hermann, Expert in Modern Languages, Carnegie Endowment, Washington, D. C. [2 Jackson Place N. W.]
- Zinnecker, Wesley Daniel, Associate Professor of German, New York University. [638 Springdale Ave., East Orange, N. J.]
- Zucker, Adolf Eduard, Assistant Professor of English, Union Medical College, Peking, China. [1871]

ROLL OF MEMBERS DECEASED

- BRYSON, WALTER E., Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Tex. [May 29, 1922]
- BUCK, GERTRUDE, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. [January 8, 1922]
- DALAND, WILLIAM CLIFTON, Milton College, Milton, Wis. [June 1921]
- FLAMINI, FRANCESCO, University of Pisa, Italy, [March 17, 1922]
- PAUL, HERMANN, University of Munich, Germany. [December, 1921]
- RALEIGH, SIR WALTER, Oxford University, England. [May 13, 1922]
- SIMONTON, JAMES SNODGRASS, Washington, Pa. [December 27, 1921]
- STORM, JOHAN, University of Christiania, Norway. [October 26, 1920]
- WHORISKEY, RICHARD, New Hampshire State College, Durham, N. H. [February 21, 1922]
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